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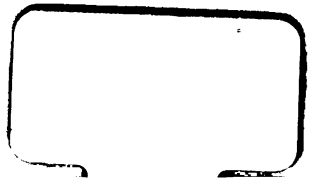
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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq;

NOTES

TO THE SIX LAST VOLUMES.

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NOTES

TO THE

SEVENTH VOLUME

CHAP. XXXIX.

[1] JORNANDES (de Rebus Geticis, c. 13, 14. p. 629, 630. edit. Grot.) has drawn the pedigree of Theodoric from Gapt, one of the *Anſes* or Demi-gods who lived about the time of Domitian. Caſſiodorius, the firſt who celebrates the royal race of the Amali (Variar. viii. 5. ix. 25. x. 2. xi. 1.), reckons the grandſon of Theodoric as the xviiith in deſcent. Peringſciold (the Swedish commentator of Cochlœus. Vit. Theodoric. p. 271, &c. Stockholm, 1699.) labours to connect this genealogy with the legends or traditions of his native country.

[2] More correctly on the banks of the lake Peiſo (Nieuſiedler-ſee) near Carnuntum, almoſt on the ſame ſpot where Marcus Antoninus compoſed his meditations (Jornandes, c. 52. p. 669. Severin Pannonia Illuſtrata, p. 22. Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom i. p. 350.)

[3] The four firſt letters of his name (ΘΕΟΔ) were inſcribed on a gold plate, and when it was fixed on the paper, the king drew his pen through the intervals (Anonym. Valeſian. ad calcem Amm. Marcellin. p. 722.). This authentic fact, with the teſtimony of Procopius, or at leaſt of the contemporary Goths (Gothic. l. i. c. 2. p. 311.), far outweighs the vague praiſes of Ennodius (Sirmond. Opera, tom. i. p. 1596.) and Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 112.).

[4] Statura eſt quæ reſignet proceritate regnantem (Ennodius, p. 1614.). The biſhop of Pavia (I mean the eccleſiaſtic who wiſhed to be a biſhop) then proceeds to celebrate the complexion, eyes, hands, &c. of his ſovereign.

[5] The ſtate of the Oſtrogoths, and the firſt years of Theodoric, are found in Jornandes (c. 52—56. p. 689—696.) and Malchus Excerpt. Legat. p. 78—80.), who erroneously ſtyles him the ſon of Walamir.

[6] Theophanes (p. 111.) inſerts a copy of her *ſacred* letters to the provinces: ἴσε ὁτι βασιλειον ἡμετερον ἐστι... και ὁτι προχειρησαμεθα βασιλεα τρασκαλλισαιον, &c. Such female pretenſions would have aſtonished the ſlaves of the *firſt* Cæſars.

[7] Vol. iii. p. 477—480.

[8] Suidas, tom. i. p. 332, 333. edit. Kuſter.

[9] The contemporary hiſtories of Malchus and Candidus are loſt; but ſome extracts or fragments have been ſaved by Photius (lxviii. lxxix. p. 100—102.), Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus (Excerpt. Leg. p. 70—97.), and in various articles of the Lexicon of Suidas. The Chronicle of Marcellinus (Imago Hiſtoriæ) are originals for the reigns of Zeno and Anaſtaſius; and I muſt acknowledge, almoſt for the laſt time, my obligations to the large and accurate collections of Tillemont (Hiſt. des Emp. tom. vi. p. 472—652.).

[10] In ipſis congreſſionis tuæ foribus ceſſit invaſor, cum *profugo* per te ſceptra redderentur de ſalute dubitanti. Ennodius then proceeds (p. 1596, 1597. tom. i. Sirmond.) to tranſport his hero (on a flying dragon?) into Æthiopia, beyond the tropic of Cancer. The evidence of the Valeſian fragment (p. 717.), Liberatus (Brev. Eutych. c. 25. p. 118.), and Theophanes (p. 112.), is more ſober and rational.

[11] This cruel practice is ſpecially imputed to the *Triarian* Goths, leſs barbarous, as it ſhould ſeem, than the *Walamirs*: but the ſon of Theodemir is charged with the ruin of many Roman cities (Malchus, Excerpt. leg. p. 95.).

[12] Jornandes (c. 56, 57. p. 696. diſplays the ſervices of Theodoric, confeſſes his rewards, but diſſembles his revolt, of which ſuch curious details have been preſerved by Malchus (Excerpt. Legat. p. 78—97.) Marcellinus, a domeſtic of Juſtinian, under whoſe ivth conſulſhip (A. D. 534.) he compoſed his Chronicle (Scaliger, Theſaurus Temporum, P. ii. p. 34—57.), betrays his prejudice and paſſion: in Græciam debacchantem ... Zenonis munificentiâ pene pacatus ... beneficiis nunquam ſatiatus, &c.

[13] As he was riding in his own camp, an unruly horſe threw him againſt the point of a ſpear which hung before a tent, or was fixed on a waggon (Marcellin. in Chron. Evagrius, l. iii. c. 25.).

[14] See Malchus (p. 91.), and Evagrius (l. iii. c. 35.).

[15] Malchus, p. 85. In a ſingle action, which was decided by the ſkill and diſcipline of Sabinian, Theodoric could loſe 5000 men.

[16] Jornandes (c. 57. p. 696, 697.) has abridged the great hiſtory of Caſſiodorius. See, compare, and reconcile, Procopius (Gothic. l. i. c. 1.), the Valeſian Fragment (p. 718.), Theophanes (p. 113.). and Marcellinus (in Chron.).

[17] Theodoric's march is ſupplied and illuſtrated by Ennodius (p. 1598—1602.), when the bombaſt of the oration is translated into the language of common ſenſe.

[18] Tot reges, &c. (Ennodius, p. 1602.) We muſt recollect how much

the royal title was multiplied and degraded, and that the mercenaries of Italy were the fragments of many tribes and nations.

[19] See Ennodius, p. 103, 104. Since the orator, in the king's preſence, could mention and praiſe his mother, we may conclude that the magnanimity of Theodoric was not hurt by the vulgar reproaches of concubine and baſtard.

[20] This anecdote is related on the modern but reſpectable authority of Sigonius (Opp. tom. i. p. 580. De Occident. Imp. l. xv.): his words are curious—"Would you return?" &c. She preſented and almoſt diſplayed the original receſs.

[21] Hiſt. Miſcell. l. xv. a Roman hiſtory from Janus to the ixth century, an Epitome of Eutropius, Paulus Diaconus, and Theophanes, which Muratori has published from a MSS. in the Ambroſian library (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. i. p. 100.).

[22] Procopius (Gothic, l. i. c. 1.) approves himſelf an impartial ſceptic: Φασι... δολερῷ τροπῷ ἐκτεινε. Caſſiodorius (in Chron.) and Ennodius (p. 1604.) are loyal and credulous, and the teſtimony of the Valeſian Fragment (p. 718.) may juſtify their belief. Marcellinus ſpits the venom of a Greek ſubject—perjuriis illectus, interfectuſque eſt (in Chron.).

[23] The ſonorous and ſervile oration of Ennodius was pronounced at Milan or Ravenna in the years 507 or 508 (Sirmond, tom. i. p. 1615.) Two or three years afterwards, the orator was rewarded with the biſhoprick of Pavia, which he held till his death in the year 521 (Dupin. Bibliot. Eccleſ. tom. v. p. 11—14. See Saxii Onomaſticon, tom. ii. p. 12.).

[24] Our beſt materials are occaſional hints from Procopius and the Valeſian Fragment, which was diſcovered by Sirmond, and is publiſhed at the end of Ammianus Marcellinus. The author's name is unknown, and his ſtyle is barbarous; but in his various facts he exhibits the knowledge, without the paſſions of a contemporary. The preſident Monteſquieu had formed the plan of an hiſtory of Theodoric, which at a diſtance might appear a rich and intereſting ſubject.

[25] The beſt edition of the *Variarum Libri* xii. is that of Joh. Garretius (Rotomagi, 1679. in Opp. Caſſiodor. 2 vol. in fol.); but they deſerved and required ſuch an editor as the Marquis Scipio Maffei, who thought of publiſhing them at Verona. The *Barbara Elegantia* (as it is ingeniouſly named by Tiraboſchi) is never ſimple, and ſeldom perſpicuous.

[26] Procopius, Gothic. l. i. c. 1. Variarum, ii. Maffei (Verona Illuſtrata, P. i. p. 228.) exaggerates the injuſtice of the Goths, whom he hated as an Italian noble. The plebeian Muratori crouches under their oppreſſion.

[27] Procopius, Goth. l. iii. c. 4. 21. Ennodius deſcribes (p. 1612, 1613.) the military arts and increaſing numbers of the Goths.

[28] When Theodoric gave his ſiſter to the king of the Vandals, she ſailed for Africa with a guard of 1000 noble Goths, each of whom was attended by five armed followers (Procop. Vandal. l. i. c. 8.). The Gothic nobility muſt have been as numerous as brave.

[29] See the acknowledgment of Gothic liberty (Var. v. 30.).

[30] Procopius, Goth. l. i. c. 2. The Roman boys learnt the language (Var. viii. 21.) of the Goths. Their general ignorance is not deſtroyed by the exceptions of Amalaſuntha, a female, who might ſtudy without ſhame, or of Theodatus, whoſe learning provoked the indignation and contempt of his countrymen.

[31] A ſaying of Theodoric was founded on experience: "Romanus "miſer imitatur Gothum; et utilis (*dives*) Gothus imitatur Romanum." (See the Fragment and Notes of Valeſius, p. 719.)

[32] The view of the military eſtabliſhment of the Goths in Italy, is collected from the Epiſtles of Caſſiodorius (Var. i. 24. 40. iii. 3. 24. 48. iv. 13, 14. v. 26, 27. viii. 3, 4. 25.). They are illuſtrated by the learned Maſcou (Hiſt. of the Germans, l. xi. 40—44. Annotation, xiv.).

[33] See the clearneſs and vigour of his negociations in Ennodius (p. 1607.), and Caſſiodorius (Var. iii. 1, 2, 3, 4. iv. 13. v. 43, 44.), who gives the different ſtyles of friendſhip, counſel, expoſtulation, &c.

[34] Even of his table (Var. vi. 9.) and palace (vii. 5.), the admiration of ſtrangers is repreſented as the moſt rational motive to juſtify theſe vain expences, and to ſtimulate the diligence of the officers to whom thoſe provinces were entruſted.

[35] See the public and private alliances of the Gothic monarch, with the Burgundians (Var. i. 45, 46.), with the Franks (ii. 40.), with the Thuringians (iv. 1.), and with the Vandals (v. 1.). Each of theſe epiſtles affords ſome curious knowledge of the Policy and manners of the Barbarians.

[36] His political ſyſtem may be obſerved in Caſſiodorius (Var. iv. 1. ix. 1.), Jornandes (c. 58. p. 698, 699.), and the Valeſian Fragment p. 720 21.). Peace, honourable peace, was the conſtant aim of Theodoric.

[37] The curious reader may contemplate the Heruli of Procopius (Goth. l. ii. c. 14.), and the patient reader may plunge into the dark and minute reſearches of M. de Buat (Hiſt. des Peuples Anciens, tom. ix. p. 348—396.).

[38] Variarum, iv. 2. The ſpirit and forms of this martial inſtitution

are noticed by Caſſiodorius; but he ſeems to have only translated the ſentiments of the Gothic king into the language of Roman eloquence.

[39] Caſſiodorius, who quotes Tacitus to the Æſtians, the unlettered ſavages of the Baltic (Var. v. 2.), deſcribes the amber for which their shores have ever been famous, as the gum of a tree, hardened by the ſun, and purified and wafted by the waves. When that ſingular ſubſtance is analyſed by the chemiſts, it yields a vegetable oil and a mineral acid.

[40] Scanzia, or Thule, is deſcribed by Jornandes (c. 3. p. 610—613.) and Procopius (Goth. l. ii. c. 15.). Neither the Goth nor the Greek had viſited the country: both had converſed with the natives in their exile at Ravenna or Conſtantinople.

[41] *Sapherinas pelles.* In the time of Jornandes, they inhabited *Suethans*, the proper Sweden; but that beautiful race of animals has gradually been driven into the eaſtern parts of Siberia. See Buffon (Hiſt. Nat. tom. xiii. p. 309—313. quarto edition); Pennant (Syſtem of Quadrupeds, vol. i. p. 322—328.); Gmelin (Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. xviii. p. 257, 258.); and Levéſque (Hiſt. de Ruſſie, tom. v. p. 165, 166, 514, 515.).

[42] In the ſyſtem or romance of M. Bailly (Lettres ſur les Sciences et ſur l'Atlantide, tom. i. p. 249—256. tom. ii. p. 114—139.), the phœnix of the Edda, and the annual death and revival of Adonis and Oſiris, are the allegorical ſymbols of the abſence and return of the ſun in the Arctic regions. This ingenious writer is a worthy diſciple of the great Buffon: nor is it eaſy for the coldeſt reaſon to withſtand the magic of their philoſophy.

[43] Αυτη τε Θυλιτοις ἡ μεγιστη των ἑορτων ἐστι, ſays Procopius. At preſent a rude Manicheiſm (generous enough) prevails among the Samoyedes in Greenland and in Lapland (Hiſt. des Voyages, tom. xviii. p. 508, 509. tom. xix. p. 105, 106, 527, 528.); yet, according to Grotius, Samojutæ cœlum atque aſtra adorant, numina haud aliis iniquiora (de Rebus Belgicis, l. iv. p. 338. folio edition); a ſentence which Tacitus would not have diſowned.

[44] See the Hiſt. des Peuples Anciens, etc. tom. ix. p. 255—273. 396—501. The Count de Buat was French miniſter at the court of Bavaria: a liberal curioſity prompted his enquiries into the antiquities of the country, and that curioſity was the *germ* of twelve reſpectable volumes.

[45] See the Gothic tranſactions on the Danube and in Illyricum, in Jornandes (c. 58. p. 699.), Ennodius (p. 1607—1610.), Marcellinus (in Chron. p. 44. 47, 48.), and Caſſiodorius (in Chron. and Var. iii. 23. 50. iv. 13. vii. 4. 24. viii. 9, 10, 11. 21. ix. 8, 9.).

[46] I cannot forbear tranſcribing the liberal and claſſic ſtyle of Count Marcellinus: Romanus comes domeſticorum, et Ruſticus comes ſcholariorum cum centum armatis navibus, totidemque dromonibus, octo millia militum armatorum ſecum ferentibus, ad devaſtanda Italiæ littora proceſſerunt, et uſque ad Tarentum antiquiſſimam civitatem aggreſſi ſunt; remenſoque mari inhoneſtam victoriam quam piratico auſu Romani ex Romanis rapuerunt, Anaſtaſio Cæſari reportarunt (in Chron. p. 49.). See Variar. i. 16. ii. 38.

[47] See the royal orders and inſtructions (Var. iv. 15. v. 16—20.). Theſe armed boats ſhould be ſtill ſmaller than the thouſand veſſels of Agamemnon at the ſiege of Troy.

[48] Vol. iii. p. 574—579.

[49] Ennodius (p. 1610.) and Caſſiodorius, in the royal name (Var. ii. 41.), record his ſalutary protection of the Alemanni.

[50] The Gothic tranſactions in Gaul and Spain are repreſented with ſome perplexity in Caſſiodorius (Var. iii. 32. 38. 41. 43, 44., v. 39.), Jornandes (c. 58. p. 698, 699.) and Procopius (Goth. l. i. c. 12.). I will neither hear nor reconcile the long and contradictory arguments of the Abbé Dubos and the Count de Buat, about the wars of Burgundy.

[51] Theophanes, p. 113.

[52] Procopius affirms that no laws whatſoever were promulgated by Theodoric and the ſucceeding kings of Italy (Goth. l. ii. c. 6.). He muſt mean in the Gothic language. A Latin edict of Theodoric is ſtill extant, in one hundred and fifty four articles.

[53] The image of Theodoric is engraved on his coins: his modeſt ſucceſſors were ſatisfied with adding their own name to the head of the reigning emperor (Muratori Antiquitat. Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. ii. differt. xxvii. p. 577—579. Giannone Iſtoria Civile di Napoli, tom. i. p. 176.).

[54] The alliance of the emperor and the king of Italy are repreſented by Caſſiodorius (Var. i. 1. ii. 1, 2. 3. vi. 1.) and Procopius (Goth. l. ii. c. 6. l. iii. c. 21.), who celebrate the friendship of Anaſtaſius and Theodoric: but the figurative ſtyle of compliment was interpreted in a very different ſenſe at Conſtantinople and Ravenna.

[55] To the xvii provinces of the Notitia, Paul Warnefrid the deacon (De Reb. Longobard. l. ii. c. 14—22.) has ſubjoined an xviiith, the Apennine (Muratori Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. i. p. 431—433.). But of theſe, Sardinia and Corſica were poſſeſſed by the Vandals, and the two Rhætias, as well as the Cottian Alps, ſeem to have been abandoned to a military government. The ſtate of the four provinces that now form the kingdom of Naples, is laboured by Giannone (tom. i. p. 172. 178.) with patriotic diligence.

[56] See the Gothic hiſtory of Procopius (l. i. c. 1. l. ii. c. 6.), the Epiſtles of Caſſiodorius (paſſim, but eſpecially the vth and vith books, which contain the *formulæ*, or patents of offices), and the Civil Hiſtory of Giannone (tom. i. l. ii, iii.). The Gothic counts, which he places in every Italian city, are annihilated, however, by Maffei (Verona Illuſtrata, P. i. l. viii. p. 227.); for thoſe of Syracuſe and Naples (Var. vi, 22, 23.) were ſpecial and temporary commiſſions.

[57] Two Italians of the name of Caſſiodorius, the father (Var. i. 24. 40.) and the ſon (ix. 24, 25.), were ſucceſſively employed in the adminiſtration of Theodoric. The ſon was born in the year 479: his various epiſtles as quæſtor, maſter of the offices, and prætorian præfect, extend from 509 to 539, and he lived as a monk about thirty years (Tiraboſchi Storia della Letteratura Italiana, tom. iii. p. 7—24. Fabricius, Bibliot. Lat. Med. Ævi, tom. i. p. 357, 358. edit. Manſi.).

[58] See his regard for the ſenate in Cochlæus (Vit. Theod. viii. p. 72—80.).

[59] No more than 120,000 *modii*, or four thouſand quarters (Anonym. Valeſian, p. 721. and Var. i. 35. vi. 18. xi. 5. 39.).

[60] See his regard and indulgence for the ſpectacles of the circus, the amphitheatre, and the theatre, in the Chronicle and Epiſtles of Caſſiodorius (Var. i. 20. 27. 30, 31, 32. iii. 51. iv. 51. illuſtrated by the xivth Annotation of Maſcou's Hiſtory), who has contrived to ſprinkle the ſubject with oſtentatious, though agreeable learning.

[61] Anonym. Valeſ. p. 721. Marius Aventicenſis in Chron. In the ſcale of public and perſonal merit, the Gothic conqueror is at leaſt as much *above* Valentinian, as he may ſeem *inferior* to Trajan.

[62] Vit. Fulgentii in Baron. Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 500. N° 10.

[63] Caſſiodorius deſcribes in his pompous ſtyle the forum of Trajan (Var. vii. 6.), the theatre of Marcellus (iv. 51.), and the amphitheatre of Titus (v. 42.); and his deſcriptions are not unworthy of the reader's peruſal. According to the modern prices, the Abbé Barthelemy computes that the brick-work and maſonry of the Coliſeum would now coſt twenty millions of French livres (Mém. de l'Académie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 585, 586.). How ſmall a part of that ſtupendous fabric?

[64] For the aqueducts and cloacæ, ſee Strabo (l. v. p. 360.), Pliny (Hiſt. Nat. xxxvi. 24.), Caſſiodorius (Var. iii. 30, 31. vi. 6.), Procopius (Goth. l. i. c. 19.) and Nardini (Roma Antica, p. 514—522.). How ſuch works could be executed by a king of Rome, is yet a problem.

[65] For the Gothic care of the buildings and ſtatues, ſee Caſſiodorius Var. i. 21. 25. ii. 34. iv. 30. vii. 6. 13. 15.), and the Valeſian Fragment (p. 721.).

[66] Var. vii. 15. Theſe horſes of Monte-Cavallo, had been tranſported

from Alexandria to the baths of Conſtantine (Nardini, p. 188.). Their ſculpture is diſdained by the Abbé Dubos (Réflexions ſur la Poëſie et ſur la Peinture, tom. i. ſection 39.) and admired by Winkelman (Hiſt. de l'Art. tom. ii. p. 159.).

[67] Var. x. 10. They were probably a fragment of ſome triumphal car (Cuper de Elephantis, ii. 10.).

[68] Procopius (Goth. l. iv. c. 21.) relates a foolish ſtory of Myron's cow, which is celebrated by the falſe wit of thirty-ſix Greek epigrams (Anthолog. l. iv. p. 302—306. edit. Hen. Steph. • Auſon. Epigram. lviii—lxviii.).

[69] See an epigram of Ennodius (ii. 3. p. 1893, 1894.) on this garden and the royal gardener.

[70] His affection for that city is proved by the epithet of "Verona tua," and the legend of the hero; under the barbarous name of Dietrich of Bern (Peringſciold ad Cochlæum, p. 240.), Maffei traces him with knowledge and pleaſure in his native country (l. ix. p. 230—236.).

[71] See Maffei (Verona Illuſtrata, Part. i. p. 231, 232. 308, etc.). He imputes Gothic architecture, like the corruption of language, writing, etc. not to the Barbarians, but to the Italians themſelves. Compare his ſentiments with thoſe of Tiraboſchi (tom. iii. p. 61.).

[72] The villas, climate, and landskip of Baiæ (Var. ix. 6. See Cluver. Italia Antiq. l. iv. c. 2. p. 1119, etc.), Iſtria (Var. xii. 22. 26.), and Comum (Var. xi. 14. compare with Pliny's two villas, ix. 7.), are agreeably painted in the Epiſtles of Caſſiodorius.

[73] In Liguriâ numeroſa agricolarum progenies (Ennodius, p. 1678, 1679, 1680.). St. Epiphanius of Pavia redeemed by prayer or ranſom 6000 captives from the Burgundians of Lyons and Savoy. Such deeds are the beſt of miracles.

[74] The political œconomy of Theodoric (ſee Anonym. Valeſ. p. 721. and Caſſiodorius, in Chron.) may be diſtinctly traced under the following heads: iron mine (Var. iii. 23.); gold mine (ix. 3.); Pomptine marshes (ii. 32, 33.); Spoleto (ii. 21.; corn (i. 34. x. 27, 28. xi. 11, 12.); trade (vi. 7. vii. 9. 23; fair of Leucothoe or St. Cyprian in Lucania (viii. 33.); plenty (xii. 4.); the curſus, or public poſt (i. 29. ii. 31. iv. 47. v. 5. vi. 6. vii. 33.); the Flaminian way (xii. 18.).

[75] LX modii tritici in ſolidum ipſius tempore fuerunt, et vinum xxx amphoras in ſolidum (Fragment Valeſ.). Corn was diſtributed from granaries at xv or xxv modii for a piece of gold, and the price was ſtill moderate.

[76] See the life of St. Cæſarius in Baronius (A. D. 508. N° 12, 13, 14.). The king preſented him with 300 gold ſolidi, and a diſcus of ſilver of the weight of ſixty pounds.

[77] Ennodius in Vit. St. Epiphanii, in Sirmond Op. tom. i. p. 1672—1690. Theodoric beſtowed ſome important favours on this biſhop, whom he uſed as a counſellor in peace and war.

[78] Devotiſſimus ac ſi Catholicus (Anonym. Valeſ. p. 720.); yet his offering was no more than two ſilver candleſticks (*ceroſtrata*) of the weight of ſeventy pounds, far inferior to the gold and gems of Conſtantinople and France (Anaſtaſius in Vit. Pont. in Hormiſda, p. 34. edit. Paris.).

[79] The tolerating ſyſtem of his reign (Ennodius, p. 1612. Anonym. Valeſ. p. 719. Procop. Goth. l. i. c. 1. l. ii. c. 6.) may be ſtudied in the Epiſtles of Caſſiodorius, under the following heads: *biſhops* (Var. i. 9. viii. 15. 24. xi. 23.); *immunities* (i. 26. ii. 29, 30.); *church lands* (iv. 17. 20.; *ſanctuaries* (ii. 11. iii. 47.); *church plate* (xii. 20.); *diſcipline* (iv. 44.); which prove at the ſame time that he was the head of the church as well as of the ſtate.

[80] We may reject a foolish tale of his beheading a Catholic deacon who turned Arian (Theodor. Lector. N° 17.) Why is Theodoric ſurnamed *Afer?* From *Vafer?* (Valeſ. ad loc.) A light conjecture.

[81] Ennodius, p. 1621, 1622. 1636. 1638. His *libell* was approved and regiſtered [ſynodaliter] by a Roman council [Baronius, A. D. 503. N°. 6. Franciſcus Pagi in Breviar. Pont. Rom. tom. i. p. 242.].

[82] See Caſſiodorius [Var. viii. 15. ix. 15, 16.], Anaſtaſius [in Symmacho, p. 31.], and the xviiith Annotation of Maſcou. Baronius, Pagi, and moſt of the Catholic doctors, confeſs, with an angry growl, this Gothic uſurpation.

[83] He diſabled them—a licentiâ teſtandi; and all Italy mourned—lamentabili juſtitio. I wish to believe that theſe penalties were enacted againſt the rebels, who had violated their oath of allegiance; but the teſtimony of Ennodius [p. 1675—1678.] is the more weighty, as he lived and died under the reign of Theodoric.

[84] Ennodius, in Vit. Epiphan. p. 1689, 1690. Boethius de Conſolatione Philoſophiæ, l. i. proſ. iv. p. 45, 46, 47. Reſpect, but weigh the paſſions of the ſaint and the ſenator; and fortify or alleviate their complaints by the various hints of Caſſiodorius [ii. 8. iv. 36. viii. 5.].

[85] Immanium expenſarum pondus. . . pro ipſorum ſalute, etc.; yet theſe are no more than words.

[86] The Jews were ſettled at Naples [Procopius, Goth. l. i. c. 8.], at Genoa [Var. ii. 28. iv. 33.], Milan [v. 37.], Rome [iv. 43.]. See likewiſe Baſnage, Hiſt. des Juifs, tom. viii. c. 7. p. 254.

[87] Rex avidus communis exitii, etc. [Boethius, l. i. p. 59.]: rex dolum Romanis tendebat [Anonym. Valeſ. p. 723.]. Theſe are hard

words: they ſpeak the paſſions of the Italians, and thoſe [I fear] of Theodoric himſelf.

[88] I have laboured to extract a rational narrative from the dark, conciſe, and various hints of the Valeſian Fragment [p. 722, 723, 724.], Theophanes [p. 145.], Anaſtaſius [in Johanne, p. 35.], and the Hiſt. Miſcella [p. 103. edit. Muratori]. A gentle preſſure and paraphraſe of their words, is no violence. Conſult likewiſe Muratori [Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. p. 471—478.], with the Annals and Breviary [tom. i. 259—263.] of the two Pagi's, the uncle and the nephew.

[89] Le Clerc has compoſed a critical and philoſophical life of Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius [Bibliot. Choiſie, tom. xvi. p. 168—275.]; and both Tiraboſchi [tom. iii.] and Fabricius [Bibliot. Latin.] may be uſefully conſulted. The date of his birth may be placed about the year 470, and his death in 524, in a premature old age [Conſol. Phil. Metrica, i. p. 5].

[90] For the age and value of this MS. now in the Medicean library at Florence, ſee the Cenotaphia Piſana [p. 430—447.] of Cardinal Noris.

[91] The Athenian ſtudies of Boethius are doubtful [Baronius, A. D. 510. N° 3, from a ſpurious tract, De Diſciplinâ Scholarum], and the term of eighteen years is doubtleſs too long: but the ſimple fact of a viſit to Athens, is juſtified by much internal evidence [Brucker, Hiſt. Crit. Philoſoph. tom. iii. p. 524—527.], and by an expreſſion [though vague and ambiguous] of his friend Caſſiodorius [Var. i. 45.], "longe poſitas Athenas introiſti."

[92] Bibliothecæ comptos ebore ac vitro parietes, etc. [Conſol. Phil. l. i. proſ. v. p. 74.]. The Epiſtles of Ennodius [vi. 6. vii. 13. viii. 1. 31. 37. 40.] and Caſſiodorius [Var. i. 39. iv. 6. ix. 21.] afford many proofs of the high reputation which he enjoyed in his own times. It is true that the bishop of Pavia wanted to purchaſe of him an old houſe at Milan, and praiſe might be tendered and accepted in part of payment.

[93] Pagi, Muratori, etc. are agreed that Boethius himſelf was conſul in the year 510, his two ſons in 522, and in 487, perhaps, his father. A deſire of aſcribing the laſt of theſe conſulships to the philoſopher, had perplexed the chronology of his life. In his honours, alliances, children, he celebrates his own felicity—his paſt felicity [p. 109, 110.].

[94] Si ego ſciſſem tu neſciſſes. Boethius adopts this anſwer [l. i. proſ. 4. p. 53.] of Julius Canus, whoſe philoſophic death is deſcribed by Seneca [De Tranquillitate Animi, c. 14.]

[95] The characters of his two delators, Baſilius [Var. ii. 30, 11. iv. 22.] and Opilio [v. 41. viii. 16.], are illuſtrated, nor much to their honour, in the Epiſtles of Caſſiodorius, which likewiſe mention Decoratus [v. 31.], the worthleſs colleague of Boethius [l. iii. proſ. 4. p. 193.].

[96] A ſevere enquiry was inſtituted into the crime of magic [Var. iv. 22, 23. ix. 18.]; and it was believed that many necromancers had eſcaped by making their gaolers mad: for *mad*, I ſhould read *drunk*.

[97] Boethius had compoſed his own Apology [p. 53.], perhaps more intereſting than his conſolation. We muſt be content with the general view of his honours, principles, perſecution, etc. [l. i. proſ. iv. p. 42—62.), which may be compared with the ſhort and weighty words of the Valeſian Fragment [p. 723.]. An anonymous writer [Sinner, Catalog. MSS. Bibliot. Bern. tom. i. p. 287.] charges him home with honourable and patriotic treaſon.

[98] He was executed in Agro Calventiano [Calvenzano between Marignano and Pavia], Anonym. Valeſ. p. 723. by order of Euſebius count of Ticinum or Pavia. The place of his confinement is ſtyled the *baptiſtery*, an edifice and name peculiar to cathedrals. It is claimed by the perpetual tradition of the church of Pavia. The tower of Boethius ſubſiſted till the year 1584, and the draught is yet preſerved [Tiraboſchi, tom. iii. p. 47, 48.].

[99] See the Biographia Britannica, ALFRED, tom. i. p. 80. 2d edition. The work is ſtill more honourable if performed under the learned eye of Alfred by his foreign and domeſtic doctors. For the reputation of Boethius in the middle ages, conſult Brucker [Hiſt. Crit. Philoſoph. tom. iii. p. 565, 566.].

[100] The inſcription on his new tomb was compoſed by the preceptor of Otho the third, the learned Pope Silveſter II. who, like Boethius himſelf, was ſtyled a magician by the ignorance of times. The Catholic martyr had carried his head in his hands a conſiderable way [Baronius, A. D. 526. N° 17, 18.]; yet, on a ſimilar tale, a lady of my acquaintance once obſerved, "La diſtance n'y fait rien; il n'y a que le "premier pas qui coûte."

[101] Boethius applauds the virtues of his father-in-law (l. i. proſ. 4. p. 59. l. ii. proſ. 4. p. 118.]. Procopius [Goth. l. i. c. 1.], the Valeſian Fragment [p. 724.], and the Hiſtoria Miſcella (l. xv. p. 105.], agree in praiſing the ſuperior innocence or ſanctity of Symmachus; and in the eſtimation of the legend, the guilt of his murder is equal to the impriſonment of a Pope.

[102] In the fanciful eloquence of Caſſiodorius, the variety of ſea and river-fish are an evidence of extenſive dominion; and thoſe of the Rhine, of Sicily, and of the Danube, were ſerved on the table of Theodoric [Var. xii. 14.] The monſtrous turbot of Domitian [Juvenal. Satir. iii. 39.] had been caught on the ſhores of the Adriatic.

[103] Procopius, Goth. l. i. c. 1. But he might have informed us,

whether he had received this curious anecdote from common report, or from the mouth of the royal phyſician.

[104] Procopius, Goth. l. i. c. 1, 2. 12, 13. This partition had been directed by Theodoric, though it was not executed till after his death. Regni hæreditatem ſuperſtes reliquit [Iſidor. Chron. p. 721. edit. Grot.].

[105] Berimund, the third in deſcent from Hermanric, king of the Oſtrogoths, had retired into Spain, where he lived and died in obſcurity [Jornandes, c. 33, p. 202. edit. Murator.]. See the diſcovery, nuptials, and death of his grandſon Eutharic [c. 58. p. 220.]. His Roman games might render him popular [Caſſiodor. in Chron.], but Eutharic was aſper in religione [Anonym. Valeſ. p. 722, 723.].

[106] See the counſels of Theodoric, and the profeſſions of his ſucceſſor, in Procopius [Goth. l. i. c. 1, 2.], Jornandes [c. 59. p. 220, 221.], and Caſſiodorius [Var. viii. 1—7.]. Theſe epiſtles are the triumph of his miniſterial eloquence.

[107] Anonym. Valeſ. p. 724. Agnellus de Vitis Pont. Raven. in Muratori Script. Rerum Ital. tom. ii. P. i. p. 67. Alberti Deſcrittione d'Italia, p. 311.

[108] This legend is related by Gregory I. [Dialog. iv. 36.], and approved by Baronius [A. D. 526. N° 28.]; and both the Pope and Cardinal are grave doctors, ſufficient to eſtabliſh a *probable* opinion.

[109] Theodoric himſelf, or rather Caſſiodorius, had deſcribed in tragic ſtrains the vulcanos of Lipari [Cluver. Sicilia, p. 406—410.] and Veſuvius [iv. 50.].

CHAP. XL.

[1] There is ſome difficulty in the date of his birth [Ludewig in Vit. Juſtiniani, p. 125.]; none in the place—the diſtrict Bederiana—the village Taureſium, which he afterwards decorated with his name and ſplendour [D'Anville, Hiſt. de l'Acad. etc. tom. xxxi. p. 287—292.].

[2] The names of theſe Dardanian peaſants are Gothic, and almoſt English: *Juſtinian* is a tranſlation of *uprauda* [*upright*]; his father *Sabatius* [in Græco-barbarous language *ſtipes*] was ſtyled in his village *Iſtock* [*Stock*]; his mother Bigleniza was ſoftened into Vigilantia.

[3] Ludewig [p. 127—135.] attempts to juſtify the Anician name of Juſtinian and Theodora, and to connect them with a family from which the houſe of Auſtria has been derived.

[4] See the Anecdotes of Procopius [c. 6.], with the notes of N. Alemannus. The ſatiriſt would not have ſunk, in the vague and decent

appellation of γεωργος, the βυκολος and συφορβος of Zonaras. Yet why are thoſe names diſgraceful? — and what German baron would not be proud to deſcend from the Eumæus of the Odyſſey?

[5] His virtues are praiſed by Procopius (Perſic. l. i. c. 11.). The quæſtor Proclus was the friend of Juſtinian, and the enemy of every other adoption.

[6] Manichæan ſignifies Eutychian. Hear the furious acclamations of Conſtantinople and Tyre, the former no more than ſix days after the deceaſe of Anaſtaſius. *They* produced, the latter applauded, the eunuch's death (Baronius, A. D. 518. P. ii. N° 15. Fleury, Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. vii. p. 200. 205. from the Councils, tom. 5. p. 182. 207.).

[7] His power, character, and intentions, are perfectly explained by the Count de Buat (tom. ix. p. 54—81.). He was great-grandſon of Aſpar, hereditary prince in the Leſſer Scythia, and count of the Gothic *fœderati* of Thrace. The Beſſi, whom he could influence, are the minor Goths of Jornandes (c. 51.).

[8] Juſtiniani patricii factione dicitur interfectus fuiſſe (Victor Tununenſis, Chron. in Theſaur. Temp. Scaliger, P. ii. p. 7.). Procopius (Anecdot. c. 7.) ſtyles him a tyrant, but acknowledges the αδελφοπτισια, which is well explained by Alemannus.

[9] In his earlieſt youth (plane adoleſcens) he had paſſed ſome time as an hoſtage with Theodoric. For this curious fact, Alemannus (ad Procop. Anecdot. c. 9. p. 34. of the firſt edition) quotes a MS. hiſtory of Juſtinian, by his preceptor Theophilus. Ludewig (p. 143.) wiſhes to make him a ſoldier.

[10] The eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Juſtinian will be ſhewn hereafter. See Baronius, A. D. 518—521. and the copious article *Juſtinianus* in the index to the viiith volume of his Annals.

[11] The reign of the elder Juſtin may be found in the three Chronicles of Marcellinus, Victor, and John Malala (tom. ii. p. 130—150.), the laſt of whom (in ſpite of Hody, Prolegom. N° 14. 39. edit. Oxon.) lived ſoon after Juſtinian (Jortin's Remarks, etc. vol. iv. p. 383.): in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Evagrius (l. iv. c. 1, 2, 3. 9.), and the Excerpta of Theodorus (Lector, N° 37.), and in Cedrenus (p. 362—366.) and Zonaras (l. xiv. p. 58—61.), who may paſs for an original.

[12] See the characters of Procopius and Agathias in La Mothe le Vayer (tom. viii. p. 144—174.), Voſſius (de Hiſtoricis Græcis, l. ii. c. 22.), and Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. l. v. c. 5. tom. vi. p. 248—278.). Their religion, an honourable problem, betrays occaſional conformity, with a ſecret attachment to Paganiſm and philoſophy.

[13] In the ſeven firſt books, two Perſic, two Vandalic, and three Gothic, Procopius has borrowed from Appian the diviſion of provinces

and wars: the viiith book, though it bears the name of Gothic, is a miſcellaneous and general ſupplement down to the ſpring of the year 553, from whence it is continued by Agathias till 559 (Pagi, Critica, A. D. 579. N° 5.).

[14] The literary fate of Procopius has been ſomewhat unlucky. 1. His books de Bello Gothico were ſtolen by Leonard Aretin, and published (Fulginii, 1470. Venet. 1471. apud Janſon. Maittaire, Annal. Typograph. tom. i. edit. poſterior, p. 290. 304. 379. 399.) in his own name (See Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat. l. iii. c. 5. and the feeble defence of the Venice Giornale de' Letterati, tom. xix. p. 207.). 2. His works were mutilated by the firſt Latin tranſlators, Chriſtopher Perſona (Giornale, tom. xix. p. 340—348.) and Raphael de Volaterra (Huet de Clariſ. Interpretibus, p. 166.), who did not even conſult the MS. of the Vatican library, of which they were præfects (Aleman. in Præfat. Anecdot.). 3. The Greek text was not printed till 1607, by Hoeſchelius of Augsburgh (Dictionnaire de Bayle, tom. ii. p. 782.). 4. The Paris edition was imperfectly executed by Claude Maltret, a Jeſuit of Tholouſe (in 1663), far diſtant from the Louvre preſs and the Vatican MS. from which, however, he obtained ſome ſupplements. His promiſed commentaries, etc. have never appeared. The Agathias of Leyden (1594) has been wiſely reprinted by the Paris editor, with the Latin verſion of Bonaventura Vulcanius, a learned interpreter (Huet, p. 176.).

[15] Agathias in Præfat. p. 7, 8. l. iv. p. 137. Evagrius (l. iv. c. 12.). See likewiſe Photius, cod. lxiii. p. 65.

[16] Κυρϱ παιδειϰ (ſays he, Præfat. ad l. de Edificiis περι ϰτισματων) is no more than Κυρϱ παιδια—a pun! In theſe five books, Procopius affects a Chriſtian, as well as a courtly ſtyle.

[17] Procopius diſcloſes himſelf (Præfat. ad Anecdot. c. 1, 2. 5.), and the anecdotes are reckoned as the ixth book by Suidas (tom. iii. p. 186. edit. Kuſter.). The ſilence of Evagrius is a poor objection. Baronius (A. D. 548. N° 24.) regrets the loſs of this ſecret hiſtory: it was then in the Vatican library, in his own cuſtody, and was firſt published ſixteen years after his death, with the learned, but partial, notes of Nicholas Alemannus (Lugd. 1623.).

[18] Juſtinian an aſs—the perfect likeneſs of Domitian (Anecdot. c 8.)—Theodora's lovers driven from her bed by rival dæmons—her marriage foretold with a great dæmon—a monk ſaw the prince of the dæmons, inſtead of Juſtinian, on the throne—the ſervants who watched, beheld a face without features, a body walking without an head, etc. etc. Procopius declares his own and his friends belief in theſe diabolical ſtories (c. 12.).

[19] Monteſquieu

[19] Monteſquieu (Conſidérations ſur la Grandeur et la Décadence des Romains, c. xx.) gives credit to theſe anecdotes, as connected, 1. with the weakneſs of the empire, and, 2. with the inſtability of Juſtinian's laws.

[20] For the life and manners of the empreſs Theodora, ſee the Anecdotes; more eſpecially c. 1—5. 9, 10—15, 16, 17. with the learned notes of Alemannus—a reference which is always implied.

[21] Comito was afterwards married to Sittas duke of Armenia, the father perhaps, at leaſt she might be the mother, of the empreſs Sophia. Two nephews of Theodora may be the ſons of Anaſtaſia (Aleman. p. 30, 31.).

[22] Her ſtatue was raiſed at Conſtantinople, on a porphyry column. See Procopius (de Edif. l. i. c. 11.), who gives her portrait in the Anecdotes (c. 10.). Aleman. (p. 47.) produces one from a Moſaic at Ravenna, loaded with pearls and jewels, and yet handſome.

[23] A fragment of the Anecdotes (c. 9.), ſomewhat too naked, was ſuppreſſed by Alemannus, though extant in the Vatican MS.; nor has the defect been ſupplied in the Paris or Venice editions. La Mothe le Vayer (tom. viii. p. 155.) gave the firſt hint of this curious and genuine paſſage (Jortin's Remarks, vol. iv. p. 366.), which he had received from Rome, and it has been ſince published in the Menagiana (tom. iii. p. 253—259.), with a Latin verſion.

[24] After the mention of a narrow girdle (as none could appear ſtark-naked in the theatre), Procopius thus proceeds: αγκεπτωκυια τς σ τω εδαφει ὑπτια εκειτο. Θητες δε τινες κριβας αυτη ὑπερβεν των αιδοιων ερριπτον αἱς δε ὁι χηνες, ὁι ες τυτο παρεσκευασμενοι ετυγχανον τοις στομασιν ενθενδε κἀτα μιαν ανελὸμενοι ησθιον. I have heard that a learned prelate, now deceaſed, was fond of quoting this paſſage in converſation.

[25] Theodora ſurpaſſed the Criſpa of Auſonius (Epigram lxxi.), who imitated the capitalis luxus of the females of Nola. See Quintilian Inſtitut. viii. 6. and Torrentius ad Horat. Sermon. l. i. ſat. 2. v. 101. At a memorable ſupper, thirty ſlaves waited round the table, ten young men feaſted with Theodora. Her charity was *univerſal*.

Et laſſata viris, necdum ſatiata, receſſit.

[26] Ἡ δε καὶ τριων τρὐπηματων εργαζὸμενη ενεκλει τη Φυσει δυσφὸρυμενη ὁτι δη μη και τιτθὸς αυτη ευχυτερον η νυν εισι τρυπωη, ὁπως δυναιτη ειη και εκεινῳ εργαζεσθαι. She wished for a *fourth* altar, on which she might pour libations to the god of love.

[27] Anonym. de Antiquitat. C. P. l. iii. 132. in Banduri Imperium Orient. tom. i. p. 48. Ludewig (p. 154.) argues ſenſibly that Theodora

would not have immortaliſed a brothel: but I apply this fact to her ſecond and chaſter reſidence at Conſtantinople.

[28] See the old law in Juſtinian's Code (l. v. tit. v. leg. 7. tit. xxvii. leg. 1.) under the years 336 and 454. The new edict (about the year 521 or 522. Aleman. p. 38. 96.) very awkwardly repeals no more than the clauſe of mulieres *ſcenicæ*, libertinæ tabernariæ. See the novels 89 and 117. and a Greek reſcript from Juſtinian to the bishops (Aleman. p. 41.).

[29] I ſwear by the Father, etc. by the Virgin Mary, by the four Goſpels, quæ in manibus teneo, and by the holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel, puram conſcientiam germanumque ſervitium me ſervaturum, sacratiſſimis DDNN. Juſtiniano et Theodoræ conjugi ejus (Novel. viii. tit. 3.) Would the oath have been binding in favour of the widow? Communes tituli et triumphi, etc. (Aleman. p. 47, 48.).

[30] "Let greatneſs own her, and she's mean no more," etc. Without Warburton's critical teleſcope, I ſhould never have ſeen, in this general picture of triumphant vice, any perſonal alluſion to Theodora.

[31] Her priſons, a labyrinth, a Tartarus (Anecdot. c. 4.), were under the palace. Darkneſs is propitious to cruelty, but it is likewiſe favourable to calumny and fiction.

[32] A more jocular whipping was inflicted on Saturninus, for preſuming to ſay that his wife, a favourite of the empreſs, had not been found *ατρητος* (Anecdot. c. 17.).

[33] Per viventem in fæcula excoriari te faciam. Anaſtaſius de Vitis Pont. Roman. in Vigilio, p. 40.

[34] Ludewig, p. 161—166. I give him credit for the charitable attempt, although *he* hath not much charity in his temper.

[35] Compare the Anecdotes (c. 17.) with the Edifices (l. i. c. 9.)—how differently may the ſame fact be ſtated! John Malala (tom. ii. p. 174, 175.) obſerves, that on this or a ſimilar occaſion, she releaſed and clothed the girls whom she had purchaſed from the ſtews at five aurei a piece.

[36] Novell. viii. 1. An alluſion to Theodora. Her enemies read the name Dæmonodora (Aleman. p. 66.).

[37] St. Sabas refuſed to pray for a ſon of Theodora, leſt he ſhould prove an heretic worſe than Anaſtaſius himſelf (Cyril in Vit. St. Sabæ, apud Aleman. p. 70. 109.).

[38] See John Malala, tom. ii. p. 174. Theophanes, p. 158. Procopius de Edific. l. v. c. 3.

[39] Theodora Chalcedonenſis ſynodi inimica canceris plagâ toto corpore perfuſa vitam prodigioſe finivit (Victor Tununenſis in Chron.).

On ſuch occaſions, an orthodox mind is ſteeled againſt pity. Alemannus (p. 12, 13.) underſtands the ευσεβως επολιμηθη of Theophanes as civil language, which does not imply either piety or repentance; yet two years after her death, St. Theodora is celebrated by Paul Silentiarius (in Proem. v. 58—62).

[40] As she perſecuted the Popes, and rejected a council, Baronius exhauſts the names of Eve, Dalila, Herodias, etc.; after which he has recourſe to his infernal dictionary: civis inferni—alumna dæmonum—ſatanico agitata ſpiritû—œſtro percita diabolico, etc. etc. (A. D. 548. N° 24.).

[41] Read and feel the xxiiid book of the Iliad, a living picture of manners, paſſions, and the whole form and ſpirit of the chariot race. Weſt's Diſſertation on the Olympic Games (ſect. xii—xvii.) affords much curious and authentic information.

[42] The four colours, *albati*, *ruſſati*, *praſini*, *veneti*, repreſent the four ſeaſons, according to Caſſiodorius (Var. iii. 51.) who laviſhes much wit and eloquence on this theatrical myſtery. Of theſe colours, the three firſt may be fairly tranſlated *white*, *red*, and *green*. *Venetus* is explained by *cæruleus*, a word various and vague: it is properly the ſky reflected in the ſea; but cuſtom and convenience may allow *blue* as an equivalent (Robert. Stephan. ſub voce. Spence's Polymetis, p. 228.).

[43] See Onuphrius Panvinius de Ludis Circenſibus, l. i. c. 10, 11.; the xviiith Annotation on Maſcou's Hiſtory of the Germans; and Aleman. ad c. vii.

[44] Marcellin. in Chron. p. 47. Inſtead of the vulgar word *veneta*, he uſes the more exquiſite terms of *cærulea* and *cærealis*. Baronius (A. D. 501. N° 4, 5, 6.) is ſatisfied that the blues were orthodox; but Tillemont is angry at the ſuppoſition, and will not allow any martyrs in a playhouſe (Hiſt. des Emp. tom. vi. p. 554.).

[45] See Procopius (Perſio. l. i. c. 24.). In deſcribing the vices of the factions and of the government, the *public*, is not more favourable than the *ſecret*, hiſtorian. Aleman. (p. 26.) has quoted a fine paſſage from Gregory Nazianzen, which proves the inveteracy of the evil.

[46] The partiality of Juſtinian for the blues (Anecdot. c. 7.) is atteſted by Evagrius (Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. iv. c. 32.); John Malala (tom. ii. p. 138, 139.), eſpecially for Antioch; and Theophanes (p. 142.).

[47] A wife (ſays Procopius) who was ſeized and almoſt ravished by a blue-coat, threw herſelf into the Boſphorus. The biſhops of the ſecond Syria (Aleman. p. 26.) deplore a ſimilar ſuicide, the guilt or glory of female chaſtity, and name the heroine.

[48] The doubtful credit of Procopius (Anecdot. c. 17.) is ſupported

by the leſs partial Evagrius, who confirms the fact, and ſpecifies the names. The tragic fate of the Præfect of Conſtantinople is related by John Malala (tom. ii. p. 139.).

[49] See John Malala (tom. ii. p. 147.); yet he owns that Juſtinian was attached to the blues. The ſeeming diſcord of the emperor and Theodora, is perhaps viewed with too much jealouſy and refinement by Procopius (Anecdot. c. 10.). See Aleman. Præfat. p. 6.

[50] This dialogue, which Theophanes has preſerved, exhibits the popular language, as well as the manners, of Conſtantinople in the vith century. Their Greek is mingled with many ſtrange and barbarous words, for which Ducange cannot always find a meaning or etymology.

[51] See this church and monaſtery in Ducange, C. P. Chriſtiana, l. iv. p. 182.

[52] The hiſtory of the *Nika* ſedition is extracted from Marcellinus (in Chron.), Procopius (Perſic. l. i. c. 26.), John Malala (tom. ii. p. 213—218.), Chron. Paſchal. (p. 336—340.), Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 154—158.), and Zonaras (l. xiv. p. 61—63.).

[53] Marcellinus ſays in general terms, innumeris populis in circo trucidatis. Procopius numbers 30,000 victims; and the 35,000 of Theophanes are ſwelled to 40,000 by the more recent Zonaras. Such is the uſual progreſs of exaggeration.

[54] Hierocles, a contemporary of Juſtinian, compoſed his Συνδεχμος (Itineraria, p. 631.), or review, of the eaſtern provinces and cities before the year 535 (Weſſeling in Præfat. and Not. ad p. 623, etc.).

[55] See the book of Geneſis (xii. 10.), and the adminiſtration of Joſeph. The annals of the Greeks and Hebrews agree in the early arts and plenty of Egypt: but this antiquity ſuppoſes a long ſeries of improvement; and Warburton, who is almoſt ſtifled by the Hebrew, calls aloud for the Samaritan, chronology (Divine Legation, vol. iii. p. 29. etc.).

[56] Eight millions of Roman modii, beſides a contribution of 80,000 aurei for the expences of water-carriage, from which the ſubject was graciouſly excuſed. See the xiiith Edict of Juſtinian: the numbers are checked and verified by the agreement of the Greek and Latin texts.

[57] Homer's Iliad, vi. 289. Theſe veils, πεπλοι παμποικιλοι, were the work of the Sidonian women. But this paſſage is more honourable to the manufactures than to the navigation of Phœnicia, from whence they had been imported to Troy in Phrygian bottoms.

[58] See in Ovid (de Arte Amandi, iii. 269, etc.) a poetical liſt of twelve colours borrowed from flowers, the elements, etc. But it is almoſt impoſſible to diſcriminate by words all the nice and various ſhades both of art and nature.

[59] By the diſcovery of cochineal, etc. we far ſurpaſs the colours of antiquity. Their royal purple had a ſtrong ſmell, and a dark caſt as deep as bull's blood——obſcuritas rubens (ſays Caſſiodorius, Var. 1, 2.) nigredo ſanguinea. The preſident Goguet Origine des Loix et des Arts, part ii. l. ii. c. 2. p. 184——215.) will amuſe and ſatisfy the reader. I doubt whether his book, eſpecially in England, is as well known as it deſerves to be.

[60] Hiſtorical proofs of this jealouſy have been occaſionally introduced, and many more might have been added: but the arbitrary acts of deſpotiſm were juſtified by the ſober and general declarations of law (Codex Theodoſian. l. x. tit. 21. leg. 3. Codex Juſtinian. l. xi. tit. 8. leg. 5.). An inglorious permiſſion, and neceſſary reſtriction, was applied to the *minæ*, the female dances (Cod. Theodoſ. l. xv. tit. 7. leg. 11.).

[61] In the hiſtory of inſects (far more wonderful than Ovid's Metamorphoſes) the ſilkworm holds a conſpicuous place. The bombyx of the isle of Ceos, as deſcribed by Pliny (Hiſt. Natur. xi. 26, 27. with the notes of the two learned Jeſuits, Hardouin and Brotier), may be illuſtrated by a ſimilar ſpecies in China (Mémoires ſur les Chinois, tom. ii. p. 575.—593.): but our ſilk-worm, as well as the white mulberry-tree, were unknown to Theophraſtus and Pliny.

[62] Georgic. ii. 121. Serica quando venerint in uſum planiſſime non ſcio: ſuſpicor tamen in Julii Cæſaris ævo, nam ante non invenio, ſays Juſtus Lipſius (Excurſus i. ad Tacit. Annal. ii. 32.). See Dion Caſſius (l. xliii. p. 358. edit. Reimar) and Pauſanias (l. vi. p. 549.), the firſt who deſcribes, however ſtrangely, the Seric inſect.

[63] Tam longinquo orbe petitur, ut in publico matrona transluceat. .. ut denudet fœminas veſtis (Plin. vi. 20. xi. 21.). Varro and Publius Syrus had already played on the Toga vitrea, ventus textilis, and nebula linea (Horat. Sermon. i. 2. 101. with the notes of Torrentius and Dacier).

[64] On the texture, colours, names, and uſe of the ſilk, half ſilk, and linen garments of antiquity, ſee the profound, diffuſe, and obſcure reſearches of the great Salmaſius (in Hiſt. Auguſt p. 127. 309. 310, 339. 341, 342. 344. 383——391. 395. 513.), who was ignorant of the moſt common trades of Dijon or Leyden.

[65] Flavius Vopiſcus in Aurelian. c. 45. in Hiſt. Auguſt. p. 224. See Salmaſius ad Hiſt. Aug. p. 392. and Plinian. Exercitat. in Solinum, p. 694, 695. The Anecdotes of Procopius (c. 25.) ſtate a partial and imperfect rate of the price of ſilk in the time of Juſtinian.

[66] Procopius de Edif. l. iii. c. 1. Theſe *pinnes de mer* are found

near Smyrna, Sicily, Corſica, and Minorca; and a pair of gloves of their ſilk was preſented to Pope Benedict XIV.

[67] Procopius, Perſic. l. i. c. 20. l. ii. c. 25. Gothic. l. iv. c. 17. Menander in Excerpt. Legat. p. 107. Of the Parthian or Perſian empire, Iſidore of Charax (in Stathmis Parthicis, p. 7, 8. in Hudſon, Geograph. Minor. tom. ii.) has marked the roads, and Ammianus Marcellinus (l. xxiii. c. 6. p. 400.) has enumerated the provinces.

[68] The blind admiration of the Jeſuits confounds the different periods of the Chineſe hiſtory. They are more critically diſtinguished by M. de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. part i. in the Tables, part ii. in the Geography. Mémoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxxii. xxxvi. xlii, xliii.), who diſcovers the gradual progreſs of the truth of the annals and the extent of the monarchy, till the Chriſtian æra. He has ſearched, with a curious eye, the connections of the Chineſe with the nations of the Weſt: but theſe connections are ſlight, caſual, and obſcure; nor did the Romans entertain a ſuſpicion that the Seres or Sinæ poſſeſſed an empire not inferior to their own.

[69] The roads from China to Perſia and Hindoſtan may be inveſtigated in the relations of Hackluyt and Thevenot (the ambaſſadors of Sharokh, Anthony Jenkinſon, the Pere Greuber, etc. See likewiſe Hanway's Travels, vol. i. p. 345—357.). A communication through Thibet has been lately explored by the English ſovereigns of Bengal.

[70] For the Chineſe navigation to Malacca and Achin, perhaps to Ceylon, ſee Renaudot (on the two Mahometan Travellers, p. 8—11. 13—17. 141—157.), Dampier (vol. ii. p. 136.), the Hiſt. Philoſophique des deux Indes (tom. i. p. 98.), and the Hiſt. Générale des Voyages (tom. vi. p. 201.).

[71] The knowledge, or rather ignorance, of Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, Arrian, Marcian, etc. of the countries eaſtward of Cape Comorin, is finely illuſtrated by d'Anville (Antiquité Geographique de l'Inde, eſpecially p. 161—198.). Our geography of India is improved by commerce and conqueſt; and has been illuſtrated by the excellent maps and memoirs of major Rennel. If he extends the ſphere of his enquiries with the ſame critical knowledge and ſagacity, he will ſucceed, and may ſurpaſs the firſt of modern geographers.

[72] The Taprobane of Pliny (vi. 24.), Solinus (c. 53.), and Salmaſ. Plinianæ Exercitat. (781, 782.), and moſt of the ancients, who often confound the iſlands of Ceylon and Sumatra, is more clearly deſcribed by Cofmas Indicopleuſtes; yet even the Chriſtian topographer has exaggerated its dimenſions. His information on the Indian and Chineſe trade is rare and curious (l. ii. p. 138. l. xi. p. 337, 338. edit. Montfaucon).

[73] See Procopius, Perſic. (l. ii. c. 20.). Coſmas affords ſome intereſting knowledge of the port and inſcription of Adulis (Topograph. Chriſt. l. ii. p. 138. 140—143.) , and of the trade of the Axumites along the African coaſt of Barbaria or Zingi (p. 138, 139.), and as far as Taprobane (l. xi. p. 339.).

[74] See the Chriſtian miſſions in India, in Coſmas (l. iii. p. 178, 179. l. xi. p. 337.), and conſult Aſſeman. Bibliot. Orient. (tom. iv. p. 413—548.).

[75] The invention, manufacture, and general uſe of ſilk in China, may be ſeen in Duhalde (Deſcription Générale de la Chine, tom. ii. p. 165. 205—223.). The province of Chekian is the moſt renowned both for quantity and quality.

[76] Procopius (l. viii. Gothic iv. c. 17. Theophanes Byzant. apud Phot. Cod. lxxxiv. p. 38. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 69.). Pagi (tom. ii. p. 602.) aſſigns to the year 552 this memorable importation. Menander (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 107.) mentions the admiration of the Sogdoites; and Theophylact Simocatta (l. vii. c. 9.) darkly repreſents the two rival kingdoms in (*China*) the country of ſilk.

[77] Coſmas, ſurnamed Indicopleuſtes, or the Indian navigator, performed his voyage about the year 522, and compoſed at Alexandria, between 535 and 547, Chriſtian Topography (Montfaucon, Præfat. c. 1.), in which he refutes the impious opinion, that the earth is a globe; and Photius had read this work (Cod. xxxvi. p. 9, 10), which diſplays the prejudices of a monk, with the knowledge of a merchant: the moſt valuable part has been given in French and in Greek by Melchiſedec Thevenot (Relations Curieuſes, part. i.), and the whole is ſince published in a ſplendid edition by the Pere Montfaucon (Nova Collectio Patrum, Paris, 1707. 2. vols. in fol. tom. ii. p. 113—346.). But the editor, a theologian, might bluſh at not diſcovering the Neſtorian hereſy of Coſmas, which has been detected by la Croze (Chriſtianiſme des Indes, tom. i. p. 40—56.).

[78] Evagrius (l. iii. c. 39, 40.) is minute and grateful, but angry with Zoſimus for calumniating the great Conſtantine. In collecting all the bonds and records of the tax, the humanity of Anaſtaſius was diligent and artful: fathers were ſometimes compelled to proſtitute their daughters (Zoſim. Hiſt. l. ii. c. 38. p. 165, 166. Lipſiæ, 1784.). Timotheus of Gaza choſe ſuch an event for the ſubject of a tragedy (Suidas, tom. iii. p. 475.), which contributed to the abolition of the tax (Cedrenus, p. 35.)—an happy inſtance (if it be true) of the uſe of the theatre.

[79] See Joſua Stylites, in the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Aſſeman (tom.

i. p. 268.). This capitation tax is ſlightly mentioned in the Chronicle of Edeſſa.

[80] Procopius (Anecdot. c. 19) fixes this ſum from the report of the treaſurers themſelves. Tiberius had *vicies ter millies*; but far different was his empire from that of Anaſtaſius.

[81] Evagrius (l. iv. c. 30.), in the next generation, was moderate and well informed; and Zonaras (l. xiv. c. 61.), in the xiith century, had read with care, and though without prejudice: yet their colours are almoſt as black as thoſe of the Anecdotes.

[82] Procopius (Anecdot. c. 30.) relates the idle conjectures of the times. The death of Juſtinian, ſays the ſecret hiſtorian, will expoſe his wealth or poverty.

[83] See Corippus de Laudibus Juſtini Aug. l. ii. 260, etc. 384, etc.

" Plurima ſunt vivo nimium neglecta parenti,
" Unde tot exhauſtus contraxit debita fiſcus."

Centenaries of gold were brought by ſtrong arms into the hippodrome:

" Debita genitoris perſolvit, cauta recepit."

[84] The anecdotes (c. 11—14. 18. 20—30.) ſupply many facts and more complaints.

[85] One to Scythopolis, capital of the ſecond Paleſtine, and twelve for the reſt of the province. Aleman (p. 59.) honeſtly produces this fact from a MS. life of St Sabas, by his diſciple Cyril, in the Vatican library, and ſince published by Cotelerius.

[86] John Malala (tom. ii. p. 232.) mentions the want of bread, and Zonaras (l. xiv. p. 63.) the leaden pipes, which Juſtinian or his ſervants ſtole from the aqueducts.

[87] For an aureus, one-ſixth of an ounce of gold, inſtead of 210, he gave no more than 180 folles, or ounces, of copper. A diſproportion of the mint, below the market price, muſt have ſoon produced a ſcarcity of ſmall money. In England, *twelve* pence in copper would ſell for no more than *ſeven* pence (Smith's Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 49.). For Juſtinian's gold coin, ſee Evagrius (l. iv. c. 30.).

[88] The oath is conceived in the moſt formidable words (Novell. viii. tit. 3.) The defaulters imprecate on themſelves, quicquid habent telorum armamentaria cœli: the part of Judas, the leproſy of Giezi, the tremor of Cain, etc. beſides all temporal pains.

[89] A ſimilar or more generous act of friendship is related by Lucian of Eudamidas of Corinth (in Toxare, c. 22, 23. tom. ii. p. 530.), and the ſtory has produced an ingenious, though feeble, comedy of Fontenelle.

[90] John Malala, tom. ii. p. 101, 102, 103.

[91] One of these, Anatolius, perished in an earthquake—doubtless a judgment! The complaints and clamours of the people in Agathias (l. v. p. 146, 147.) are almost an echo of the anecdote. The aliena pecunia reddenda of Corippus (l. ii. 381, etc.) is not very honourable to Justinian's memory.

[92] See the history and character of John of Cappadocia in Procopius (Persic. l. i. c. 24, 25, l. ii. c. 30. Vandal. l. i. c. 13. Anecdot. c. 2. 17. 22.). The agreement of the history and anecdotes is a mortal wound to the reputation of the præfect.

[93] Ου γαρ αλλο ουδεν ες γραμματιστας Φοιτων εμαθεν ὁτι μη γραμματα, και ταυτα κακα κακως γραψα.—a forcible expression.

[94] The chronology of Procopius is loose and obscure; but with the aid of Pagi I can discern that John was appointed Prætorian præfect of the East in the year 530; that he was removed in January 532—restored before June 533—banished in 541 and recalled between June 548 and April 1, 549. Aleman (p. 96, 97.) gives the list of his ten successors—a rapid series in a part of a single reign.

[95] This conflagration is hinted by Lucian (in Hippia, c. 2.) and Galen. (l. iii. de Temperamentis, tom i. p. 81. edit. Basil.) in the second century. A thousand years afterwards, it is positively affirmed by Zonaras (l. ix. p. 424.), on the faith of Dion Cassius, by Tzetzes (Chiliad ii. 119, etc.), Eustachius (ad Iliad. E. p. 338.), and the scholiast of Lucian. See Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. l. iii. c. 22. tom. ii. p. 551. 552.), to whom I am more or less indebted for several of these quotations.

[96] Zonaras (l. xiv. p. 55.) affirms the fact, without quoting any evidence.

[97] Tzetzes describes the artifice of these burning glasses, which he had read, perhaps with no learned eyes, in a mathematical treatise of Anthemius. That treatise, περι παραδοξων μηχανηματων, has been lately published, translated, and illustrated by M. Dupuys, a scholar and a mathematician (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xlii. p. 392—451.).

[98] In the siege of Syracuse, by the silence of Polybius, Plutarch, Livy; in the siege of Constantinople, by that of Marcellinus and all the contemporaries of the vith century.

[99] Without any previous knowledge of Tzetzes or Anthemius, the immortal Buffon imagined and executed a set of burning-glasses, with which he could inflame planks at the distance of 200 feet (Supplément à l'Hist. Naturelle, tom. i. p. 399—483. quarto edition). What miracles would not his genius have performed for the public service, with royal expence, and in the strong sun of Constantinople or Syracuse?

[100] John Malala (tom. ii. p. 120—124.) relates the fact; but he ſeems to confound the names or perſons of Proclus and Marinus.

[101] Agathias, l. v. p. 149—152. The merit of Anthemius as an architect is loudly praiſed by Procopius (de Edif. l. i. c. 1.) and Paulus Silentiarius (part i. 134, etc.).

[102] See Procopius (de Edificiis, l. i. c. 1, 2. l. ii. c. 3.). He relates a coincidence of dreams, which ſuppoſes ſome fraud in Juſtinian or his architect. They both ſaw, in a viſion, the ſame plan for ſtopping an inundation at Dara. A ſtone-quarry near Jeruſalem was revealed to the emperor (l. v. c. 6.): an angel was tricked into the perpetual cuſtody of St. Sophia (Anonym. de Antiq. C. P. l. iv. p. 70.).

[103] Among the crowd of ancients and moderns who have celebrated the edifice of St. Sophia, I ſhall diſtinguiſh and follow, 1. Four original ſpectators and hiſtorians: Procopius (de Edific. l. i. c. 1.), Agathias (l. v. p. 152, 153.), Paul Silentiarius (in a poem of 1026 hexameters, ad calcem Annæ Comnen. Alexiad.), and Evagrius (l. iv. c. 31.). 2. Two legendary Greeks of a later period: George Codinus (de Origin. C. P. p. 64—74.), and the anonymous writer of Banduri (Imp. Orient. tom. i. l. iv. p. 65—80.). 3. The great Byzantine antiquarian, Ducange (Comment. ad Paul Silentiar. p. 525—598. and C. P. Chriſt. l. iii. p. 5—78.). 4. Two French travellers—the one, Peter Gyllius (de Topograph. C. P. l. ii. c. 3, 4.) in the xvith; the other, Grelot (Voyage de C. P. p. 95—164. Paris 1680. in 4to): he has given plans, proſpects, and inſide-views of St. Sophia; and his plans, though on a ſmaller ſcale, appear more correct than thoſe of Ducange. I have adopted and reduced the meaſures of Grelot: but as no Chriſtian can now aſcend the dome, the height is borrowed from Evagrius, compared with Gyllius, Greaves, and the Oriental Geographer.

[104] Solomon's temple was ſurrounded with courts, porticos, etc.; but the proper ſtructure of the houſe of God was no more (if we take the Egyptian or Hebrew cubit at 22 inches) than 55 feet in height, $36\frac{2}{3}$ in breadth, and 110 in length—a ſmall parish church, ſays Prideaux (Connection, vol. i. p. 144. folio); but few ſanctuaries could be valued at four or five millions ſterling!

[105] Paul Silentiarius, in dark and poetic language, deſcribes the various ſtones and marbles that were employed in the edifice of St. Sophia (P. ii. p. 129. 133, etc. etc.): 1. The *Caryſtian*—pale, with iron veins. 2. The *Phrygian*—of two ſorts, both of a roſy hue; the one with a white ſhade, the other purple, with ſilver flowers. 3. The *Porphyry of Egypt*—with ſmall ſtars. 4. The *green marble* of *Laconia*. 5. The *Carian*—from Mount Iaſſis, with oblique veins, white and red. 6. The *Lydian*—pale, with a red flower. 7. The *African*, or

Mauritanian—of a gold or saffron hue. 8. The *Celtic*—black, with white veins. 9. The *Bosphoric*—white, with black edges. Besides the *Proconnesian*, which formed the pavement; the *Thessalian*, *Molossian*, etc. which are less distinctly painted.

[106] The six books of the Edifices of Procopius are thus distributed: the *first* is confined to Constantinople; the *second* includes Mesopotamia and Syria; the *third*, Armenia and the Euxine; the *fourth*, Europe; the *fifth*, Asia Minor and Palestine; the *sixth*, Egypt and Africa. Italy is forgot by the emperor or the historian, who published this work of adulation before the date (A. D. 555.) of its final conquest.

[107] Justinian once gave forty-five centenaries of gold (180,000 *l.*) for the repairs of Antioch after the earthquake (John Malala, tom. ii. p. 146—149.).

[108] For the Heræum, the palace of Theodora, see Gyllius (de Bosphoro Thracio, l. iii. c. xi.), Aleman. (Not. Anecdot. p. 80, 81. who quotes several epigrams of the Anthology), and Ducange (C. P. Christ. l. iv. c. 13. p. 175, 176.).

[109] Compare, in the Edifices (l. i. c. 11.) and in the Anecdotes (c. 8. 15.), the different styles of adulation and malevolence: stript of the paint, or cleansed from the dirt, the object appears to be the same.

[110] Procopius, l. viii. 29.; most probably a stranger and wanderer, as the Mediterranean does not breed whales. Balænæ quoque in nostra maria penetrant (Plin. Hist. Natur. ix. 2.). Between the polar circle and the tropic, the cetaceous animals of the ocean grow to the length of 50, 80, or 100 feet (Hist. des Voyages, tom. xv. p. 289. Pennant's British Zoology, vol. iii. p. 35.).

[111] Montesquieu observes (tom. iii. p. 503. Considérations sur la Grandeur et la Décadence des Romains, c. 20.) that Justinian's empire was like France in the time of the Norman inroads—never so weak as when every village was fortified.

[112] Procopius affirms (l. iv. c. 6.) that the Danube was stopped by the ruins of the bridge. Had Apollodorus, the architect, left a description of his own work, the fabulous wonders of Dion Cassius (l. lxviii. p. 1129.) would have been corrected by the genuine picture. Trajan's bridge consisted of twenty or twenty-two stone piles, with wooden arches; the river is shallow, the current gentle, and the whole interval no more than 443 (Reimar ad Dion. from Marsigli) or 515 *toises* (d'Anville Géographie ancienne, tom. i. p. 305.).

[113] Of the two Dacias, *Mediterranea* and *Ripensis*, Dardania, Prævalitana, the second Mœsia; and the second Macedonia. See Justinian (Novell. xi.), who speaks of his castles beyond the Danube, and of homines semper bellicis sudoribus inhærentes.

[114] See d'Anville (Mémoires de l'Académie, etc. tom. xxxi. p. 289, 290.), Rycaut (Preſent State of the Turkish Empire, p. 97. 316.), Marſigli (Stato Militare dell' Imperio Ottomano, p. 130.). The ſanjak of Giuſtendil is one of the twenty under the beglerbeg of Rumelia, and his diſtrict maintains 48 *zaims* and 588 *timariots*.

[115] Theſe fortifications may be compared to the caſtles in Mingrelia (Chardin, Voyages en Perſe, tom. i. p. 60. 131.)—a natural picture.

[116] The valley of Tempe is ſituate along the river Peneus, between the hills of Oſſa and Olympus: it is only five miles long, and in ſome places no more than 120 feet in breadth. Its verdant beauties are elegantly deſcribed by Pliny (Hiſt. Natur. l. iv. 15.), and more diffuſely by Ælian (Hiſt. Var. l. iii. c. 1.).

[117] Xenophon Hellenic. l. iii. c. 2. After a long and tedious converſation with the Byzantine declaimers, how refreshing is the truth, the ſimplicity, the elegance of an Attic writer!

[118] See the long wall in Evagrius (l. iv. c. 38.). This whole article is drawn from the fourth book of the Edifices, except Anchialus (l. iii. c. 7.).

[119] Turn back to vol. i. p. 373, 374. In the courſe of this hiſtory, I have ſometimes mentioned, and much oftener ſlighted, the haſty inroads of the Iſaurians, which were not attended with any conſequences.

[120] Trebellius Pollio in Hiſt. Auguſt. p. 107. who lived under Diocletian, or Conſtantine. See likewiſe Pancirolus ad Notit. Imp. Orient. c. 115. 141. See Cod. Theodoſ. l. ix. tit. 35. leg. 37. with a copious collective Annotation of Godefroy, tom. iii. p. 256, 257.

[121] See the full and wide extent of their inroads in Philoſtorgius (Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. xi. c. 8.), with Godefroy's learned Diſſertations.

[122] Cod. Juſtinian. l. ix. tit. 12. leg. 10. The punishments are ſevere —a fine of an hundred pounds of gold, degradation, and even death. The public peace might afford a pretence, but Zeno was deſirous of monopolizing the valour and ſervice of the Iſaurians.

[123] The Iſaurian war and the triumph of Anaſtaſius are briefly and darkly repreſented by John Malala (tom. ii. p. 106, 107.), Evagrius (l. iii. c. 35.), Theophanes (p. 118—120.), and the Chronicle of Marcellinus.

[124] Fortes ea regio (ſays Juſtinian) viros habet, nec in ullo differt ab Iſauriâ, though Procopius (Perſic. l. i. c. 18.) marks an eſſential difference between their military character; yet in former times the Lycaonians and Piſidians had defended their liberty againſt the great king (Xenophon. Anabaſis, l. iii. c. 2.). Juſtinian introduces ſome falſe and ridiculous erudition of the ancient empire of the Piſidians, and of Lycaon, who, after viſiting Rome (long before Æneas), gave a name and people to Lycaonia (Novell. 24, 25. 27. 30.).

[125] See Procopius, Perſic. l. i. c. 19. The altar of national concord, of annual ſacrifice and oaths, which Diocletian had erected in the iſle of Elephantine, was demoliſhed by Juſtinian with leſs policy than zeal.

[126] Procopius de Edificiis, l. iii. c. 7. Hiſt. l. viii. c. 3, 4. Thoſe unambitious Goths had refuſed to follow the ſtandard of Theodoric. As late as the xvth and xvith century, the name and nation might be diſcovered between Caffa and the ſtreights of Azoph (d'Anville Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. xxx. p. 240.). They well deſerved the curioſity of Busbequius (p. 321—326.); but ſeem to have vaniſhed in the more recent account of the Miſſions du Levant (tom. i.), Tott, Peyſſonel, etc.

[127] For the geography and architecture of this Armenian border, ſee the Perſian Wars and Edifices (l. ii. c. 4—7. l. iii. c. 2—7.) of Procopius.

[128] The country is deſcribed by Tournefort (Voyage au Levant, tom. iii. lettres xvii. xviii.). That ſkilful botaniſt ſoon diſcovered the plant that infects the honey (Plin. xxi. 44, 45.): he obſerves, that the ſoldiers of Lucullus might indeed be aſtoniſhed at the cold, ſince, even in the plain of Erzerum, ſnow ſometimes falls in June, and the harveſt is ſeldom finiſhed before September. The hills of Armenia are below the fortieth degree of latitude; but in the mountainous country which I inhabit, it is well known that an aſcent of ſome hours carries the traveller from the climate of Languedoc to that of Norway: and a general theory has been introduced, that, under the line, an elevation of 2400 *toiſes* is equivalent to the cold of the polar circle (Remond, Obſervations ſur les Voyages de Coxe dans la Suiſſe, tom. ii. p. 104.).

[129] The identity or proximity of the Chalybians, or Chaldæans, may be inveſtigated in Strabo (l. xii. p. 825, 826.), Cellarius (Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 202—204.), and Freret (Mém. de l'Académie, tom. iv. p. 594.). Xenophon ſuppoſes, in his romance (Cyropæd. l. iii.), the ſame Barbarians againſt whom he had fought in his retreat (Anabaſis, l. iv.).

[130] Procopius, Perſic. l i. c. 15. De Edific. l. iii. c. 6.

[131] Ni Taurus obſtet in noſtra maria venturus (Pomponius Mela, iii. 8.). Pliny, a poet as well as a naturaliſt (v. 20.), perſonifies the river and mountain, and deſcribes their combat. See the courſe of the Tigris and Euphrates, in the excellent treatiſe of d'Anville.

[132] Procopius (Perſic. l. ii. c. 12.) tells the ſtory with the tone half ſceptical, half ſuperſtitious, of Herodotus. The promiſe was not in the primitive lye of Euſebius, but dates at leaſt from the year 409; and a third lye, the *Veronica*, was ſoon raiſed on the two former

(Evagrius, l. iv. c. 27.). As Edeſſa *has* been taken, Tillemont *muſt* diſclaim the promiſe (Mém. Eccléſ. tom. i. p. 362. 383. 617.).

[133] They were purchaſed from the merchants of Aduli who traded to India (Coſmas, Topograph. Chriſt. l. xi. p. 339.); yet, in the eſtimate of precious ſtones, the Scythian emerald was the firſt, the Bactrian the ſecond, the Æthiopian only the third (Hill's Theophraſtus, p. 61, etc. 92.). The production, mines, etc. of emeralds, are involved in darkneſs; and it is doubtful whether we poſſeſs any of the twelve ſorts known to the ancients (Goguet, Origine des Loix, etc. part ii. l. ii. c. 2. art. 3.). In this war the Huns got, or at leaſt Perozes loſt, the fineſt pearl in the world, of which Procopius relates a ridiculous fable.

[134] The Indo-Scythæ continued to reign from the time of Auguſtus (Dionyſ. Perieget. 1088. with the Commentary of Euſtathius, in Hudſon, Geograph. Minor. tom. iv.) to that of the elder Juſtin (Coſmas, Topograph. Chriſt. l. xi. p. 338, 339.). On their origin and conqueſts, ſee d'Anville (ſur l'Inde, p. 18. 45, etc. 69. 85. 89.). In the ſecond century they were maſters of Larice or Guzerat.

[135] See the fate of Phirouz or Perozes, and its conſequences, in Procopius (Perſic. l. i. c. 3—6.), who may be compared with the fragments of Oriental hiſtory (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 341. and Texeira, Hiſtory of Perſia, translated or abridged by Stevens, l. i. c. 32. p. 132—138.). The chronology is ably aſcertained by Aſſeman (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii. p. 396—427.).

[136] The Perſian war, under the reigns of Anaſtaſius and Juſtin, may be collected from Procopius (Perſic. l. i. c. 7, 8, 9.), Theophanes (in Chronograph. p. 124—127.), Evagrius (l. iii. c. 37.), Marcellinus (in Chron. p. 47.), and Joſue Stylites (apud Aſſeman. tom. i. p. 272—281.).

[137] The deſcription of Dara is amply and correctly given by Procopius (Perſic. l. i. c. 10. l. ii. c. 13. De Edific. l. ii. c. 1, 2, 3. l. iii. c. 5.). See the ſituation in d'Anville (l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 53, 54, 55.), though he ſeems to double the interval between Dara and Niſibis.

[138] For the city and paſs of Derbend, ſee d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 157. 291. 807.), Petit de la Croix (Hiſt. de Gengiſcan, l. iv. c. 9.), Hiſtoire Généalogique des Tatars (tom. i. p. 120.), Olearius (Voyage en Perſe, p. 1039—1041.), and Corneille le Bruyn (Voyages, tom. i. p. 146, 147.): his view may be compared with the plan of Olearius, who judges the wall to be of ſhells and gravel hardened by time.

[139] Procopius, though with ſome confuſion, always denominates

them Caſpian (Perſic. l. i. c. 10.). The paſs is now ſtyled Tatar-topa, the Tatar-gates (d'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 119, 120.).

[140] The imaginary rampart of Gog and Magog, which was ſeriously explored and believed by a caliph of the ixth century, appears to be derived from the gates of Mount Caucaſus and a vague report of the wall of China (Geograph. Nubienſis, p. 267—270. Mémoires de l'Academie, tom xxxi. p. 210—219.).

[141] See a learned diſſertation of Baier, *de muro Caucaſeo* in Comment. Acad. Petropol. ann. 1726. tom. i. p. 425—463; but it is deſtitute of a map or plan. When the czar Peter I. became maſter of Derbend in the year 1722, the meaſure of the wall was found to be 3285 Ruſſian *orgygiæ*, or fathom, each of ſeven feet English; in the whole, ſomewhat more than four miles in length.

[142] See the fortifications and treaties of Choſroes or Nushirwan, in Procopius (Perſic. l. i. c. 16. 22. l. ii.) and d'Herbelot (p. 682.).

[143] The life of Iſocrates extends from Olymp. lxxxvi. 1. to cx. 3. (ante Chriſt. 336—338.). See Dionyſ. Halicarn. tom. ii. p. 149—150. edit. Hudſon. Plutarch (five anonymus), in Vit. X. Oratorum, p. 1538—1543. edit. H. Steph. Phot. cod. cclix. p. 1453.

[144] The ſchools of Athens are copiously though conciſely repreſented in the Fortuna Attica of Meurſius (c. viii. p. 59—73. in tom. i. Opp.). For the ſtate and arts of the city, ſee the firſt book of Pauſanias, and a ſmall tract of Dicæarchus (in the ſecond volume of Hudſon's Geographers), who wrote about Olymp. cxvii. (Dodwell's Diſſertat. ſect. 4.).

[145] Diogen. Laert. de Vit. Philoſoph. l. v. ſegm. 37. p. 289.

[146] See the teſtament of Epicurus in Diogen. Laert. l. x. ſegm. 16—20. p. 611, 612. A ſingle epiſtle (ad Familiares, xiii. 1.) diſplays the injuſtice of the Areopagus, the fidelity of the Epicureans, the dextrous politeneſs of Cicero, and the mixture of contempt and eſteem with which the Roman ſenators conſidered the philoſophy and philoſophers of Greece.

[147] Damaſcius, in Vit. Iſidor. apud Photium, cod. ccxlii. p. 1054.

[148] See Lucian (in Eunech. tom. ii. p. 350—359. edit. Reitz) Philoſtratus (in Vit. Sophiſt. l. ii. c. 2.), and Dion Caſſius, or Xiphilin (l. lxxi. p. 1195.), with their editors Du Soul, Olearius, and Reimar, and, above all, Salmaſius (ad Hiſt. Auguſt. p. 72.). A judicious philoſopher (Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. ii. p. 340—374.) prefers the free contributions of the ſtudents to a fixed ſtipend for the profeſſor.

[149] Brucker, Hiſt. Crit. Philoſoph. tom. ii. p. 310, etc.

[150] The birth of Epicurus is fixed to the year 342 before Chriſt (Bayle), Olympiad cix. 3.; and he opened his ſchool at Athens, Olymp. cxviii. 3. 306 years before the ſame æra. This intolerant law (Athenæus, l. xiii. p. 610. Diogen. Laertius, l. v. ſ. 38. p. 290. Julius Pollux, ix. 5.) was enacted in the ſame, or the ſucceeding year (Sigonius, Opp. tom. v. p. 62. Menagius, ad Diogen. Laert. p. 204. Corſini Faſti Attici, tom. iv. p. 67, 68.). Theophraſtus, chief of the Peripatetics, and diſciple of Ariſtotle, was involved in the ſame exile.

[151] This is no fanciful æra: the Pagans reckoned their calamities from the reign of their hero. Proclus, whoſe nativity is marked by his horoſcope (A. D. 412, February 8, at C. P.), died 124 years απο Ιωλιανου βασιλεως, A. D. 485 (Marin. in Vitâ Procli, c. 36.).

[152] The life of Proclus, by Marinus, was published by Fabricius (Hamburg, 1700, et ad calcem Bibliot. Latin. Lond. 1703). See Suidas (tom. iii. p. 185, 186.), Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. l. v. c. 26. p. 449—552.), and Brucker (Hiſt. Crit. Philoſoph. tom. ii. p. 319—326.).

[153] The life of Iſidore was compoſed by Damaſcius (apud Photium, cod. ccxlii. p. 1028—1076.). See the laſt age of the Pagan philoſophers in Brucker (tom. ii. p. 341—351.).

[154] The ſuppreſſion of the ſchools of Athens is recorded by John Malala (tom. ii. p. 187. ſub Decio Coſ. Sol.), and an anonymous Chronicle in the Vatican library (apud Aleman, p. 106.).

[155] Agathias l. ii. p. 69, 70, 71.) relates this curious ſtory. Choſroes aſcended the throne in the year 531, and made his firſt peace with the Romans in the beginning of 533, a date moſt compatible with his *young* fame and the *old* age of Iſidore (Aſſeman, Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii. p. 404. Pagi, tom. ii. p. 543. 550.).

[156] Caſſiodor. Variarum Epiſt. vi. 1. Jornandes, c. 57. p. 696. edit. Grot. Quod ſummum bonum primumque in mundo decus edicitur.

[157] See the regulations of Juſtinian (Novell. cv.), dated at Conſtantinople, July 5, and addreſſed to Strategius, treaſurer of the empire.

[158] Procopius, in Anecdot. c. 26. Aleman, p. 106. In the xviiith year after the conſulſhip of Baſilius, according to the reckoning of Marcellinus, Victor, Marius, etc. the ſecret hiſtory was compoſed, and, in the eyes of Procopius, the conſulſhip was finally abolished.

[159] By Leo, the philoſopher (Novell. xciv. A. D. 886—911.). See Pagi (Diſſertat. Hypatica, p. 325—362. and Ducange (Gloſſ. Græc. p. 1635, 1636.). Even the title was vilified: conſulatus codicilli..., vileſcunt, ſays the emperor himſelf.

[160] According to Julius Africanus, etc. the world was created the firſt of September, 5508 years, three months, and twenty-five days before

before the birth of Chriſt (ſee Pezron, Antiquité des Temps défendue p. 20—28.); and this æra has been uſed by the Greeks, the Oriental Chriſtians, and even by the Ruſſians, till the reign of Peter I. The period, however arbitrary, is clear and convenient. Of the 7296 years which are ſuppoſed to elapſe ſince the creation, we ſhall find 3000 of ignorance and darkneſs; 2000 either fabulous or doubtful; 1000 of ancient hiſtory, commencing with the Perſian empire, and the republics of Rome and Athens; 1000 from the fall of the Roman empire in the weſt to the diſcovery of America; and the remaining 296 will almoſt complete three centuries of the modern ſtate of Europe and mankind. I regret this chronology, ſo far preferable to our double and perplexed method of counting backwards and forwards the years before and after the Chriſtian æra.

[161] The æra of the world has prevailed in the Eaſt ſince the vith general council (A. D. 681.). In the Weſt the Chriſtian æra was firſt invented in the vith century: it was propagated in the viiith by the authority and writings of the venerable Bede: but it was not till the xth that the uſe became legal and popular. See l'Art de vérifier les Dates, Differt. Préliminaire, p. iii. xii. Dictionnaire Diplomatique, tom. i. p. 329—337: the works of a laborious ſociety of Benedictine monks.

CHAP. XLI.

[1] The complete ſeries of the Vandal war is related by Procopius in a regular and elegant narrative (l. i. c. 9—25. l. ii. c. 1—13.); and happy would be my lot, could I always tread in the footſteps of ſuch a guide. From the entire and diligent peruſal of the Greek text, I have a right to pronounce that the Latin and French verſions of Grotius and Couſin may not be implicitly truſted: yet the preſident Couſin has been often praiſed, and Hugo Grotius was the firſt ſcholar of a learned age.

[2] See Ruinart, Hiſt. Perſecut. Vandal. c. xii. p. 589. His beſt evidence is drawn from the life of St. Fulgentius, compoſed by one of his diſciples, tranſcribed in a great meaſure in the annals of Baronius, and printed in ſeveral great collections (Catalog. Bibliot. Bunavianæ, tom. i. vol. ii. p. 1258.).

[3] For what quality of the mind or body? For ſpeed, or beauty, or valour?—In what language did the Vandals read Homer?—Did he ſpeak German?—The Latins had four verſions (Fabric. tom. i. l. ii. c. 3. p. 297.): yet, in ſpite of the praiſes of Seneca (Conſol. c. 26.),

they appear to have been more ſucceſsful in imitating, than in tranſlating, the Greek poets. But the name of Achilles might be famous and popular, even among the illiterate Barbarians.

[4] *A year*—abſurd exaggeration! The conqueſt of Africa may be dated A. D. 533, September 14: it is celebrated by Juſtinian in the preface to his inſtitutes, which were published November 21, of the ſame year. Including the voyage and return, ſuch a computation might be truly applied to *our* Indian empire.

[5] Ὡρμητο δε ὁ Βελισαριος εκ Γερμανιας, ἡ Θρακων τε και Ιλλυριων μεταξυ κειται (Procop. Vandal. l. i. c. 11.). Aleman. (Not. ad Anecdot. p. 5.), an Italian, could eaſily reject the German vanity of Giphanius and Velſerus, who wiſhed to claim the hero; but his Germania, a metropolis of Thrace, I cannot find in any civil or eccleſiaſtical liſts of the provinces and cities.

[6] The two firſt Perſian campaigns of Beliſarius are fairly and copiouſly relate l by his ſecretary (Perſic. l. i. c. 12—18.).

[7] See the birth and character of Antonina, in the Anecdotes, c. 1. and the Notes of Alemannus, p. 3.

[8] See the Preface of Procopius. The enemies of archery might quote the reproaches of Diomede (Iliad Δ. 385, etc.) and the permittere vulnera ventis of Lucan (viii. 384.): yet the Romans could not deſpiſe the arrows of the Parthians; and in the ſiege of Troy, Pandarus, Paris, and Teucer, pierced thoſe haughty warriors who inſulted them as women or children.

[9] Νευρην μεν μαζῳ πελασσεν, τοξῳ δε σιδηρον (Iliad Δ. 123.). How conciſe—how juſt—how beautiful is the whole picture! I ſee the attitudes of the archer—I hear the twanging of the bow:

Λιγξε βιος, νευρη δε μεγ' ιαχεν, αλτο δ' οϊστὸ.

[10] The text appears to allow for the largeſt veſſels 50,000 medimni, or 3000 tons (ſince the *medimnus* weighed 160 Roman, or 120 averdupois, pounds). I have given a more rational interpretation, by ſuppoſing that the Attic ſtyle of Procopius conceals the legal and popular *modius*, a ſixth part of the *medimnus* (Hooper's Ancient Meaſures, p. 152, etc.). A contrary, and indeed a ſtranger miſtake, has crept into an oration of Dinarchus (contra Demoſthenem, in Reiske Orator. Græc. tom. iv. P. ii. p. 34.). By reducing the *number* of ſhips from 500 to 50, and tranſlating μεδιμνοι by *mines*, or pounds, Couſin has generouſly allowed 500 tons for the whole of the Imperial fleet!—Did he never think?

[11] I have read of a Greek legiſlator, who inflicted a *double* penalty on the crimes committed in a ſtate of intoxication; but it ſeems agreed that this was rather a political than a moral law.

[12] Or even in three days, ſince they anchored the firſt evening in the neighbouring iſle of Tenedos: the ſecond day they ſailed to Lesbos, the third to the promontory of Eubœa, and on the fourth they reached Argos (Homer, Odyſſ. P. 130—183. Wood's Eſſay on Homer, p. 40—46.). A pirate ſailed from the Helleſpont to the ſea-port of Sparta in three days (Xenophon, Hellen. l. ii. c. 1.).

[13] Caucana, near Camarina, is at leaſt 50 miles (350 or 400 ſtadia) from Syracuſe (Cluver, Sicilia Antiqua, p. 191.).

[14] Procopius, Gothic. l. i. c. 3. Tibi tollit hinnitum apta quadrigis equa, in the Sicilian paſtures of Groſphus (Horat. Carm. ii. 16.). Acragas.... magnanimûm quondam generator equorum (Virgil. Æneid. iii. 704.). Thero's horſes, whoſe victories are immortalized by Pindar, were bred in this country.

[15] The Caput vada of Procopius (where Juſtinian afterwards founded a city—de Edific. l. vi. c. 6.) is the promontory of Ammon in Strabo, the Brachodes of Ptolemy, the Capaudia of the moderns, a long narrow ſlip that runs into the ſea (Shaw's Travels, p. 111.).

[16] A centurion of Mark Antony expreſſed, though in a more manly ſtrain, the ſame diſlike to the ſea and to naval combats (Plutarch in Antonio, p. 1730. edit. Hen. Steph.).

[17] Sullecte is perhaps the Turris Hannibalis, an old building, now as large as the Tower of London. The march of Beliſarius to Leptis, Adrumetum, etc. is illuſtrated by the campaign of Cæſar (Hirtius, de Bello Africano, with the Analyſe of Guichard), and Shaw's Travels (p. 105—113.) in the ſame country.

[18] Παραδεισος καλλιστος απαντων ων ημεις ισμεν. The paradiſes, a name and faſhion adopted from Perſia, may be repreſented by the royal garden of Iſpahan (Voyage d'Olearius, p. 774.). See, in the Greek romances, their moſt perfect model (Longus, Paſtoral. l. iv. p. 99—101. Achilles Tatius, l. i. p. 22, 23.

[19] The neighbourhood of Carthage, the ſea, the land, and the rivers, are changed almoſt as much as the works of man. The iſthmus, or neck, of the city is now confounded with the continent: the harbour is a dry plain; and the lake, or ſtagnum, no more than a moraſs, with ſix or ſeven feet water in the mid-channel. See d'Anville (Géographie Ancienne, tom. iii. p. 82.), Shaw (Travels, p. 77—84.), Marmol (Deſcription de l'Afrique, tom. ii. p. 475.), and Thuanus (lviii. 12. tom. iii. p. 334.).

[20] From Delphi, the name of Delphicum was given, both in Greek and Latin, to a tripod; and, by an eaſy analogy, the ſame appellation was extended at Rome, Conſtantinople, and Carthage, to the royal

banqueting room (Procopius, Vandal l. i. c. 21. Ducange, Gloſſ. Græc. p. 277. Ἀμφίκυον, ad Alexiad. p. 412.).

[21] Theſe orations always expreſs the ſenſe of the times, and ſometimes of the actors. I have condenſed that ſenſe, and thrown away declamation.

[22] The relics of St. Auguſtin were carried by the African bishops to their Sardinian exile (A. D. 500.); and it was believed in the viiith century that Liutprand, king of the Lombards, tranſported them (A. D. 721.) from Sardinia to Pavia. In the year 1695, the Auguſtin friars of that city *found* a brick arch, marble coffin, ſilver caſe, ſilk wrapper, bones, blood, etc. and perhaps an inſcription of Agoſtino in Gothic letters. But this uſeful diſcovery has been diſputed by reaſon and jealouſy (Baronius, Annal. A. D. 725. N° 2—9. Tillemont, Mém. Eccléſ. tom. xiii. p. 944. Montfaucon, Diarium Ital. p. 26—30. Muratori, Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. v. diſſert. lviii. p. 9. who had compoſed a ſeparate treatiſe before the decree of the bishop of Pavia, and Pope Benedict XIII.).

[23] Τα της πολιτειας προοιμια, is the expreſſion of Procopius (de Edific. l. vi. c. 7.). Ceuta, which has been defaced by the Portugueſe, flouriſhed in nobles and palaces, in agriculture and manufactures, under the more proſperous reign of the Arabs (l'Afrique de Marmol, tom. ii. p. 236.).

[24] See the Second and third preambles to the Digeſt, or Pandects, promulgated A. D. 533, December 16. To the titles of *Vandalicus* and *Africanus*, Juſtinian, or rather Beliſarius, had acquired a juſt claim: *Gothicus* was premature, and *Francicus* falſe and offenſive to a great nation.

[25] See the original acts in Baronius (A. D. 535. N° 21—54.). The emperor applauds his own clemency to the heretics, cum ſufficiat eis vivere.

[26] Dupin (Geograph. Sacra Africana, p. lix. ad Optat. Milev) obſerves and bewails this epiſcopal decay. In the more proſperous age of the church, he had noticed 690 bishoprics; but however minute were the dioceſes, it is not probable that they all exiſted at the ſame time.

[27] The African laws of Juſtinian are illuſtrated by his German biographer (Cod. l. i. tit. 27. Novel. 36, 37. 131. Vit. Juſtinian. p. 349—377.).

[28] Mount Papua is placed by d'Anville (tom. iii. p. 92. and Tabul. Imp. Rom. Occident.) near Hippo Regius and the ſea; yet this ſituation ill agrees with the long purſuit beyond Hippo, and the words of Procopius (l. ii. c. 4.), εν τοις Νομιδιας εσχατοις.

[29] Shaw (Travels, p. 220.) moſt accurately repreſents the manners of the Bedoweens and Kabyles, the laſt of whom, by their language, are the remnant of the Moors: yet how changed—how civilized are theſe modern ſavages!—proviſions are plenty among them, and bread is common.

[30] By Procopius it is ſtyled a *lyre*; perhaps *harp* would have been more national. The inſtruments of muſic are thus diſtinguished by Venantius Fortunatus:

Romanuſque *lyrâ* tibi plaudat, Barbarus *harpâ*.

[31] Herodotus elegantly deſcribes the ſtrange effects of grief in another royal captive, Pſammetichus of Egypt, who wept at the leſſer, and was ſilent at the greateſt of his calamities (l. iii. c. 14.). In the interview of Paulus Æmilius and Perſes, Beliſarius might ſtudy his part: but it is probable that he never read either Livy or Plutarch; and it is certain that his generoſity did not need a tutor.

[32] After the title of *imperator* had loſt the old military ſenſe, and the Roman *auſpices* were abolished by Chriſtianity (ſee La Bléterie, Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xxi. p. 302—332.), a triumph might be given with leſs inconſiſtency to a private general.

[33] If the Eccleſiaſtes be truly a work of Solomon, and not, like Prior's poem, a pious and moral compoſition of more recent times, in his name, and on the ſubject of his repentance. The latter is the opinion of the learned and free-ſpirited Grotius (Opp. Theolog. tom. i. p. 258.): and indeed the Eccleſiaſtes and Proverbs diſplay a larger compaſs of thought and experience than ſeem to belong either to a Jew or a king.

[34] In the Beliſaire of Marmontel, the king and the conqueror of Africa meet, ſup, and converſe without recollecting each other. It is ſurely a fault of that romance, that not only the hero, but all to whom he had been ſo conſpicuously known, appear to have loſt their eyes or their memory.

[35] Shaw, p. 59. Yet ſince Procopius (l. ii. c. 13.) ſpeaks of a people of mount Atlas, as already diſtinguished by white bodies and yellow hair, the phænomenon (which is likewiſe viſible in the Andes of Peru, Buffon, tom. iii. p. 504.) may naturally be aſcribed to the elevation of the ground and the temperature of the air.

[36] The geographer of Ravenna (l. iii. c. xi. p. 129, 130, 131. Paris, 1688.) deſcribes the Mauritania *Gaditana* (oppoſite to Cadiz), ubi gens Vandalorum, a Beliſario devicta in Africâ, fugit, et nunquam comparuit.

[37] A ſingle voice had proteſted, and Genſeric diſmiſſed, without a formal anſwer, the Vandals of Germany: but thoſe of Africa derided

his prudence, and affected to deſpiſe the poverty of their foreſts (Procopius, Vandal. l. i. c. 22.).

[38] From the mouth of the great elector (in 1687), Tollius deſcribes the ſecret royalty and rebellious ſpirit of the Vandals of Brandenburgh, who could muſter five or ſix thouſand ſoldiers who had procured ſome canon, etc. (Itinerar. Hungar. p. 42. apud Dubos, Hiſt. de la Monarchie Françoiſe, tom. i. p. 182, 183.). The veracity, not of the elector, but of Tollius himſelf, may juſtly be ſuſpected.

[39] Procopius (l. i. c. 22.) was in total darkneſs—ουδε μνημη τις ουδε ονομα ες εμε σωζεται. Under the reign of Dagobert (A. D. 630.), the Sclavonian tribes of the Sorbi and Venedi already bordered on Thuringia (Maſcou, Hiſt. of the Germans, xv. 3, 4, 5.).

[40] Salluſt repreſents the Moors as a remnant of the army of Heracles (de Bell. Jugurth. c. 21.), and Procopius (Vandal. l. ii. c. 10.) as the poſterity of the Cananæans who fled from the robber Joshua (ληϛης). He quotes two columns, with a Phœnician inſcription. I believe in the columns—I doubt the inſcription—and I reject the pedigree.

[41] Virgil (Georgic. iii. 339.) and Pomponius Mela (i. 8.) deſcribe the wandering life of the African ſhepherds, ſimilar to that of the Arabs and Tartars; and Shaw (p. 222.) is the beſt commentator on the poet and the geographer.

[42] The cuſtomary gifts were a ſceptre, a crown or cap, a white cloak, a figured tunic and ſhoes, all adorned with gold and ſilver; nor were theſe precious metals leſs acceptable in the ſhape of coin (Procop. Vandal. l. i. c. 25.).

[43] See the African government and warfare of Solomon, in Procopius (Vandal. l. ii. c. 10, 11, 12, 13. 19, 20.). He was recalled, and again reſtored; and his laſt victory dates in the xiiith year of Juſtinian (A. D. 539.). An accident in his childhood had rendered him an eunuch (l. i. c. 11.): the other Romans generals were amply furniſhed with beards, πωγωνος εμπιπλαμενοι (l. ii. c. 8.).

[44] This natural antipathy of the horſe for the camel, is affirmed by the ancients (Xenophon. Cyropæd. l. vi. p. 438. l. vii. p. 483. 492. edit. Hutchinſon. Polyæn. Stratagem. vii. 6, Plin. Hiſt. Nat. viii. 26. Ælian de Natur. Animal. l. iii. c. 7.); but it is diſproved by daily experience, and derided by the beſt judges, the Orientals (Voyage d'Olearius, p. 553.).

[45] Procopius is the firſt who deſcribes mount Auraſius (Vandal. l. ii. c. 13. De Edific. l. vi. c. 7.). He may be compared with Leo Africanus (dell' Africa, parte v. in Ramuſio, tom. i. fol. 77. recto.), Marmol (tom. ii. p. 430.), and Shaw (p. 56—59.).

[46] Iſidor. Chron. p. 722. edit. Grot. Mariana, Hiſt. Hiſpan. l. v. c.

8. p. 173. Yet according to Iſidore, the ſiege of Ceuta, and the death of Theudis, happened, A. Æ. H. 586. A. D. 548. and the place was defended, not by the Vandals, but by the Romans.

47 Procopius, Vandal. l. i. c. 24.

48 See the original Chronicle of Iſidore, and the vth and vith books of the Hiſtory of Spain by Mariana. The Romans were finally expelled by Suintila king of the Viſigoths (A. D. 621—626.), after their reunion to the Catholic church.

49 See the marriage and fate of Amalafrida in Procopius (Vandal. l. i. c. 8, 9.), and in Caſſiodorius (Var. ix. 1.) the expoſtulation of her royal brother. Compare likewiſe the Chronicle of Victor Tunnunenſis.

50 Lilybæum was built by the Carthaginians. Olymp. xcv. 4.; and in the firſt Punic war, a ſtrong ſituation, and excellent harbour, rendered that place an important object to both nations.

51 Compare the different paſſages of Procopius (Vandal. l. ii. c. 5. Gothic. l. i. c. 3.).

52 For the reign and character of Amalaſontha, ſee Procopius (Gothic. l. i. c. 2, 3, 4. and Anecdot. c. 16. with the Notes of Alemannus), Caſſiodorius (Var. viii, ix, x, and xi. 1.), and Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 59. and De Succeſſione Regnorum, in Muratori, tom. i. p. 241.).

53 The marriage of Theodoric with Audefleda, the ſiſter of Clovis, may be placed in the year 495, ſoon after the conqueſt of Italy (de Buat, Hiſt. des Peuples, tom. ix. p. 213.). The nuptials of Eutharic and Amalaſontha were celebrated in 515 (Caſſiodor. in Chron. p. 453.).

54 At the death of Theodoric, his grandſon Athalaric is deſcribed by Procopius as a boy about eight years old—οκτω γεγονως ετη. Caſſiodorius, with authority and reaſon, adds two years to his age—infantulum adhuc vix decennem.

55 The lake, from the neighbouring towns of Etruria, was ſtyled either Vulſinienſis (now of Bolſena) or Tarquinienſis. It is ſurrounded with white rocks, and ſtored with fish and wild fowl. The younger Pliny (Epiſt. ii. 96.) celebrates two woody iſlands that floated on its waters: if a fable, how credulous the ancients!—if a fact, how careleſs the moderns! Yet, ſince Pliny, the iſland may have been fixed by new and gradual acceſſions.

56 Yet Procopius diſcredits his own evidence (Anecdot. c. 16.), by confeſſing that in his public hiſtory he had not ſpoken the truth. See the Epiſtles from queen Gundelina to the empreſs Theodora (Var. x. 20, 21. 23. and obſerve a ſuſpicious word, de illâ perſonâ, etc.), with the elaborate Commentary of Buat (tom. x. p. 177—185.).

[57] For the conqueſt of Sicily, compare the narrative of Procopius with the complaints of Totila (Gothic. l. i. c. 5. l. iii. c. 16.). The Gothic queen had lately relieved that thankleſs iſland (Var. ix. 10, 11.).

[58] The ancient magnitude and ſplendour of the five quarters of Syracuſe, are delineated by Cicero (in Verrem, actio ii. l. iv. c. 52, 53.), Strabo (l. vi. p. 415.), and d'Orville Sicula (tom. ii. p. 174—202.). The new city, reſtored by Auguſtus, ſhrunk towards the iſland.

[59] Procopius (Vandal. l ii. c. 14, 15.) ſo clearly relates the return of Beliſarius into Sicily (p. 146. edit. Hoeſchelii), that I am aſtonished at the ſtrange miſapprehenſion and reproaches of a learned critic (Oeuvres de la Mothe le Vayer, tom. viii. p. 162, 163.).

[60] The ancient Alba was ruined in the firſt age of Rome. On the ſame ſpot, or at leaſt in the neighbourhood, ſucceſſively aroſe. 1. The villa of Pompey, etc. 2. A camp of the Prætorian cohorts. 3. The modern epiſcopal city of Albanum or Albano (Procop. Goth. l. ii. c. 4. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 914.).

[61] A Sibylline oracle was ready to pronounce—Africâ captâ *mundus* cum nato peribit; a ſentence of portentous ambiguity (Gothic. l. i. c. 7.), which has been published in unknown characters by Opſopæus, an editor of the oracles. The Pere Maltret has promiſed a commentary; but all his promiſes have been vain and fruitleſs.

[62] In his chronology, imitated in ſome degree from Thucydides, Procopius begins each ſpring the years of Juſtinian and of the Gothic war; and his firſt æra coincides with the 1ſt of April 535, and not 536, according to the Annals of Baronius (Pagi, Crit. tom. ii. p. 555, who is followed by Muratori and the editors of Sigonius). Yet in ſome paſſages we are at a loſs to reconcile the dates of Procopius with himſelf, and with the Chronicle of Marcellinus.

[63] The ſeries of the firſt Gothic war is repreſented by Procopius (l. i. c. 5—29. l. ii. c. 1—30. l. iii. c. 1.) till the captivity of Vitiges. With the aid of Sigonius (Opp. tom. i. de Imp. Occident. l. xvii, xviii) and Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. v.), I have gleaned ſome few additional facts.

[64] Jornandes, de Rebus Geticis, c. 60. p. 702. edit. Grot. and tom. i. p. 221. Muratori, de ſucceſſ. Reg. p. 241.

[65] Nero (ſays Tacitus, Annal. xv. 33.) Neapolim quaſi Græcam urbem delegit. One hundred and fifty years afterwards, in the time of Septimius Severus, the *Helleniſm* of the Neapolitans is praiſed by Philoſtratus: γενος Ἑλληνες και ασυκοι, ὁθεν και τας σπουδας των λογων Ἑλληνικοι εισι (Icon. l. i. p. 763. edit. Olear.).

[66] The otium of Naples is praiſed by the Roman poets, by Virgil, Horace, Silius Italicus, and Statius (Cluver. Ital. Ant. l. iv. p. 1149,

1150.). In an elegant epiſtle (Sylv. l. iii. 5. p 94—98. edit. Markland), Statius undertakes the difficult task of drawing his wife from the pleaſures of Rome to that calm retreat.

[67] This meaſure was taken by Roger I. after the conqueſt of Naples (A. D. 1189), which he made the capital of his new kingdom (Giannone, Iſtoria Civile, tom. ii. p. 169.) That city, the third in Chriſtian Europe, is now at leaſt twelve miles in circumference (Jul. Cæſar. Capaccii Hiſt. Neapol. l. i. p. 47.), and contains more inhabitants (350,000) in a given ſpace, than any other ſpot in the known world.

[68] Not geometrical, but common, paces or ſteps, of 22 French inches (d'Anville, Méſures Itinéraires, p. 7, 8.): the 2363 do not make an English mile.

[69] Beliſarius was reproved by Pope Sylverius for the maſſacre. He repeopled Naples, and imported colonies of African captives into Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia (Hiſt. Miſcell. l. xvi. in Muratori, tom. i. p. 106, 107.).

[70] Beneventum was built by Diomede, the nephew of Meleager (Cluver, tom. ii. p. 1195, 1196.). The Calydonian hunt is a picture of ſavage life (Ovid. Metamorph. l. viii.). Thirty or forty heroes were leagued againſt a hog: the brutes (not the hog) quarrelled with a lady for the head.

[71] The *Decennovium* is ſtrangely confounded by Cluverius (tom. ii. p. 1007.) with the river Ufens. It was in truth a canal of nineteen miles, from Forum Appii to Terracina, on which Horace embarked in the night. The Decennovium which is mentioned by Lucan, Dion Caſſius, and Caſſiodorius, has been ſucceſſively ruined, reſtored, and obliterated (d'Anville, Analyſe de l'Italie, p. 185, etc.).

[72] A Jew gratified his contempt and hatred for *all* the Chriſtians, by incloſing three bands, each of ten hogs, and diſcriminated by the names of Goths, Greeks, and Romans. Of the firſt, almoſt all were found dead—almoſt all of the ſecond were alive—of the third, half died, and the reſt loſt their briſtles. No unſuitable emblem of the event.

[73] Bergier (Hiſt. des Grands Chemins des Romains, tom. i. p. 221—228. 440—444.) examines the ſtructure and materials, while d'Anville (Analyſe de l'Italie, p. 200—213.) defines the geographical line.

[74] Of the firſt recovery of Rome, the *year* (536) is certain, from the ſeries of events, rather than from the corrupt, or interpolated, text of Procopius: the *month* (December) is aſcertained by Evagrius (l. iv. c. 19.; and the *day* (the *tenth*) may be admitted on the ſlight evidence of Nicephorus Calliſtus (l. xvii. c. 13.). For this accurate chronology, we are indebted to the diligence and judgment of Pagi (tom. ii. p. 559, 560.).

[75] An horſe of a bay or red colour was ſtyled Φαλιος by the Greeks, balan by the Barbarians, and ſpadix by the Romans. Honeſti ſpadices, ſays Virgil (Georgic. l. iii. 72. with the Obſervations of Martin and Heyne). Σπαδιξ or βαιον, ſignifies a branch of the palm-tree, whoſe name Φοινιξ, is ſynonymous to *red* (Aulus Gellius, ii. 26.).

[76] I interpret βανδαλαριος, not a proper name, but an office, ſtandard bearer, from *bandum* (vexillum), a Barbaric word adopted by the Greeks and Romans (Paul Diacon. l. i. c. 20. p. 760. Grot. Nomina Gothica, p. 575. Ducange, Gloſſ. Latin. tom. i. p. 539, 540.).

[77] M. d'Anville has given, in the Mémoires of the Academy for the year 1756 (tom. xxx. p. 198—236.), a plan of Rome on a ſmaller ſcale, but far more accurate than that which he had delineated in 1738 for Rollin's hiſtory. Experience had improved his knowledge; and, inſtead of Roſſi's topography, he uſed the new and excellent map of Nolli. Pliny's old meaſure of xiii muſt be reduced to viii miles. It is eaſier to alter a text, than to remove hills or buildings.

[78] In the year 1709, Labat (Voyages en Italie, tom. iii. p. 218.) reckoned 138, 568 Chriſtian ſouls, beſides 8 or 10,000 Jews—without ſouls?—In the year 1763, the numbers exceeded 160,000.

[79] The accurate eye of Nardini (Roma Antica, l. i. c. viii. p. 31.) could diſtinguish the tumultuarie opere di Beliſario.

[80] The fiſſure and leaning in the upper part of the wall, which Procopius obſerved (Goth. l. i. c. 13.), is viſible to the preſent hour (Donat. Roma Vetus, l. i. c. 17. p. 53, 54.).

[81] Lipſius (Opp. tom. ii. Poliorcet. l. iii.) was ignorant of this clear and conſpicuous paſſage of Procopius (Goth. l. i. c. 21.). The engine was named οναγρος, the wild aſs, a calcitrando (Hen. Steph. Theſaur. Linguæ Græc. tom. ii. p. 1340, 1341. tom. iii. p. 877.). I have ſeen an ingenious model, contrived and executed by general Melville, which imitates or ſurpaſſes the art of antiquity.

[82] The deſcription of this mauſoleum, or mole, in Procopius (l. i. c. 25.), is the firſt and beſt. The height above the walls σχεδον ες λιθων βολην. On Nolli's great plan, the ſides meaſure 260 English feet.

[83] Praxiteles excelled in Fauns, and that of Athens was his own maſter-piece. Rome now contains above thirty of the ſame character. When the ditch of St. Angelo was cleanſed under Urban VIII. the workmen found the ſleeping Faun of the Barberini palace; but a leg, a thigh, and the right arm, had been broken from that beautiful ſtatue (Winckelmann, Hiſt. de l'Art, tom. ii. p. 52, 53. tom. iii. p. 265.).

[84] Procopius has given the beſt deſcription of the temple of Janus, a national deity of Latium (Heyne, Excurſ. v. ad l. vii. Æneid). It

was once a gate in the primitive city of Romulus and Numa (Nardini, p. 13. 256. 329.). Virgil has deſcribed the ancient rite, like a poet and an antiquarian.

[85] *Vivarium* was an angle in the new wall incloſed for wild beaſts (Procopius, Goth. l. i. c. 23.) The ſpot is ſtill viſible in Nardini (l. iv. c. 2. p. 159, 160.) and Nolli's great plan of Rome.

[86] For the Roman trumpet and its various notes, conſult Lipſius, de Militiâ Romanâ (Opp. tom. iii. l. iv. Dialog. x. p. 125—129.). A mode of diſtinguiſhing the *charge* by the horſe-trumpet of ſolid braſs, and the *retreat* by the foot-trumpet of leather and light wood, was recommended by Procopius, and adopted by Beliſarius (Goth. l. ii. c. 23.).

[87] Procopius (Goth. l. ii. c. 3.) has forgot to name theſe aqueducts; nor can ſuch a double interſection, at ſuch a diſtance from Rome, be clearly aſcertained from the writings of Frontinus Fabretti and Eſchinard; de Aquis and de Agro Romano, or from the local maps of Lameti and Cingolani. Seven or eight miles from the city (50 ſtadia), on the road to Albano, between the Latin and Appian ways, I diſcern the remains of an aqueduct (probably the Septimian), a ſeries (630 paces) of arches twenty-five feet high (ὑψηλῳ ϛαχυαν).

[88] They made ſauſages, αλλαντας, of mule's flesh: unwholeſome, if the animals had died of the plague. Otherwiſe the famous Bologna ſauſages are ſaid to be made of aſs flesh (Voyages de Labat, tom. ii. p. 218.).

[89] The name of the palace, the hill, and the adjoining gate, were all derived from the ſenator Pincius. Some recent veſtiges of temples and churches are now ſmoothed in the garden of the Minims of the Trinità del Monte (Nardini, l. iv. c. 7. p. 196. Eſchinard, p. 209, 210. the old plan of Buffalino, and the great plan of Nolli). Beliſarius had fixed his ſtation between the *Pincian* and Salarian gates (Procop. Goth. l. i. c. 15.).

[90] From the mention of the primum et ſecundum velum, it ſhould ſeem that Beliſarius, even in a ſiege, repreſented the emperor, and maintained the proud ceremonial of the Byzantine palace.

[91] Of this act of ſacrilege, Procopius (Goth. l. i. c. 25.) is a dry and reluctant witneſs. The narratives of Liberatus (Breviarium, c. 22.) and Anaſtaſius (de Vit. Pont. p. 39.) are characteriſtic, but paſſionate. Hear the execrations of Cardinal Baronius (A. D. 536. N° 123. A. D. 538. N° 4—20.): portentum, facinus omni execratione dignum.

[92] The old Capena was removed by Aurelian to, or near, the modern gate of St. Sebaſtian (ſee Nolli's plan). That memorable ſpot has been conſecrated by the Egerian grove, the memory of Numa, triumphal arches, the ſepulchres of the Scipios, Metelli, etc.

[93] The expreſſion of Procopius has an invidious caſt—τυχην εκ της ἀσφαλους την σφισι συμβησομενην καραδοκειν (Goth. l. ii. c. 4.). Yet he is ſpeaking of a woman.

[94] Anaſtaſius (p. 40.) has preſerved this epithet of *Sanguinarius*, which might do honour to a tyger.

[95] This tranſaction is related in the public hiſtory (Goth. l. ii. c 8.) with candour or caution; in the Anecdotes (c. 7.) with malevolence or freedom; but Marcellinus, or rather his continuator (in Chron.), caſts a ſhade of premeditated aſſaſſination over the death of Conſtantine. He had performed good ſervice at Rome and Spoleto (Procop Goth. l. i. c. 7. 14); but Alemannus confounds him with a Conſtantianus comes ſtabuli.

[96] They refuſed to ſerve after his departure; ſold their captives and cattle to the Goths; and ſwore never to fight againſt them Procopius introduces a curious digreſſion on the manners and adventures of this wandering nation, a part of whom finally emigrated to Thulé or Scandinavia (Goth. l ii. c. 14, 15.).

[97] This national reproach of perfidy (Procop. Goth. l ii. c. 25.) offends the ear of La Mothe le Vayer (tom. viii. p. 163—165,) who criticiſes, as if he had not read, the Greek hiſtorian.

[98] Baronius applauds his treaſon, and juſtifies the Catholic biſhops—qui ne ſub heretico principe degant omnem lapidem movent—an uſeful caution. The more rational Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. v. p. 54.) hints at the guilt of perjury, and blames at leaſt the *imprudence* of Datius.

[99] St. Datius was more ſucceſsful againſt devils than againſt Barbarians. He travelled with a numerous retinue, and occupied at Corinth a large houſe (Baronius, A. D. 538. N° 89. A. D. 539. N°. 20.).

[100] Μυριαδες τριακοντα (compare Procopius, Goth. l. ii. c. 7. 21.). Yet ſuch population is incredible; and the ſecond or third city of Italy need not repine if we only decimate the numbers of the preſent text. Both Milan and Genoa revived in leſs than thirty years (Paul Diacon. de Geſtis Langobard. l. ii. c. 38.).

[101] Beſides Procopius, perhaps too Roman, ſee the Chronicles of Marius and Marcellinus, Jornandes (in Succeſſ. Regn. in Muratori, tom. i. p. 241.), and Gregory of Tours (l. iii. c. 32. in tom. ii. of the Hiſtorians of France). Gregory ſuppoſes a defeat of Beliſarius, who, in Aimoin (de Geſtis Franc. l. ii. c. 23. in tom. iii. p. 59.), is ſlain by the Franks.

[102] Agathias, l. i. p. 14, 15. Could he have ſeduced or ſubdued the Gepidæ or Lombards of Pannonia, the Greek hiſtorian is confident that he muſt have been deſtroyed in Thrace.

[103] The king pointed his ſpear—the bull overturned a tree on his head—he expired the ſame day. Such is the ſtory of Agathias; but the original hiſtorians of France (tom. ii. p. 202. 403. 558. 667.) impute his death to a fever.

[104] Without loſing myſelf in a labyrinth of ſpecies and names—the aurochs, urus, biſon, buhalus, bonaſus, buffalo, etc. (Buffon, Hiſt. Nat. tom. xi. and Supplement, tom. iii. vi.), it is certain, that in the ſixth century a large wild ſpecies of horned cattle was hunted in the great foreſts of the Voſges in Lorraine, and the Ardennes (Greg. Turon. tom. ii. l. x. c. 10. p. 369.).

[105] In the ſiege of Auximum, he firſt laboured to demoliſh an old aqueduct, and then caſt into the ſtream, 1. dead bodies; 2. miſchievous herbs; and, 3. quick lime, which is named (ſays Procopius, l. ii. c. 29.) τιτανος by the ancients; by the moderns ασβεστος. Yet both words are uſed as ſynonymous in Galen, Dioſcorides, and Lucian (Hen. Steph. Theſaur. Ling. Græc. tom. iii. p. 748.).

[106] The Goths ſuſpected Mathaſuintha as an accomplice in the miſchief, which perhaps was occaſioned by accidental lightning.

[107] In ſtrict philoſophy, a limitation of the rights of war ſeems to imply nonſenſe and contradiction. Grotius himſelf is loſt in an idle diſtinction between the jus naturæ and the jus gentium, between poiſon and infection. He balances in one ſcale the paſſages of Homer (Odyſſ. A. 259, etc.) and Florus (l. ii. c. 20. N° 7. ult.); and in the other, the examples of Solon (Pauſanias, l. x. c. 37.) and Beliſarius. See his great work De Jure Belli et Pacis (l. iii. c. 4. f. 15, 16, 17. and in Barbeyrac's verſion, tom. ii. p. 257, etc.). Yet I can underſtand the benefit and validity of an agreement, tacit or expreſs, mutually to abſtain from certain modes of hoſtility. See the Amphictyonic oath in Eſchines, de Falſâ Legatione.

[108] Ravenna was taken, not in the year 540, but in the latter end of 539; and Pagi (tom. ii. p. 569.) is rectified by Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. v. p. 62.), who proves, from an original act on papyrus (Antiquit. Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. ii. diſſert. xxxii. p. 999—1007. Maffei, Iſtoria Diplomat. p. 155—160.), that before the 3d of January 540, peace and free correſpondence were reſtored between Ravenna and Faenza.

[109] He was ſeized by John the Sanguinary, but an oath or ſacrament was pledged for his ſafety in the Baſilica Julii (Hiſt. Miſcell. l. xvii. in Muratori, tom. i. p. 107.). Anaſtaſius (in Vit. Pont. p. 40.) gives a dark but probable account. Montfaucon is quoted by Maſcou (Hiſt. of the Germans, xii. 21.) for a votive ſhield repreſenting the captivity of Vitiges, and now in the collection of ſignor Landi at Rome.

[110] Vitiges lived two years at Conſtantinople, and imperatoris in affectû *convictus* (or conjunctus) rebus exceſſit humanis. His widow, *Mathaſuenta*, the wife and mother of the patricians, the elder and younger Germanus, united the ſtreams of Anician and Amali blood (Jornandes, c. 60. p. 221. in Muratori, tom. i.).

[111] Procopius, Goth. l. iii. c. 1. Aimoin, a French monk of the xith century, who had obtained, and has disfigured, ſome authentic information of Beliſarius, mentions, in his name, 12,000 *pueri* or ſlaves—quos propriis alimus ſtipendiis—beſides 18,000 ſoldiers (Hiſtorians of France, tom. iii. De Geſtis Franc. l. ii. c. 6. p. 48.).

[112] The diligence of Alemannus could add but little of the four firſt and moſt curious chapters of the Anecdotes. Of theſe ſtrange Anecdotes, a part may be true, becauſe probable—and a part true, becauſe improbable. Procopius muſt have *known* the former, and the latter he could ſcarcely *invent*.

[113] Procopius inſinuates (Anecdot. c. 4.) that when Beliſarius returned to Italy (A. D. 543), Antonina was ſixty years of age. A forced, but more polite conſtruction, which refers that date to the moment when he was writing (A. D. 559), would be compatible with the manhood of Photius (Gothic. l. i. c. 10.) in 536.

[114] Compare the Vandalic War (l. i. c. 12.) with the Anecdotes (c. 1.) and Alemannus (p. 2, 3.). This mode of baptiſmal adoption was revived by Leo the philoſopher.

[115] In November 537, Photius arreſted the pope (Liberat. Brev. c. 22. Pagi, tom. ii. p. 562.). About the end of 539, Beliſarius ſent Theodoſius—τον τη οικια τη αυτου εφεστωτα—on an important and lucrative commiſſion to Ravenna (Goth. l. ii. c. 18.).

[116] Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 204.) ſtyles him *Photinus*, the ſon in-law of Beliſarius; and he is copied by the Hiſtoria Miſcella and Anaſtaſius.

[117] The continuator of the Chronicle of Marcellinus gives, in a few decent words, the ſubſtance of the Anecdotes: Beliſarius de Oriente evocatus, in offenſam periculumque incurrens grave, et invidiæ ſubjacens rurſus remittitur in Italiam (p. 54.).

CHAP. XLII.

[1] It will be a pleaſure, not a taſk, to read Herodotus (l. vii. c. 104. 134. p. 550. 615.). The converſation of Xerxes and Demaratus at Thermopylæ, is one of the moſt intereſting and moral ſcenes in hiſtory. It was the torture of the royal Spartan to behold, with anguiſh and remorſe, the virtue of his country.

[2] See this proud inſcription in Pliny (Hiſt. Natur. vii. 27.). Few men have more exquiſitely taſted of glory and diſgrace; nor could Juvenal (Satir. x.) produce a more ſtriking example of the viciſſitudes of fortune, and the vanity of human wiſhes.

[3] Γραικικης ἐξ ὧν τα πρωτερα ἐδεινε ες Ιταλιαν ἡκοντα εἰδον, ὁτι μη τραγῳδικης, και ναυτικας λωποδυτικας. This laſt epithet of Procopius is too nobly tranſlated by pirates; naval thieves is the proper word: ſtrippers of garments, either for injury or inſult (Demoſthenes contra Conon. in Reiske Orator. Græc. tom. ii. p. 1264.).

[4] See the third and fourth books of the Gothic War: the writer of the Anecdotes cannot aggravate theſe abuſes.

[5] Agathias, l. v. p. 157, 158. He confines this weakneſs of the emperor and the empire to the old age of Juſtinian; but, alas! he was never young.

[6] This miſchievous policy, which Procopius (Anecdot. c. 19.) imputes to the emperor, is revealed in his epiſtle to a Scythian prince, who was capable of underſtanding it. Αγαν προμηθη και αγχινοιαστον, ſays Agathias (l. v. p. 170, 171).

7 Gens Germana feritate ferociore, (ſays Velleius Paterculus of the Lombards (ii. 106.) Langobardos paucitas nobilitat. Plurimis ac valentiſſimis nationibus cincti non per obſequium ſed præliis et periclitando tuti ſunt (Tacit. de Moribus German. c. 40. . See likewiſe Strabo (l. vii. p. 446.). The beſt geographers place them beyond the Elbe, in the biſhopric of Magdeburgh and the middle march of Brandenburgh; and their ſituation will agree with the patriotic remark of the Count de Hertzberg, that moſt of the Barbarian conquerors iſſued from the ſame countries which ſtill produce the armies of Pruſſia.

[8] The Scandinavian origin of the Goths and Lombards, as ſtated by Paul Warnefrid, ſurnamed the deacon, is attacked by Cluverius (Germania Antiq. l. iii. c. 26. p. 102, etc.), a native of Pruſſia, and defended by Grotius (Prolegom. ad Hiſt. Goth. p. 28, etc.), the Swediſh ambaſſador.

[9] Two facts in the narrative of Paul Diaconus (l. i. c. 20.) are expreſſive of national manners: 1. Dum *ad tabulam* luderet—while he played at draughts. 2. Camporum viridantia *lina*. The cultivation of flax ſuppoſes property, commerce, agriculture, and manufactures.

[10] I have uſed, without undertaking to reconcile, the facts in Procopius (Goth. l. ii. c. 14. l. iii. c. 33, 34. l. iv. c. 18. 25.), Paul Diaconus (de Geſtis Langobard. l. i. c. 1—23. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. i. p. 405—419.), and Jornandes (de Succeſſ. Regnorum, p. 242.). The patient reader may draw ſome light from

Maſcou (Hiſt. of the Germans, and Annotat. xxiii.) and de Buat (Hiſt. des Peuples, etc. tom. ix, x, xi.).

[11] I adopt the appellation Bulgarians, from Ennodius (in Panegyr. Theodorici, Opp. Sirmond, tom. i. p. 1598, 1599.), Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 5. p. 194 et de Regn. Succeſſione, p. 242.), Theophanes (p. 185.), and the Chronicles of Caſſiodorius and Marcellinus. The name of Huns is too vague; the tribes of the Cutturgurians and Utturgurians are too minute and too harsh.

[12] Procopius (Goth. l. iv. c. 19.). His verbal meſſage (he owns himſelf an illiterate Barbarian) is delivered as an epiſtle. The ſtyle is ſavage, figurative, and original.

[13] This ſum is the reſult of a particular liſt, in a curious MS. fragment of the year 550, found in the library of Milan. The obſcure geography of the times provokes and exerciſes the patience of the Count de Buat (tom. xi. p. 69—189.). The French miniſter often loſes himſelf in a wilderneſs which requires a Saxon and Polish guide.

[14] *Panicum milium.* See Columella, l. ii. c. 9. p. 430. edit Geſner. Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xviii. 24, 25. The Sarmatians made a pap of millet, mingled with mare's milk or blood. In the wealth of modern husbandry, our millet feeds poultry, and not heroes. See the dictionaries of Bomare and Miller.

[15] For the name and nation, the ſituation and manners, of the Sclavonians, ſee the original evidence of the vith century, in Procopius (Goth. l. ii. c. 26. l. iii. c. 14.), and the emperor Mauritius or Maurice (Stratagemat. l. ii. c. 5. apud Maſcou, Annotat. xxxi.) The Stratagems of Maurice have been printed only, as I underſtand, at the end of Scheffer's edition of Arrian's Tactics, at Upſal, 1664 (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. l. iv. c. 8. tom. iii. p. 278.), a ſcarce, and hitherto, to me, an inacceſſible book.

[16] Antes eorum fortiſſimi.... Tayſis qui rapidus et vorticoſus in Hiſtri fluenta furens devolvitur (Jornandes, c. 5. p. 194. edit. Murator. Procopius, Goth. l. iii. c. 14. et de Edific. l. iv. c. 7.). Yet the ſame Procopius mentions the Goths and Huns as neighbours, περίοικοι, to the Danube (de Edific. l. iv. c. 1.).

17 The national title of *Anticus*, in the laws and inſcriptions of Juſtinian, was adopted by his ſucceſſors, and is juſtified by the pious Ludewig (in Vit. Juſtinian. p. 515.). It had ſtrangely puzzled the civilians of the middle age.

[18] Procopius, Goth. l. iv. c. 25.

[19] An inroad of the Huns is connected, by Procopius, with a comet; perhaps that of 541 (Perſic. l. ii. c. 4.). Agathias (l. v. p. 154, 155.) borrows from his predeceſſor ſome early facts.

[20] The

[20] The cruelties of the Sclavonians are related or magnified by Procopius (Goth. l. iii. c. 29. 38.). For their mild and liberal behaviour to their priſoners, we may appeal to the authority, ſomewhat more recent, of the emperor Maurice (Stratagem. l. ii. c. 5.).

[21] Topirus was ſituate near Philippi in Thrace, or Macedonia, oppoſite to the iſle of Thaſos, twelve days journey from Conſtantinople (Cellarius, tom. i. p. 676. 840.).

[22] According to the malevolent teſtimony of the Anecdotes (c. 18.), theſe inroads had reduced the provinces ſouth of the Danube to the ſtate of a Scythian wilderneſs.

[23] From Caf to Caf; which a more rational geography would interpret, from Imaus, perhaps, to mount Atlas. According to the religious philoſophy of the Mahometans, the baſis of mount Caf is an emerald, whoſe reflection produces the azure of the sky. The mountain is endowed with a ſenſitive action in its roots or nerves; and their vibration, at the command of God, is the cauſe of earthquakes (D'Herbelot, p. 230, 231.).

[24] The Siberian iron is the beſt and moſt plentiful in the world; and in the ſouthern parts, above ſixty mines are now worked by the induſtry of the Ruſſians (Strahlenberg, Hiſt. of Siberia, p. 342. 387. Voyage en Siberie, par l'Abbé Chappe d'Auteroche, p. 603—628. edit. in 12mo, Amſterdam, 1770). The Turks offered iron for ſale; yet the Roman ambaſſadors, with ſtrange obſtinacy, perſiſted in believing that it was all a trick, and that their country produced none (Menander in Excerpt. Leg. p. 152).

[25] Of Irgana-kon (Abulghazi Kahn, Hiſt. Généalogique des Tatars, P. ii. c. 5. p. 71—77. c. 15. p. 155.). The tradition of the Moguls, of the 450 years which they paſſed in the mountains, agrees with the Chineſe periods of the hiſtory of the Huns and Turks (De Guignes, tom. i. part. ii. p. 376.) and the twenty generations, from their reſtoration to Zingis.

[26] The country of the Turks, now of the Calmucks, is well deſcribed in the Genealogical Hiſtory, p. 521—562. The curious notes of the French tranſlator are enlarged and digeſted in the ſecond volume of the English verſion.

[27] Viſdelou, p. 141. 151. The fact, though it ſtrictly belongs to a ſubordinate and ſucceſſive tribe, may be introduced here.

[28] Procopius, Perſic. l. i. c. 12. l. ii. c. 3. Peyſſonel (Obſervations ſur les Peuples Barbares, p. 99, 100.) defines the diſtance between Caffa and the old Boſphorus at xvi long Tartar leagues.

[29] See, in a Memoir of M. de Boze (Mém. de l'Académie des inſcriptions, tom. vi. p. 549—565.), the ancient kings and medals of the

Cimmerian Boſphorus; and the gratitude of Athens, in the Oration of Demoſthenes againſt Leptines (in Reiske, Orator. Græc. tom. i. p. 466, 467.).

[30] For the origin and revolutions of the firſt Turkish empire, the Chineſe details are borrowed from De Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. P. ii. p. 367—462.) and Viſdelou (Supplement à la Bibliotheque Orient. d'Herbelot, p. 82—114.). The Greek or Roman hints are gathered in Menander (p. 108—164.) and Theophylact Simocatta (l. vii. c. 7, 8.).

[31] The river Til, or Tula, according to the geography of De Guignes (tom. i. part ii. p. lviii. and 352.), is a ſmall, though grateful, ſtream of the deſert, that falls into the Orhon, Selinga, etc. See Bell, Journey from Petersburgh to Pekin (vol. ii. p. 124.); yet his own deſcription of the Keat, down which he ſailed into the Oby, repreſents the name and attributes of the *black river* (p. 139.).

[32] Theophylact, l. vii. c. 7, 8. And yet his *true* Avars are inviſible even to the eyes of M. de Guignes; and what can be more illuſtrious than the *falſe*? The right of the fugitive Ogors to that national appellation is confeſſed by the Turks themſelves (Menander, p. 108.).

[33] The Alani are ſtill found in the Genealogical Hiſtory of the Tartars (p. 617.), and in d'Anville's maps. They oppoſed the march of the generals of Zingis round the Caſpian ſea, and were overthrown in a great battle. (Hiſt. de Gengiſcan, l. iv. c. 9. p. 447.).

[34] The embaſſies and firſt conqueſts of the Avars may be read in Menander (Excerpt. Legat. p. 99, 100, 101. 154, 155.), Theophanes (p. 196.), the Hiſtoria Miſcella (l. xvi. p. 109.), and Gregory of Tours (l. iv. c. 23. 29. in the Hiſtorians of France, tom. ii. p. 214. 217.).

[35] Theophanes (Chron. p. 204.) and the Hiſt. Miſcella (l. xvi. p. 110.), as underſtood by De Guignes (tom. i. part ii. p. 354.), *appear* to ſpeak of a Turkish embaſſy to Juſtinian himſelf; but that of Maniach, in the fourth year of his ſucceſſor Juſtin, is poſitively the firſt that reached Conſtantinople (Menander, p. 108.).

[36] The Ruſſians have found characters, rude hieroglyphics, on the Irtish and Yeniſei, on medals, tombs, idols, rocks, obelisks, etc. (Strahlenberg, Hiſt. of Siberia, p. 324. 346. 406. 429.). Dr. Hyde (de Religione Veterum Perſarum, p. 521, etc.) has given two alphabets of Thibet and of the Eygours. I have long harboured a ſuſpicion that *all* the Scythian, and *ſome*, perhaps *much*, of the Indian ſcience, was derived from the Greeks of Bactriana.

[37] All the details of theſe Turkish and Roman embaſſies, ſo curious in the hiſtory of human manners, are drawn from the Extracts of

Menander (p. 106—110. 151—154. 161—164., in which we often regret the want of order and connection.

[38] See d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 568. 929.); Hyde (de Religione Vet. Perſarum, c. 21. p. 290, 291.); Pocock (Specimen Hiſt. Arab. p. 70, 71.); Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 176.); Texeira (in Stevens, Hiſt. of Perſia, l. i. c. 34.).

[39] The fame of the new law for the community of women, was ſoon propagated in Syria (Aſſeman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii. p. 402.) and Greece (Procop. Perſic. l. i. c. 5.).

[40] He offered his own wife and ſiſter to the prophet; but the prayers of Nushirvan ſaved his mother, and the indignant monarch never forgave the humiliation to which his filial piety had ſtooped: pedes tuos deoſculatus (ſaid he to Mazdak), cujus fætor adhuc nares occupat (Pocock, Specimen Hiſt. Arab. p. 71.).

[41] Procopius, Perſic. l. i. c. 11. Was not Procius over-wiſe? Was not the danger imaginary?—The excuſe, at leaſt, was injurious to a nation not ignorant of letters: ὡ γραμμασιν οἱ βαρβαροι τὰς παιδας ποιωνται αλλ' ὅπλων σκεύῃ. Whether any mode of adoption was practiſed in Perſia, I much doubt.

[42] From Procopius and Agathias, Pagi (tom. ii. p. 543. 626.) has proved that Choſroes Nushirvan aſcended the throne in the vth year of Juſtinian (A. D. 531, April 1.—A. D. 532, April 1.). But the true chronology, which harmonizes with the Greeks and Orientals, is aſcertained by John Malala (tom. ii. 211.). Cabades, or Kobad, after a reign of forty-three years and two months, ſickened the 8th, and died the 13th, of September, A. D. 531, aged eighty-two years. According to the annals of Eutychius, Nushirvan reigned forty-ſeven years and ſix months; and his death muſt conſequently be placed in March, A. D. 579.

[43] Procopius, Perſic. l. i. c. 23. Briſſon de Regn. Perſ. p. 494. The gate of the palace of Iſpahan is, or was, the fatal ſcene of diſgrace or death (Chardin, Voyage en Perſe, tom. iv. p. 312, 313.).

[44] In Perſia, the prince of the waters is an officer of ſtate. The number of wells and ſubterraneous channels is much diminiſhed, and with it the fertility of the ſoil: 400 wells have been recently loſt near Tauris, and 42,000 were once reckoned in the province of Khoraſan (Chardin, tom. iii. p. 99, 100. Tavernier, tom. i. p. 416.).

[45] The character and government of Nushirvan is repreſented ſometimes in the words of d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 680, etc. from Khondemir), Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 179, 180—very rich), Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. vii. p. 94, 95—very poor), Tarikh Schikard (p. 144—150.), Texeira (in Stevens, l. i. c. 35.), Aſſeman (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii. p. 404—410.), and the Abbé Fourmont (Hiſt. de

l'Acad. des Inſcriptions, tom. vii. p. 325—334.), who has tranſlated a ſpurious or genuine teſtament of Nushirvan.

[46] A thouſand years before his birth, the judges of Perſia had given a ſolemn opinion —τῳ βασιλευοντι Περσεων εξειναι ποιεειν το αν βουληται (Herodot. l. iii. c. 31. p. 210. edit. Weſſeling). Nor had this conſtitutional maxim been neglected as an uſeleſs and barren theory.

[47] On the literary ſtate of Perſia, the Greek verſions, philoſophers, ſophiſts, the learning or ignorance of Choſroes, Agathias (l. ii. c. 66—71.) diſplays much information and ſtrong prejudices.

[48] Aſſeman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 745. vi. vii.

[49] The Shah Nameh, or book of Kings, is perhaps the original record of hiſtory which was tranſlated into Greek by the interpreter Sergius (Agathias, l. v. p. 141.), preſerved after the Mahometan conqueſt, and verſified in the year 994, by the national poet Ferdouſſi. See d'Anquetil (Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xxxi. p. 379.), and Sir William Jones (Hiſt. of Nader Shah, p. 161.).

[50] In the fifth century, the name of Reſtom, or Roſtam, an hero who equalled the ſtrength of twelve elephants, was familiar to the Armenians (Moſes Chorenenſis, Hiſt. Armen. l. ii. c. 7. p. 96. edit. Whiſton). In the beginning of the ſeventh, the Perſian romance of Roſtam and Iſfendiar was applauded at Mecca (Sale's Koran, c. xxxi. p. 335.). Yet this expoſition of ludicrum novæ hiſtoriæ, is not given by Maracci (Refutat. Alcoran. p. 544—548.).

[51] Procop. (Goth. l. iv. c. 10.). Kobad had a favourite Greek phyſician, Stephen of Edeſſa (Perſic. l. ii. c. 26.). The practice was ancient; and Herodotus relates the adventures of Democedes of Crotona (l. iii. c. 125—137.).

[52] See Pagi (tom. ii. p. 626.). In one of the treaties, an honourable article was inſerted for the toleration and burial of the Catholics (Menander, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 142.). Nushizad, a ſon of Nushirvan, was a Chriſtian, a rebel, and—a martyr? (D'Herbelot, p. 681.).

[53] On the Perſian language, and its three dialects, conſult d'Anquetil (p. 339—343.) and Jones (p. 153—185.): 'αγριῳ τινι γλωττῃ και αμυσοτατῳ, is the character which Agathias (l. ii. p. 66.) aſcribes to an idiom renowned in the Eaſt for poetical ſoftneſs.

[54] Agathias ſpecifies the Gorgias, Phædon, Parmenides, and Timæus. Renaudot (Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. xii. p. 246—261.) does not mention this Barbaric verſion of Ariſtotle.

[55] Of theſe fables, I have ſeen three copies in three different languages: 1. In *Greek*, tranſlated by Simeon Seth (A. D. 1100.) from the Arabic, and published by Starck at Berlin in 1697, in 12mo. 2. In *Latin*, a verſion from the Greek, Sapientia Indorum, inſerted by père

Pouſſin at the end of his edition of Pachymer (p. 547—620. edit. Roman). 3. In *French*, from the Turkish, dedicated, in 1540, to Sultan Soliman. Contes et Fables Indiennes de Bidpai et de Lokman, par MM. Galland et Cardonne. Paris, 1778, 3 vol. in 12mo. Mr. Warton (Hiſtory of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 129—131.) takes a larger ſcope.

[56] See the Hiſtoria Shahiludii of Dr. Hyde (Syntagm. Diſſertat. tom. ii. p. 61—69.).

[57] The endleſs peace (Procopius, Perſic. l. i. c. 21.) was concluded or ratified in the vith year, and iiid conſulship, of Juſtinian (A. D. 533, between January 1, and April 1. Pagi, tom. ii. p. 550.). Marcellinus, in his Chronicle, uſes the ſtyle of Medes and Perſians.

[58] Procopius, Perſic. l. i. c. 26.

[59] Almondar, king of Hira, was depoſed by Kobad, and reſtored by Nushirvan. His mother, from her beauty, was ſurnamed *Celeſtial Water*, an appellation which became hereditary, and was extended for a more noble cauſe (liberality in famine) to the Arab princes of Syria (Pocock, Specimen Hiſt. Arab. p. 69, 70.).

[60] Procopius, Perſic. l. ii. c. 1. We are ignorant of the origin and object of this *ſtrata*, a paved road of ten days journey from Auranitis to Babylonia. (See a Latin note in Deliſle's Map. Imp. Orient.) Weſſeling and d'Anville are ſilent.

[61] I have blended, in a ſhort ſpeech, the two orations of the Arſacides of Armenia and the Gothic ambaſſadors. Procopius, in his public hiſtory, feels, and makes us feel, that Juſtinian was the true author of the war (Perſic. l. ii. c. 2, 3.).

[62] The invaſion of Syria, the ruin of Antioch, etc. are related in a full and regular ſeries by Procopius (Perſic. l. ii. c. 5—14.). Small collateral aid can be drawn from the Orientals: yet not they, but D'Herbelot himſelf (p. 680.), ſhould bluſh, when he blames them for making Juſtinian and Nushirvan contemporaries. On the geography of the ſeat of war, D'Anville (l'Euphrate et le Tigre) is ſufficient and ſatisfactory.

[63] In the public hiſtory of Procopius (Perſic. l. ii. c. 16. 18, 19, 20, 21. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.); and with ſome ſlight exceptions, we may reaſonably ſhut our ears againſt the malevolent whiſper of the Anecdotes (c. 2, 3. with the Notes, as uſual, of Alemannus).

[64] The Lazic war, the conteſt of Rome and Perſia on the Phaſis, is tediouſly ſpun through many a page of Procopius (Perſic. l. ii. c. 15. 17. 28, 29, 30. Gothic. l. iv. c. 7—16.) and Agathias (l. ii. iii. and iv. p. 55—132. 141.).

[65] The *Periplus*, or circumnavigation of the Euxine ſea, was deſcribed in Latin by Salluſt, and in Greek by Arrian: 1. The former work,

which no longer exists, has been restored by the *singular* diligence of M. de Brosses, first president of the parliament of Dijon (Hist. de la République Romaine, tom. ii. l. iii. p. 199—298.), who ventures to assume the character of the Roman historian. His description of the Euxine is ingeniously formed of *all* the fragments of the original, and of *all* the Greeks and Latins whom Sallust might copy, or by whom he might be copied; and the merit of the execution atones for the whimsical design. 2. The Periplus of Arrian is addressed to the emperor Adrian (in Geograph. Minor. Hudson, tom. i.), and contains whatever the governor of Pontus had seen, from Trebizond to Dioscurias; whatever he had heard from Dioscurias to the Danube; and whatever he knew from the Danube to Trebizond.

[66] Besides the many occasional hints from the poets, historians, etc. of antiquity, we may consult the geographical descriptions of Colchos, by Strabo (l. xi. p. 760—765.) and Pliny (Hist. Natur. vi. 5. 19, etc.).

[67] I shall quote, and have used, three modern descriptions of Mingrelia and the adjacent countries. 1. Of the père Archangeli Lamberti (Relations de Thevenot, part. i. p. 31—52. with a Map), who has all the knowledge and prejudices of a missionary. 2. Of Chardin (Voyages en Perse, tom. i. p. 54. 68—168.): his observations are judicious; and his own adventures in the country are still more instructive than his observations. 3. Of Peyssonel (Observations sur les Peuples Barbares, p. 49, 50, 51. 58. 62. 64, 65. 71, etc. and a more recent treatise, Sur le Commerce de la Mer Noire, tom. ii. p. 1—53.): he had long resided at Caffa, as consul of France; and his erudition is less valuable than his experience.

[68] Pliny, Hist. Natur. l. xxxiii. 15. The gold and silver mines of Colchos attracted the Argonauts (Strab. l. i. p. 77.). The sagacious Chardin could find no gold in mines, rivers, or elsewhere. Yet a Mingrelian lost his hand and foot for shewing some specimens at Constantinople of native gold.

[69] Herodot. l. ii. c. 104, 105. p. 150, 151. Diodor. Sicul. l. i. p. 33. edit. Wesseling. Dionys. Perieget. 689. and Eustath. ad loc. Scholiast. ad Apollonium Argonaut. l. iv. 282—291.

[70] Montesquieu, Esprit des Loix, l. xxi. c. 6. L'Isthme. . . . couvert de villes et nations qui ne sont plus.

[71] Bougainville, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxvi. p. 33. on the African voyage of Hanno and the commerce of antiquity.

[72] A Greek historian, Timosthenes, had affirmed, in eam oræ nationes dissimilibus linguis descendere; and the modest Pliny is content to add, et a postea a nostris cxxx interpretibus negotia ibi gesta (vi. 5.); but the word nunc deserta covers a multitude of past fictions.

[73] Buffon (Hiſt. Nat. tom. iii. p. 433—437.) collects the unanimous ſuffrage of naturaliſts and travellers. If, in the time of Herodotus, they were in truth μελαγχροες and ουλοτριχες (and he had obſerved them with care), this precious fact is an example of the influence of climate on a foreign colony.

[74] The Mingrelian ambaſſador arrived at Conſtantinople with two hundred perſons; but he eat (*ſold*) them day by day, till his retinue was diminiſhed to a ſecretary and two valets (Tavernier, tom. i. p. 365.). To purchaſe his miſtreſs, a Mingrelian gentleman ſold twelve prieſts and his wife to the Turks. (Chardin, tom. i. p. 66.

[75] Strabo, l. xi. p. 765. Lamberti, Relation de la Mingrelie. Yet we muſt avoid the contrary extreme of Chardin, who allows no more than 20,000 inhabitants to ſupply an annual exportation of 12,000 ſlaves: an abſurdity unworthy of that judicious traveller.

[76] Herodot. l. iii. c. 97. See, in l. vii. c. 79. their arms and ſervice in the expedition of Xerxes againſt Greece.

[77] Xenophon, who had encountered the Colchians in his retreat (Anabaſis, l. iv. p. 320. 343. 348. edit. Hutchinſon; and Forſter's Diſſertation. p. liii—lviii. in Spelman's Engliſh verſion, vol. ii.), ſtyles them αυτονομοι. Before the conqueſt of Mithridates, they are named by Appian εθνος αρειμανες (de Bell. Mithridatico, c. 15. tom. i. p. 661, of the laſt and beſt edition, by John Schweighæuſer, Lipſiæ, 1785. 3 vols. large octavo).

[78] The conqueſt of Colchos by Mithridates and Pompey, is marked by Appian (de Bell. Mithridat.) and Plutarch (in Vit. Pomp.).

[79] We may trace the riſe and fall of the family of Polemo, in Strabo (l. xi. p. 755. l. xii. p. 867.), Dion Caſſius or Xiphilin (p. 588. 593. 601. 719. 754. 915. 946. edit. Reimar). Suetonius (in Neron. c. 18. in Veſpaſian, c. 8.), Eutropius (vii. 14.), Joſephus (Antiq. Judaic. l. xx. c. 7. p. 970. edit. Haverkamp), and Euſebius (Chron. with Scaliger, Animadverſ. p. 196.).

[80] In the time of Procopius, there were no Roman forts on the Phaſis. Pityus and Sebaſtopolis were evacuated on the Rumour of the Perſians (Goth. l. iv. c. 4.); but the latter was afterwards reſtored by Juſtinian (de Edif. l. iv. c. 7.).

[81] In the time of Pliny, Arrian, and Ptolemy, the Lazi were a particular tribe on the northern ſkirts of Colchos (Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 222.). In the age of Juſtinian, they ſpread, or at leaſt reigned, over the whole country. At preſent, they have migrated along the coaſt towards Trebizond, and compoſe a rude ſea-faring people, with a peculiar language (Chardin, p. 149. Peyſſonel, p. 64.).

[82] John Malala, Chron. tom. ii. p. 134—137. Theophanes, p. 144. Hiſt. Miſcell. l. xv p. 103. The fact is authentic, but the date ſeems too recent In ſpeaking of their Perſian alliance, the Lazi contemporaries of Juſtinian employ the moſt obſolete words—εν γραμμασι μνημεια, προγονοι, etc. Could they belong to a connection which had not been diſſolved above twenty years?

[83] The ſole veſtige of Petra ſubſiſts in the writings of Procopius and Agathias. Moſt of the towns and caſtles of Lazica may be found by comparing their names and poſition with the map of Mingrelia, in Lamberti.

[84] See the amuſing letters of Pietro della Valle, the Roman traveller (Viaggi, tom. ii. 207. 209. 213. 215. 266. 286. 300. tom. iii. p. 54. 127.). In the years 1618, 1619, and 1620, he converſed with Shah Abbas, and ſtrongly encouraged a deſign which might have united Perſia and Europe againſt their common enemy the Turk.

[85] See Herodotus (l. i. c. 140. p. 69.), who ſpeaks with diffidence, Larcher (tom. i. p 399—401. Notes ſur Herodote), Procopius Perſic. l. i. c. 11.), and Agathias (l. ii. p. 61, 62.). This practice, agreeable to the Zendaveſta (Hyde, de Relig. Perſ. c. 34. p. 414—421.), demonſtrates that the burial of the Perſian kings (Xenophon, Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 658.), τι γαρ τουτου μακαριωτερον του ὑπ γῃ μιχθηναι, is a Greek fiction, and that their tombs could be no more than cenotaphs.

[86] The puniſhment of flaying alive could not be introduced into Perſia by Sapor Briſſon, de Regn. Perſ. l. ii. p. 578.), nor could it be copied from the foolish tale of Marſyas the Phrygian piper, moſt fooliſhly quoted as a precedent by Agathias (l. iv. p. 132, 133.).

[87] In the palace of Conſtantinople there were thirty ſilentiaries, who are ſtyled haſtati ante fores cubiculi, της σιγης επισαται, an honourable title, which conferred the rank, without impoſing the duties, of a ſenator (Cod. Theodoſ. l. vi. tit. 23, Gothofred. Comment. tom. ii. p 129.).

[88] On theſe judicial orations, Agathias (l. iii. p. 81—89. l. iv. p. 108—119.) laviſhes eighteen or twenty pages of falſe and florid rhetoric. His ignorance or careleſſneſs overlooks the ſtrongeſt argument againſt the king of Lazica—his former revolt.

[89] Procopius repreſents the practice of the Gothic court of Ravenna (Goth. l. i. c. 7.); and foreign ambaſſadors have been treated with the ſame jealouſy and rigour in Turkey (Busbequius, epiſt. iii. p. 149. 242, etc.), Ruſſia (Voyage d'Olearius), and China (Narrative of M. de Lange, in Bell's Travels, vol. ii. p 189—311.).

[90] The negociations and treaties between Juſtinian and Choſroes

are copiously explained by Procopius (Perſic. l. ii. c. 10. 13. 26, 27, 28. Gothic. l. iii. c. 11. 15.), Agathias (l. iv. p. 141, 142.), and Menander (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 132—147.). Conſult Barbeyrac, Hiſt. des Anciens Traités, tom. ii. p. 154. 181—184. 193—200.

[91] D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 680, 681, 294, 295.

[92] See Buffon, Hiſt. Naturelle, tom. iii. p. 449. This Arab caſt of features and complexion, which has continued 3400 years (Ludolph, Hiſt. et Comment. Æthiopic. l. i. c. 4.) in the colony of Abyſſinia, will juſtify the ſuſpicion, that race, as well as climate, muſt have contributed to form the negroes of the adjacent and ſimilar regions.

[93] The Portugueſe miſſionaries, Alvarez (Ramuſio, tom. i. fol. 204. rect. 274. verſ.), Bermudez (Purcha's Pilgrims, vol. ii. l. v. c. 7. p. 1149—1188.), Lobo (Relation, etc. par M. le Grand, with xv. Diſſertations. Paris, 1728), and Tellez (Relations de Thevenot, part iv.), could only relate of modern Abyſſinia what they had ſeen or invented. The erudition of Ludolphus (Hiſt. Æthiopica, Francofurt. 1681. Commentarius, 1691. Appendix, 1694), in twenty-five languages, could add little concerning its ancient hiſtory. Yet the fame of Caled, or Ellifthæus, the conqueror of Yemen, is celebrated in national ſongs and legends.

[94] The negociations of Juſtinian with the Axumites, or Æthiopians, are recorded by Procopius (Perſic. l. i. c. 19, 20.) and John Malala (tom. ii. p. 163—165. 193—196.). The hiſtorian of Antioch quotes the original narrative of the ambaſſador Nonnoſus, of which Photius (Bibliot. cod. iii.) has preſerved a curious extract.

[95] The trade of the Axumites to the coaſt of India and Africa, and the iſle of Ceylon, is curiously repreſented by Coſmas Indicopleuſtes (Topograph. Chriſtian. l. ii. p. 132. 138, 139, 140. l. xi. p. 338, 339.).

[96] Ludolph, Hiſt. et Comment. Æthiop. l. ii. c. 3.

[97] The city of Negra, or Nag'ran, in Yemen, is ſurrounded with palm-trees, and ſtands in the high-road between Saana the capital, and Mecca; from the former ten, from the latter twenty days journey of a caravan of camels (Abulfeda, Deſcript. Arabiæ, p. 52.).

[98] The martyrdom of St. Arethas, prince of Negra, and his three hundred and forty companions, is embellished in the legends of Metaphraſtes and Nicephorus Calliſtus, copied by Baronius (A. D. 522. N° 22—66. A. D. 523. N° 16—29.), and refuted, with obſcure diligence, by Baſnage (Hiſt. des Juifs, tom xii. l. viii. c. ii. p. 333—348.), who inveſtigates the ſtate of the Jews in Arabia and Æthiopia.

[99] Alvarez (in Ramuſio, tom. i. fol. 219 verſ. 221 verſ.) ſaw the

flourishing ſtate of Axume in the year 1520—luogo molto buono e grande. It was ruined in the ſame century by the Turkiſh invaſion. No more than one hundred houſes remain; but the memory of its paſt greatneſs is preſerved by the regal coronation (Ludolph, Hiſt. et Comment. l. ii. c. 11.)

[100] The revolutions of Yemen in the ſixth century muſt be collected from Procopius (Perſic. l. i. c. 19, 20.), Theophanes Byzant. (apud Phot. cod. lxiii. p. 80.), St. Theophanes (in Chronograph. p. 144, 145. 188, 189. 206. 207. who is full of ſtrange blunders), Pocock (Specimen Hiſt. Arab. p. 62. 65.), D'Herbelot (Bibliot Orientale, p. 12. 477.), and Sale's Preliminary Diſcourſe and Koran (c. 105.). The revolt of Abrahah is mentioned by Procopius; and his fall, though clouded with miracles, is an hiſtorical fact.

CHAP. XLIII.

[1] For the troubles of Africa, I neither have nor deſire another guide than Procopius, whoſe eye contemplated the image, and whoſe ear collected the reports, of the memorable events of his own times. In the ſecond book of the Vandalic war he relates the revolt of Stozas (c. 14—24.), the return of Beliſarius (c. 15.), the victory of Germanus (c. 16, 17, 18.), the ſecond adminiſtration of Solomon (c. 19, 20, 21.), the government of Sergius (c. 22, 23.), of Areobindus (c. 24.), the tyranny and death of Gontharis (c. 25, 26, 27, 28.); nor can I diſcern any ſymptoms of flattery or malevolence in his various portraits.

[2] Yet I muſt not refuſe him the merit of painting, in lively colours, the murder of Gontharis. One of the aſſaſſins uttered a ſentiment not unworthy of a Roman patriot: "If I fail," ſaid Artaſires, "in the "firſt ſtroke, kill me on the ſpot, left the rack ſhould extort a diſ-"covery of my accomplices."

[3] The Moorish wars are occaſionally introduced into the narrative of Procopius (Vandal. l. ii. c. 19—23. 25. 27, 28. Gothic. l. iv. c. 17.); and Theophanes adds ſome proſperous and adverſe events in the laſt years of Juſtinian.

[4] Now Tibesh, in the kingdom of Algiers. It is watered by a river, the Sujeraſs, which falls into the Mejerda (*Bagradas*). Tibesh is ſtill remarkable for its walls of large ſtones (like the Coliſeum of Rome), a fountain, and a grove of walnut-trees: the country is fruitful, and the neighbouring Berebéres are warlike. It appears from an inſcription, that, under the reign of Adrian, the road from Carthage to Tebeſte

was conſtructed by the third legion (Marmol, Deſcription de l'Afrique, tom. ii. p. 442, 443. Shaw's Travels, p. 64, 65, 66.).

[5] Procopius, Anecdot. c. 18. The ſeries of the African hiſtory atteſts this melancholy truth.

[6] In the ſecond (c. 30.) and third books (c. 1—40.), Procopius continues the hiſtory of the Gothic war from the fifth to the fifteenth year of Juſtinian. As the events are leſs intereſting than in the former period, he allots only half the ſpace to double the time. Jornandes, and the Chronicle of Marcellinus, afford ſome collateral hints. Sigonius, Pagi, Muratori, Maſcou, and De Buat, are uſeful, and have been uſed.

[7] Sylverius, bishop of Rome, was firſt tranſported to Patara, in Lycia, and at length ſtarved (ſub eorum cuſtodiâ inediâ confectus) in the isle of Palmaria, A. D. 538. June 20. (Liberat. in Breviar. c. 22. Anaſtaſius, in Sylverio. Baronius, A. D. 540. N° 2, 3. Pagi, in Vit. Pont. tom. i. p. 285, 286.). Procopius (Anecdot. c. 1.) accuſes only the empreſs and Antonina.

[8] Palmaria, a ſmall iſland, oppoſite to Terracina and the coaſt of the Volſci (Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. iii. c. 7. p. 1014.).

[9] As the Logothete Alexander and moſt of his civil and military colleagues, were either diſgraced or deſpiſed, the ink of the Anecdotes (c. 4, 5. 18.) is ſcarcely blacker than that of the Gothic Hiſtory (l. iii. c. 1. 3, 4. 9. 20, 21, etc.).

[10] Procopius (l. iii. c. ii. 8, etc.) does ample and willing juſtice to the merit of Totila. The Roman hiſtorians, from Salluſt and Tacitus, were happy to forget the vices of their countrymen in the contemplation of Barbaric virtue.

[11] Procopius, l. iii. c, 12. The ſoul of an hero is deeply impreſſed on the letter; nor can we confound ſuch genuine and original acts with the elaborate and often empty ſpeeches of the Byzantine hiſtorians.

[12] The avarice of Beſſas is not diſſembled by Procopius (l. iii. c. 17. 20.). He expiated the loſs of Rome by the glorious conqueſt of Petræa (Goth. l. iv. c. 12.): but the ſame vices followed him from the Tyber to the Phaſis (c. 13.); and the hiſtorian is equally true to the merits and defects of his character. The chaſtiſement which the author of the romance of *Beliſaire* has inflicted on the oppreſſor of Rome, is more agreeable to juſtice than to hiſtory.

[13] During the long exile, and after the death of Vigilius, the Roman church was governed, at firſt by the archdeacon, and at length (A. D. 555.] by the pope Pelagius, who was not thought guiltleſs of the ſufferings of his predeceſſor. See the original lives of the popes under the name of Anaſtaſius (Muratori, Script. Rer. Italicarum, tom. iii. P. i. p. 130, 131.), who relates ſeveral curious incidents of the ſieges of Rome and the wars of Italy.

[14] Mount Garganus, now Monte St. Angelo, in the kingdom of Naples, runs three hundred ſtadia into the Adriatic ſea (Strab. l. vi. p. 436.), and in the darker ages was illuſtrated by the apparition, miracles, and church of St. Michael the archangel. Horace, a native of Apulia or Lucania, had ſeen the elms and oaks of Garganus labouring and bellowing with the north wind that blew on that lofty coaſt (Carm. ii. 9. Epiſt. ii. i. 201.).

[15] I cannot aſcertain this particular camp of Hannibal; but the Punic quarters were long and often in the neighbourhood of Arpi (T. Liv. xxii. 9. 12. xxiv. 3, etc.).

[16] Totila.... Romam ingreditur.... ac evertit muros domos aliquantas igni comburens, ac omnes Romanorum res in prædam accepit, hos ipſos Romanos in Campaniam captivos abduxit. Poſt quam devaſtationem, xl aut amplius dies, Roma fuit ita deſolata, ut nemo ibi hominum, niſi (*nullæ?*) beſtiæ morarentur (Marcellin. in Chron. p. 54.).

[17] The *tribuli* are ſmall engines with four ſpikes, one fixed in the ground, the three others erect or adverſe (Procopius, Gothic. l. iii. c. 24. Juſt. Lipſius, Poliorcetan, l. v. c. 3.). The metaphor was borrowed from the tribuli (*land caltrops*), an herb with a prickly fruit, common in Italy (Martin, ad Virgil. Georgic. i. 153. vol. ii. p. 33.).

[18] Ruſcia, the *navale Thuriorum*, was transferred to the diſtance of ſixty ſtadia to Ruſcianum, Roſſano, an archbiſhopric without ſuffragans. The republic of Sybaris is now the eſtate of the duke of Corigliano (Riedeſel, Travels into Magna Græcia and Sicily, p. 166—171.).

[19] This conſpiracy is related by Procopius (Gothic. l. iii. c. 31, 32.) with ſuch freedom and candour, that the liberty of the Anecdotes gives him nothing to add.

[20] The honours of Beliſarius are gladly commemorated by his ſecretary (Procop. Goth. l. iii. c. 35. l. iv. c. 21.). The title of Στρατηγος is ill translated, at leaſt in this inſtance, by præfectus prætorio; and to a military character, magiſter militum is more proper and applicable (Ducange, Gloſſ. Græc. p. 1458, 1459.).

[21] Alemannus (ad Hiſt. Arcanam, p. 68.), Ducange (Familiæ Byzant. p. 98.), and Heineccius (Hiſt. Juris Civilis, p. 434.), all three repreſent Anaſtaſius as the ſon of the daughter of Theodora; and their opinion firmly repoſes on the unambiguous teſtimony of Procopius (Anecdot. c. 4, 5.—θυγατριδω twice repeated). And yet I will remark, 1. That, in the year 547, Theodora could ſcarcely have a grandſon of the age of puberty; 2. That we are totally ignorant of this daughter and her huſband; and, 3. That Theodora concealed

her baſtards, and that her grandſon by Juſtinian would have been heir-apparent of the empire.

[22] The ἁμαρτηματα, or ſins, of the hero in Italy and after his return, are manifeſted απαραπλυπτως, and moſt probably ſwelled by the author of the Anecdotes (c. 4, 5.). The deſigns of Antonina were favoured by the fluctuating juriſprudence of Juſtinian. On the law of marriage and divorce, that emperor was trocho verſatilior (Heineccius, Element. Juris Civil. ad Ordinem Pandect. P. iv. N° 233.).

[23] The Romans were ſtill attached to the monuments of their anceſtors; and according to Procopius (Goth. l. iv. c. 22.), the galley of Æneas, of a ſingle rank of oars, 25 feet in breadth, 120 in length, was preſerved entire in the *navalia*, near Monte Teſtaceo, at the foot of the Aventine (Nardini, Roma Antica, l. vii. c. 9. p. 466. Donatus, Roma Antiqua, l. iv. c. 13. p. 334.). But all antiquity is ignorant of this relic.

[24] In theſe ſeas, Procopius ſearched without ſucceſs for the iſle of Calypſo. He was ſhewn, at Phæacia or Corcyra, the petrified ſhip of Ulyſſes (Odyſſ. xiii. 163.); but he found it a recent fabric of many ſtones, dedicated by a merchant to Jupiter Caſſius (l. iv. c. 22.). Euſtathius had ſuppoſed it to be the fanciful likeneſs of a rock.

[25] M. d'Anville (Mémoires de l'Acad. tom. xxxii. p. 513—528.) illuſtrates the gulph of Ambracia; but he cannot aſcertain the ſituation of Dodona. A country in ſight of Italy is leſs known than the wilds of America.

[26] See the acts of Germanus in the public (Vandal. l. ii. c. 16, 17, 18. Goth. l. iii. c. 31, 32.) and private hiſtory (Anecdot. c. 5.), and thoſe of his ſon Juſtin, in Agathias (l. iv. p. 130, 131.). Notwithſtanding an ambiguous expreſſion of Jornandes, fratri ſuo, Alemannus has proved that he was the ſon of the emperor's brother.

[27] Conjuncta Aniciorum gens cum Amalâ ſtirpe ſpem adhuc utriuſque generis promittit (Jornandes, c. 60. p. 703.). He wrote at Ravenna before the death of Totila.

[28] The iiid book of Procopius is terminated by the death of Germanus (Add. l. iv. c. 23, 24, 25, 26.).

[29] Procopius relates the whole ſeries of this ſecond Gothic war and the victory of Narſes (l. iv. c. 21. 26—35.). A ſplendid ſcene! Among the ſix ſubjects of epic poetry which Taſſo revolved in his mind, he heſitated between the conqueſts of Italy by Beliſarius and by Narſes (Hayley's Works, vol. iv. p. 70.).

[30] The country of Narſes is unknown, ſince he muſt not be confounded with the Perſarmenian. Procopius ſtyles him (Goth. l. ii. c. 13.) βασιλικων χρηματων ταμιας; Paul Warnefrid (l. ii. c. 3. p. 776.),

Chartularius: Marcellinus adds the name of Cubicularius. In an inſcription on the Salarian bridge, he is entitled Ex-conſul, Ex-præpoſitus, Cubiculi Patricius (Maſcou, Hiſt. of the Germans, l. xiii. c. 25.). The law of Theodoſius againſt eunuchs was obſolete or abolished (Annotation xx.); but the foolish prophecy of the Romans ſubſiſted in full vigour (Procop. l. iv. c. 21.).

[31] Paul Warnefrid, the Lombard, records with complacency the ſuccour, ſervice, and honourable diſmiſſion of his countrymen—reipublicæ Komanæ adverſus æmules adjutores fuerant) l. ii. c. 1. p. 774. edit. Grot.). I am ſurpriſed that Alboin, their martial king, did not lead his ſubjects in perſon.

[32] He was, if not an impoſtor, the ſon of the blind Zames, ſaved by compaſſion, and educated in the Byzantine court by the various motives of policy, pride, and generoſity (Procop. Perſic. l. i. c. 23.).

[33] In the time of Auguſtus, and in the middle ages, the whole waſte from Aquileia to Ravenna was covered with woods, lakes, and moraſſes. Man has ſubdued nature, and the land has been cultivated, ſince the waters are confined and embanked. See the learned reſearches of Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. i. diſſert. xxi. p. 253, 254.), from Vitruvius, Strabo, Herodian, old charters, and local knowledge.

[34] The Flaminian way, as it is corrected from the Itineraries, and the beſt modern maps, by d'Anville (Analyſe de l'Italie, p. 147—162.), may be thus ſtated: ROME to Narni, 51 Roman miles; Terni, 57; Spoleto, 75: Foligno, 88; Nocera, 103; Gagli, 142; Interciſa, 157; Foſſombrone, 160; Fano, 176; Peſaro, 184; RIMINI, 208—about 189 English miles. He takes no notice of the death of Totila; but Weſſeling (Itinerar. p. 614.) exchanges, for the field of *Taginas*, the unknown appellation of *Ptanias*, eight miles from Nocera.

[35] Taginæ, or rather Tadinæ, is mentioned by Pliny; but the biſhopric of that obſcure town, a mile from Gualdo in the plain, was united, in the year 1007, with that of Nocera. The ſigns of antiquity are preſerved in the local appellations, *Foſſato*, the camp; *Capraia*, Caprea; *Baſtia*, Buſta Gallorum. See Cluverius (Italia Antiqua, l. ii. c. 6. p. 615, 616, 617.), Lucas Holſtenius (Annotat. ad Cluver. p. 85, 86.), Guazzeſi (Diſſertat. p. 177—217. a profeſſed enquiry), and the maps of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate and the march of Ancona, by Le Maire and Magini.

[36] The battle was fought in the year of Rome 458; and the conſul Decius, by devoting his own life, aſſured the triumph of his country and his colleague Fabius (T. Liv. x. 28, 29.). Procopius aſcribes to Camillus the victory of the *Buſta Gallorum*; and his error is branded by Cluverius with the national reproach of Græcorum nugamenta.

[37] Theophanes, Chron. p. 193. Hiſt. Miſcell. l. xvi. p. 108.

[38] Evagrius, l. iv. c. 24. The inſpiration of the Virgin revealed to Narſes the day, and the word, of battle (Paul Diacon. l. ii. c. 3. p. 776.).

[39] Επι τουτου βασιλευοντος το πεμπτον ἐτος. In the year 536 by Beliſarius, in 546 by Totila, in 547 by Beliſarius, in 549 by Totila, and in 552 by Narſes. Maltretus had inadvertently translated *ſextum*; a miſtake which he afterwards retracts: but the miſchief was done; and Couſin, with a train of French and Latin readers, have fallen into the ſnare.

[40] Compare two paſſages of Procopius (l. iii. c. 26. l. iv. c. 24.), which, with ſome collateral hints from Marcellinus and Jornandes, illuſtrate the ſtate of the expiring ſenate.

[41] See, in the example of Pruſias, as it is delivered in the fragments of Polybius (Excerpt. Legat. xcvii. p. 927, 928.), a curious picture of a royal ſlave.

[42] The Δρακων of Procopius (Goth. l. iv. c. 35.) is evidently the Sarnus. The text is accuſed or altered by the rash violence of Cluverius (l. iv. c. 3. p. 1156.): but Camillo Pellegrini of Naples (Diſcorſi ſopra la Campania Felice, p. 330, 331.) has proved from old records, that as early as the year 822 that river was called the Dracontio, or Draconcello.

[43] Galen (de Method. Medendi, l. v. apud Cluver. l. iv. c. 3. p. 1159, 1160.) deſcribes the lofty ſite, pure air, and rich milk, of mount Lactarius, whoſe medicinal benefits were equally known and fought in the time of Symmachus (l. vi. epiſt. 18.) and Caſſiodorius (Var. xi. 10.). Nothing is now left except the name of the town of *Lettere*.

[44] Buat (tom. xi. p. 2, etc.) conveys to his favourite Bavaria this remnant of Goths, who by others are buried in the mountains of Uri, or reſtored to their native iſle of Gothland (Maſcou, Annot. xxi.)

[45] I leave Scaliger (Animadverſ. in Euſeb. p. 59.) and Salmaſius (Exercitat. Plinian. p. 51, 52.) to quarrel about the origin of Cumæ, the oldeſt of the Greek colonies in Italy (Strab. l. v. p. 372. Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. 4.), already vacant in Juvenal's time (Satir. iii.), and now in ruins.

[46] Agathias (l. i. c. 21.) ſettles the Sibyll's cave under the wall of Cumæ: he agrees with Servius (ad l. vi. Æneid.): nor can I perceive why their opinion ſhould be rejected by Heyne, the excellent editor of Virgil (tom. ii. p. 650, 651.). In urbe medii ſecreta religio! But Cumæ was not yet built; and the lines (l. vi. 96, 97.) would become ridiculous, if Æneas were actually in a Greek city.

[47] There is ſome difficulty in connecting the 35th chapter of the ivth

book of the Gothic War of Procopius with the first book of the history of Agathias. We must now relinquish a statesman and soldier, to attend the footsteps of a poet and rhetorician (l. i. p. 11. l. ii. p. 51. edit. Louvre).

[48] Among the fabulous exploits of Buccelin, he discomfited and slew Belisarius, subdued Italy and *Sicily*, etc. See, in the Historians of France, Gregory of Tours (tom. ii. l. iii. c. 32. p. 203.); and Aimoin (tom. iii. l. ii. de Gestis Francorum, c. 23. p. 59.)

[49] Agathias notices their superstition in a philosophic tone (l. i. p. 18.). At Zug, in Switzerland, idolatry still prevailed in the year 613: St. Columban and St. Gall were the apostles of that rude country; and the latter founded an hermitage, which has swelled into an ecclesiastical principality and a populous city, the seat of freedom and commerce.

[50] See the death of Lothaire in Agathias (l. ii. p. 38.) and Paul Warnefrid, surnamed Diaconus (l. ii. c. 3. p. 775.). The Greek makes him rave and tear his flesh. He had plundered churches.

[51] Père Daniel (Hist. de la Milice Française, tom. i. p. 17—21.) has exhibited a fanciful representation of this battle, somewhat in the manner of the Chevalier Folard, the once famous editor of Polybius, who fashioned to his own habits and opinions all the military operations of antiquity.

[52] Agathias (l. ii. p. 47.) has produced a Greek epigram of six lines on this victory of Narses, which is favourably compared to the battles of Marathon and Platæa. The chief difference is indeed in their consequences—so trivial in the former instance—so permanent and glorious in the latter.

[53] The Beroia and Brincas of Theophanes or his transcriber (p. 201.) must be read or understood Verona and Brixia.

[54] Ελιπετο γαρ, οιμαι, αυτους ὑπο αβελτηριας τας ασπιδας τυχοι και τα ηρανη αμφορεως οινυ και βαρβιτυ αποδοσθαι (Agathias, l. ii. p. 48). In the first scene of Richard III. our English poet has beautifully enlarged on this idea; for which, however, he was not indebted to the Byzantine historian.

[55] Maffei has proved (Verona illustrata, P. i. l. x. p. 287. 289.), against the common opinion, that the dukes of Italy were instituted before the conquest of the Lombards by Narses himself. In the Pragmatic Sanction (N° 23.), Justinian restrains the judices militares.

[56] See Paulus Diaconus, l. iii. c. 2. p. 776. Menander (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 133.) mentions some risings in Italy by the Franks, and Theophanes (p. 201.) hints at some Gothic rebellions.

[57] The Pragmatic Sanction of Justinian, which restores and regulates the

the civil ſtate of Italy, conſiſts of xxvii articles: it is dated Auguſt 15, A. D. 554; is addreſſed to Narſes, V. J. Præpoſitus Sacri Cubiculi, and to Antiochus, Præfectus Prætorio Italiæ; and has been preſerved by Julian Anteceſſor, and in the Corpus Juris Civilis, after the novels and edicts of Juſtinian, Juſtin, and Tiberius.

[58] A ſtill greater number was conſumed by famine in the ſouthern provinces, without (ἐκτος) the Ionian gulph. Acorns were uſed in the place of bread. Procopius had ſeen a deſerted orphan ſuckled by a she-goat. Seventeen paſſengers were lodged, murdered, and eaten, by two women, who were detected and ſlain by the eighteenth, etc.

[59] Quinta regio Picevi eſt; quondam uberrimæ multitudinis, cccl̃x millia Picentium in fidem P. R. venere (Plin. Hiſt. Natur. iii. 18.). In the time of Veſpaſian, this ancient population was already diminiſhed.

[60] Perhaps fifteen or ſixteen millions. Procopius (Anecdot. c. 18.) computes that Africa loſt five millions, that Italy was thrice as extenſive, and that the depopulation was in a larger proportion. But his reckoning is inflamed by paſſion, and clouded with uncertainty.

61 In the decay of theſe military ſchools, the ſatire of Procopius (Anecdot. c. 24. Aleman. p. 102, 103.) is confirmed and illuſtrated by Agathias (l. v. p. 159.), who cannot be rejected as an hoſtile witneſs.

[62] The diſtance from Conſtantinople to Melanthias, Villa Cæſariana (Ammian. Marcellin. xxx. 11.), is variouſly fixed at 102 or 140 ſtadia (Suidas, tom. ii. p. 522, 523. Agathias, l. v. p. 158.), or xviii or xix miles (Itineraria, p. 138. 230. 323. 332. and Weſſeling's Obſervations). The firſt xii miles, as far as Rhegium, were paved by Juſtinian, who built a bridge over a moraſs or gullet between a lake and the ſea (Procop. de Edif. l. iv. c. 8.).

[63] The Atyras (Pompon. Mela, l. ii. c. 2. p. 169. edit. Voſſ.). At the river's mouth, a town or caſtle of the ſame name was fortified by Juſtinian (Procop. de Edif. l. iv. c. 2. Itinerar. p. 570. and Weſſeling).

[64] The Bulgarian war, and the laſt victory of Beliſarius, are imperfectly repreſented in the prolix declamation of Agathias (l. v. p. 154—174.) and the dry Chronicle of Theophanes (p. 197, 198.).

[65] Ἰνδοὶ. They could ſcarcely be real Indians; and the Æthiopians, ſometimes known by that name, were never uſed by the ancients as guards or followers: they were the trifling, though coſtly, objects of female and royal luxury (Terent. Eunuch. act i. ſcene ii. Sueton. in Auguſt. c. 83. with a good note of Caſaubon, in Caligula, c. 57.).

[66] The Sergius (Vandal. l. ii. c. 21, 22. Anecdot. c. 5.) and Marcellus (Goth. l. iii. c. 32.) are mentioned by Procopius. See Theophanes, p. 197. 201.

[67] Alemannus (p. 3.) quotes an old Byzantine MS. which has been printed in the Imperium Orientale of Banduri.

[68] Of the diſgrace and reſtoration of Beliſarius, the genuine original record is preſerved in the fragment of John Malala (tom. ii. p. 234—243.) and the exact Chronicle of Theophanes (p. 194—204.). Cedrenus (Compend. p. 387, 388.) and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 69.) ſeem to heſitate between the obſolete truth and the growing falſehood.

[69] The ſource of this idle fable may be derived from a miſcellaneous work of the xiith century, the Chiliads of John Tzetzes, a monk (Baſil. 1546. ad calcem Lycophront. Colon. Allobrog. 1614. in Corp. Poet. Græc.). He relates the blindneſs and beggary of Beliſarius in ten vulgar or *political* verſes (Chiliad. iii. N° 88. 339—348. in Corp. Poet. Græc. tom. ii. p. 311.).

Εκπωμα ξυλινον κρατων εβοα τῳ μιλιῳ
Βελισαριῳ οβολον δοτε τῳ στρατηλατῃ,
Ὁν τυχη μεν εδοξασεν, αποτυφλοι δ' ὁ φθονος.

This moral or romantic tale was imported into Italy with the language and manuſcripts of Greece; repeated before the end of the xvth century by Crinitus, Pontanus, and Volaterranus; attacked by Alciat, for the honour of the law; and defended by Baronius (A. D. 561. N° 2, etc.), for the honour of the church. Yet Tzetzes himſelf had read in *other* chronicles, that Beliſarius did not loſe his ſight, and that he recovered his fame and fortunes.

[70] The ſtatue in the villa Borgheſe at Rome, in a ſitting poſture, with an open hand, which is vulgarly given to Beliſarius, may be aſcribed with more dignity to Auguſtus in the act of propitiating Nemeſis (Winkelman, Hiſt. de l'Art, tom. iii. p. 266.). Ex nocturno viſu etiam ſtipem, quotannis, die certo, emendicabat a populo, cavam manum aſſes porrigentibus præbens (Sueton. in Auguſt. c. 91. with an excellent note of Caſaubon).

[71] The *rubor* of Domitian is ſtigmatiſed, quaintly enough, by the pen of Tacitus (in Vit. Agricol. c. 45.); and has been likewiſe noticed by the younger Pliny (Panegyr. c. 48.) and Suetonius (in Domitian, c. 18. and Caſaubon ad locum). Procopius (Anecdot. c. 8.) foolishly believes that only *one* buſt of Domitian had reached the vith century.

[72] The ſtudies and ſcience of Juſtinian are atteſted by the confeſſion (Anecdot. c. 8. 13.), ſtill more than by the praiſes (Gothic. l. iii. c. 31. de Edific. l. i. Proem. c. 7.), of Procopius. Conſult the copious index of Alemannus, and read the life of Juſtinian by Ludewig (p. 135—142.).

[73] See in the C. P. Chriſtiana of Ducange (l. i. c. 24. N° 1.), a

chain of original teſtimonies, from Procopius in the vith, to Gyllius in the xvith, century.

[74] The firſt comet is mentioned by John Malala (tom. ii. p. 190. 219.) and Theophanes (p. 154.); the ſecond by Procopius (Perſic. l. ii. c. 4.). Yet I ſtrongly ſuſpect their identity. The paleneſs of the ſun (Vandal. l. ii. c. 14.) is applied by Theophanes (p. 158.) to a different year.

[75] Seneca's viith book of Natural Queſtions diſplays, in the theory of comets, a philoſophic mind. Yet ſhould we not too candidly confound a vague prediction, a veniet tempus, etc. with the merit of real diſcoveries.

[76] Aſtronomers may ſtudy Newton and Halley. I draw my humble ſcience from the article COMETE, in the French Encyclopédie by M. d'Alembert.

[77] Whiſton, the honeſt, pious, viſionary Whiſton, had fancied, for the æra of Noah's flood (2242 years before Chriſt), a prior apparition of the ſame comet which drowned the earth with its tail.

[78] A Diſſertation of Freret (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inſcriptions, tom. x. p. 357—377.) affords an happy union of philoſophy and erudition. The phænomenon in the time of Ogyges was preſerved by Varro (apud Auguſtin. de Civitate Dei, xxi. 8.), who quotes Caſtor, Dion of Naples, and Adraſtus of Cyzicus—nobiles mathematici. The two ſubſequent periods are preſerved by the Greek mythologiſts and the ſpurious books of Sibylline verſes.

[79] Pliny (Hiſt. Nat. ii. 23.) has tranſcribed the original memorial of Auguſtus. Mairan, in his moſt ingenious letters to the P. Parennin, miſſionary in China, removes the games and the comet of September, from the year 44 to the year 43, before the Chriſtian æra; but I am not totally ſubdued by the criticiſm of the aſtronomer (Opuſcules, p. 275—351.).

[80] This laſt comet was viſible in the month of December 1680. Bayle, who begun his Penſées ſur la Comète in January 1681 (Oeuvres, tom. iii.), was forced to argue that a *ſupernatural* comet would have confirmed the ancients in their idolatry. Bernoulli (ſee his *Eloge*, in Fontenelle, tom. v. p. 99.) was forced to allow that the tail, though not the head, was a *ſign* of the wrath of God.

[81] Paradiſe Loſt was published in the year 1667; and the famous lines (l. ii. 708, etc.), which ſtartled the licenſer, may allude to the recent comet of 1664, obſerved by Caſſini at Rome in the preſence of queen Chriſtina (Fontenelle, in his *Éloge*, tom. v. p. 338.). Had Charles II. betrayed any ſymptoms of curioſity or fear?

[82] For the cauſe of earthquakes, ſee Buffon (tom. i. p. 562—586.

Supplément à l'Hiſt. Naturelle, tom. v. p. 382—390. edition in 4to), Valmont de Bomare (Dictionnaire d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, *Tremblemens de Terre*, *Pyrites*), Watſon (Chemical Eſſays, tom. i. p. 181—209.).

[83] The earthquakes that ſhook the Roman world in the reign of Juſtinian, are deſcribed or mentioned by Procopius (Goth. l. iv. c. 25. Anecdot. c. 18.), Agathias (l. ii. p. 52, 53, 54. l. v. p. 145—152.), John Malala (Chron. tom. ii. p. 140—146. 176, 177. 183. 193. 220. 229. 231. 233, 234.), and Theophanes (p. 151. 183. 189. 191—196.).

[84] An abrupt height, a perpendicular cape, between Aradus and Botrys, named by the Greeks θεοπροσωπον, and ευπροσωπον or λιθοπροσωπον by the ſcrupulous Chriſtians (Polyb. l. v. p. 411. Pompon. Mela, l. i. c. 12. p. 87. cum Iſaac Voſſ. Obſervat. Maundrell, Journey, p. 32, 33. Pocock's Deſcription, vol. ii. p. 99.).

[85] Botrys was founded (ann. ante Chriſt. 935—903.) by Ithobal, king of Tyre. (Marſham, Canon Chron. p. 387, 388.). Its poor repreſentative, the village of Patrone, is now deſtitute of an harbour.

[86] The univerſity, ſplendour, and ruin of Berytus, are celebrated by Heineccius (p. 351—356.) as an eſſential part of the hiſtory of the Roman law. It was overthrown in the xxvth year of Juſtinian, A. D. 551, July 9. (Theophanes, p. 192.): but Agathias (l. ii. p. 51, 52.) ſuſpends the earthquake till he has atchieved the Italian war.

[87] I have read with pleaſure Mead's ſhort but elegant treatiſe concerning Peſtilential Diſorders, the viiith edition, London, 1722.

[88] The great plague which raged in 542 and the following years (Pagi, Critica, tom. ii. p. 518.), muſt be traced in Procopius (Perſic. l. ii. c. 22, 23.), Agathias (l. v. p. 153, 154.), Evagrius (l. iv. c. 29.), Paul Diaconus (l. ii. c. 4. p. 776, 777.), Gregory of Tours (tom. ii. l. iv. c. 5. p. 205.), who ſtyles it *Lues Inguinaria*, and the Chronicles of Victor Tunnunenſis (p. 9. in Theſaur. Temporum), of Marcellinus (p. 54.) and of Theophanes (p. 153.).

[89] Dr. Freind (Hiſt. Medicin. in Opp. p. 416—420. Lond. 1733.) is ſatisfied that Procopius muſt have ſtudied phyſic from his knowledge and uſe of the technical words. Yet many words that are now ſcientific, were common and popular in the Greek idiom.

[90] See Thucydides, l. ii. c. 47—54. p. 127—133. edit. Duker, and the poetical deſcription of the ſame plague by Lucretius (l. vi. 1136—1284.). I was indebted to Dr. Hunter for an elaborate commentary on this part of Thucydides, a quarto of 600 pages (Venet. 1603, apud Juntas), which was pronounced in St. Mark's library by Fabius Paullinus Utinenſis, a phyſician and philoſopher.

[91] Thucydides (c. 51.) affirms that the infection could only be once taken; but Evagrius, who had family experience of the plague,

obſerves, that ſome perſons who had eſcaped the firſt, ſunk under the ſecond attack; and this repetition is confirmed by Fabius Paullinus (p. 588.). I obſerve, that on this head phyſicians are divided; and the nature and operation of the diſeaſe may not always be ſimilar.

[92] It was thus that Socrates had been ſaved by his temperance in the plague of Athens (Aul. Gellius, Noct. Attic. ii. 1.) Dr. Mead accounts for the peculiar ſalubrity of religious houſes, by the two advantages of ſecluſion and abſtinence (p. 18, 19.).

[93] Mead proves that the plague is contagious, from Thucydides, Lucretius, Ariſtotle, Galen, and common experience (p. 10—20.); and he refutes (Preface, p. ii—xiii.) the contrary opinion of the French phyſicians who viſited Marſeilles in the year 1720. Yet theſe were the recent and enlightened ſpectators of a plague which, in a few months, ſwept away 50,000 inhabitants (ſur la Peſte de Marſeille, Paris 1786.) of a city that, in the preſent hour of proſperity and trade, contains no more than 90,000 ſouls (Necker, ſur les Finances, tom. i. p. 231.).

[94] The ſtrong aſſertions of Procopius—ουτε γαρ ιατρω ουτε ιδιωτη—are overthrown by the ſubſequent experience of Evagrius.

[95] After ſome figures of rhetoric, the ſands of the ſea, etc. Procopius (Anecdot. c. 18.) attempts a more definite account: that μυριαδας μυριαδων μυριας had been exterminated under the reign of the Imperial dæmon. The expreſſion is obſcure in grammar and arithmetic; and a literal interpretation would produce ſeveral millions of millions. Alemannus (p. 80.) and Couſin (tom. iii. p. 178.) tranſlate this paſſage "two hundred millions;" but I am ignorant of their motives. If we drop the μυριαδας, the remaining μυριαδων μυριας, a myriad of myriads, would furniſh one hundred millions, a number not wholly inadmiſſible.

Cicero (Gruter. Inſcript. tom. i. p. cxlii. Scipion Maffei, Hiſtoria Diplomatica, p. 241—258. Bibliothéque Italique, tom. iii. p. 30—41. 174—205. tom. xiv. p. 1—52.).

[11] Compare Livy (l. iii. c. 31—59.) with Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis (l. x. p. 644—xi. p. 691.). How conciſe and animated is the Roman—how prolix and lifeleſs the Greek? Yet he has admirably judged the maſters, and defined the rules, of hiſtorical compoſition.

[12] From the hiſtorians, Heineccius (Hiſt. J. R. l. i. N° 26.) maintains that the twelve tables were of braſs—*æreas*: in the text of Pomponius we read *eboreas*; for which Scaliger has ſubſtituted *roboreas* (Bynkershoek, p. 286.). Wood, braſs, and ivory, might be ſucceſſively employed.

[13] His exile is mentioned by Cicero (Tuſculan. Quæſtion. v. 36.); his ſtatue by Pliny (Hiſt. Nat. xxxiv. 11.). The letter, dream, and prophecy of Heraclitus are alike ſpurious (Epiſtolæ Græc. Diverſ. p. 337.).

[14] This intricate ſubject of the Sicilian and Roman money, is ably diſcuſſed by Dr. Bentley (Diſſertation on the Epiſtles of Phalaris, p. 427—479), whoſe powers in this controverſy were called forth by honour and reſentment.

[15] The Romans, or their allies, ſailed as far as the fair promontory of Africa (Polyb. l. iii. p 177. edit. Caſaubon, in folio). Their voyages to Cumæ, etc. are noticed by Livy and Dionyſius.

[16] This circumſtance would alone prove the antiquity of Charondas, the legislator of Rhegium and Catana, who, by a ſtrange error of Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. xii. p. 485—492.), is celebrated long afterwards as the author of the policy of Thurium.

[17] Zaleucus, whoſe exiſtence has been rashly attacked, had the merit and glory of converting a band of outlaws (the Locrians) into the moſt virtuous and orderly of the Greek republics (See two Memoirs of the Baron de St. Croix, ſur la Legislation de la Grande Gréce; Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xlii. p. 276—333.). But the laws of Zaleucus and Charondas, which impoſed on Diodorus and Stobæus, are the ſpurious compoſition of a Pythagorean ſophiſt, whoſe fraud has been detected by the critical ſagacity of Bentley (p. 331—377.).

[18] I ſeize the opportunity of tracing the progreſs of this national intercourſe: 1. Herodotus and Thucydides (A. U. C. 300—350.) appear ignorant of the name and exiſtence of Rome (Joſeph. contra Apion. tom. ii. l. i. c. 12. p. 444. edit. Havercamp). 2. Theopompus (A. U. C. 400. Plin. iii. 9.) mentions the invaſion of the Gauls, which is noticed in looſer terms by Heraclides Ponticus (Plutarch in Camillo, p. 292. edit. H. Stephan). 3. The real or fabulous embaſſy

of the Romans to Alexander (A. U. C. 430), is atteſted by Clitarchus (Plin. iii. 9.), by Ariſtus and Aſclepiades (Arrian, l. vii. p. 294, 295.), and by Memnon of Heraclea (apud Photium, cod. ccxxiv. p. 725.); tacitly denied by Livy. 4. Theophraſtus (A. U. C. 440) primus externorum aliqua de Romanis diligentius ſcripſit (Plin. iii. 9.). 5. Lycophron (A. U. C. 480—500.) ſcattered the firſt ſeed of a Trojan colony and the fable of the Æneid (Caſſandra, 1226—1280.):

Της και θαλασσης σκηπτρα και μοναρχιαν
Λαβοντες.

A bold prediction before the end of the firſt Punic war!

[19] The tenth table, de modo ſepulturæ, was borrowed from Solon (Cicero de Legibus, ii. 23—26.): the furtum per lancem et licium conceptum, is derived by Heineccius from the manners of Athens (Antiquitat. Rom. tom. ii. p. 167—175.). The right of killing a nocturnal thief, was declared by Moſes, Solon, and the Decemvirs (Exodus, xxii. 3.). Demoſthenes contra Timocratem, tom. i. p. 736. edit. Reiske. Macrob. Saturnalia, l. i. c. 4. Collatio Legum Moſaicarum et Romanarum, tit. vii. N° 1. p. 218. edit. Cannegieter).

[20] Βραχεως και απεριττως, is the praiſe of Diodorus (tom. i. l. xii. p. 494.), which may be fairly tranſlated by the elegant atque abſoluta brevitate verborum of Aulus Gellius (Noct. Attic. xxi. 1.).

[21] Liſten to Cicero (de Legibus, ii. 23.) and his repreſentative Craſſus (de Oratore, i. 43, 44.).

[22] See Heineccius (Hiſt. J. R. N° 29—33.). I have followed the reſtoration of the xii. tables by Gravina (Origines J. C. p. 280—307.) and Teraſſon (Hiſt. de la Juriſprudence Romaine, p. 94—205.).

[23] Finis æqui juris (Tacit. Annal. iii. 27.). Fons omnis publici et privati juris (T. Liv. iii. 34.).

[24] De principiis juris, et quibus modis ad hanc multitudinem infinitam ac varietatem legum perventum ſit *altius* diſſeram (Tacit. Annal. iii. 25.). This deep diſquiſition fills only two pages; but they are the pages of Tacitus. With equal ſenſe, but with leſs energy, Livy (iii. 34.) had complained, in hac immenſo aliarum ſuper alias acervatarum legum cumulo, etc.

[25] Suetonius in Veſpaſiano, c. 8.

[26] Cicero ad Familiares, viii. 8.

[27] Dionyſius, with Arbuthnot, and moſt of the moderns (except Eiſenſchmidt de Ponderibus, etc. p. 137—140.), repreſent the 100,000 *aſſes* by 10,000 Attic drachmæ, or ſomewhat more than 300 pounds ſterling. But their calculation can apply only to the later times, when the *as* was diminished to $\frac{1}{24}$th of its ancient weight: nor can I believe that in the firſt ages, however deſtitute of the precious metals, a

ſingle ounce of ſilver could have been exchanged for ſeventy pounds of copper or braſs. A more ſimple and rational method is, to value the copper itſelf according to the preſent rate, and, after comparing the mint and the market price, the Roman and averdupois weight, the primitive *as* or Roman pound of copper may be appreciated at one Engliſh ſhilling, and the 100,000 *aſſes* of the firſt claſs amounted to 5000 pounds ſterling, It will appear from the ſame reckoning, that an ox was ſold at Rome for five pounds, a sheep for ten shillings, and a quarter of wheat for one pound ten shillings (Feſtus, p. 330. edit. Dacier. Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xviii. 4.): nor do I ſee any reaſon to reject theſe conſequences, which moderate our ideas of the poverty of the firſt Romans.

[28] Conſult the common writers on the Roman Comitia, eſpecially Sigonius and Beaufort. Spanheim (de Præſtantiâ et Uſû Numiſmatum, tom. ii. diſſert. x. p. 192, 193.) shews, on a curious medal, the Ciſta, Pontes, Septa, Diribitor. etc.

[29] Cicero (de Legibus, iii. 16, 17, 18.) debates this conſtitutional queſtion, and aſſigns to his brother Quintus the moſt unpopular ſide.

[30] Præ tumultu recuſantium perferre non potuit (Sueton. in Auguſt. c. 34.). See Propertius (l. ii. eleg. 6.). Heineccius, in a ſeparate hiſtory, has exhauſted the whole ſubject of the Julian and Papian-Poppæn laws (Opp. tom. vii. P. i. p. 1—479.).

[31] Tacit. Annal. i. 15. Lipſius, Excurſus E. in Tacitum.

[32] Non ambigitur ſenatum jus facere poſſe, is the deciſion of Ulpian (l. xvi. ad Edict. in Pandect. l. i. tit. iii. leg. 9.). Pomponius taxes the *comitia* of the people as a turba hominum (Pandect. l. i. tit. ii. leg. 9.).

[33] The jus honorarium of the prætors and other magiſtrates, is ſtrictly defined in the Latin text of the Inſtitutes (l. i. tit. ii. N° 7.), and more looſely explained in the Greek paraphraſe of Theophilus (p. 33—38. edit. Reitz.), who drops the important word *honorarium*.

[34] Dion Caſſius (tom. i. l. xxxvi. p. 100.) fixes the perpetual edicts in the year of Rome 686. Their inſtitution, however, is aſcribed to the year 585 in the Acta Diurna, which have been published from the papers of Ludovicus Vives. Their authenticity is ſupported or allowed by Pighius (Annal. Roman. tom. ii. p. 377, 378.), Grævius (ad Sueton. p. 778.), Dodwell (Prælection. Cambden, p. 665.), and Heineccius: but a ſingle word, Scutum *cimbricum*, detects the forgery (Moyle's Works, vol. i. p. 303.).

[35] The hiſtory of edicts is compoſed, and the text of the perpetual edict is reſtored, by the maſter-hand of Heineccius (Opp. tom. vii. P. ii. p. 1—564.); in whoſe reſearches I might ſafely acquieſce.

In the Academy of Inſcriptions, M. Bouchaud has given a ſeries of memoirs to this intereſting ſubject of law and literature.

[36] His laws are the firſt in the Code. See Dodwell (Prælect. Cambden. p. 319—340.), who wanders from the ſubject in confuſed reading and feeble paradox.

[37] Totam illam veterem et ſqualentem ſylvam legum novis principalium reſcriptorum et edictorum ſecuribus ruſcatis et cæditis (Apologet. c. 4. p. 50. edit. Havercamp). He proceeds to praiſe the recent firmneſs of Severus, who repealed the uſeleſs or pernicious laws without any regard to their age or authority.

[38] The conſtitutional ſtyle of *Legibus Solutus* is miſinterpreted by the art or ignorance of Dion Caſſius (tom. i. l. liii. p. 713.). On this occaſion his editor, Reimar, joins the univerſal cenſure which freedom and criticiſm have pronounced againſt that ſlavish hiſtorian.

[39] The *word* (*Lex Regia*) was ſtill more recent than the *thing*. The ſlaves of Commodus or Caracalla would have ſtarted at the name of royalty.

[40] See Gravina (Opp. p. 501—512.) and Beaufort (République Romaine, tom. i. p. 255—274.). He has made a proper uſe of two diſſertations by John Frederick Gronovius and Noodt, both tranſlated, with valuable notes, by Barbeyrac, 2 vols. in 12mo, 1731.

[41] Inſtitut. l. i. tit. ii. N° 6. Pandect. l. i. tit. iv. leg. 1. Cod. Juſtinian. l. i. tit. xvii. leg. 1. N° 7. In his Antiquities and Elements, Heineccius has amply treated de conſtitutionibus principum, which are illuſtrated by Godefroy (Comment. ad Cod. Theodoſ. l. i. tit. i, ii, iii.) and Gravina (p. 87—90.).

[42] Theophilus, in Paraphraſ. Græc. Inſtitut. p. 33, 34. edit. Reitz. For his perſon, time, writings, ſee the Theophilus of J. H. Mylius, Excurſ. iii. p. 1034—1073.

[43] There is more envy than reaſon in the complaint of Macrinus (Jul. Capitolin. c. 13.): Nefas eſſe leges videri Commodi et Caracallæ et hominum imperitorum voluntates. Commodus was made a Divus by Severus (Dodwell, Prælect. viii. p. 324, 325.). Yet he occurs only twice in the Pandects.

[44] Of Antoninus Caracalla alone 200 conſtitutions are extant in the Code, and with his father 160. Theſe two princes are quoted fifty times in de Pandects and eight in the Inſtitutes (Teraſſon, p. 265.).

[45] Plin. Secund. Epiſtol. x. 66. Sueton. in Domitian. c. 23.

[46] It was a maxim of Conſtantine, contra jus reſcripta non valeant (Cod. Theodoſ. l. i. tit. ii. leg. 1.). The emperors reluctantly allow ſome ſcrutiny into the law and the fact, ſome delay, petition, etc.; but theſe inſufficient remedies are too much in the diſcretion and at the peril of the judge.

[47] A compound of vermillion and cinnabar, which marks the Imperial diplomas from Leo I. (A. D. 470) to the fall of the Greek empire (Bibliothéque Raiſonnée de la Diplomatique, tom. i. p. 509—514. Lami, de Eruditione Apoſtolorum, tom. ii. p. 720—726.).

[48] Schulting, Juriſprudentia Ante-Juſtinianea, p. 681—718. Cujacius aſſigned to Gregory the reigns from Hadrian to Gallienus, and the continuation to his fellow-labourer Hermogenes. This general diviſion may be juſt; but they often treſpaſſed on each other's ground.

[49] Scævola, moſt probably Q. Cervidius Scævola the maſter of Papinian, conſiders this acceptance of fire and water as the eſſence of marriage (Pandect. l. xxiv. tit. i. leg. 66. See Heineccius, Hiſt. J. R. N° 317.)

[50] Cicero (de Officiis, iii. 19.) may ſtate an ideal caſe, but St. Ambroſe (de Officiis, iii. 2.) appeals to the practice of his own times, which he underſtood as a lawyer and a magiſtrate (Schulting ad Ulpian. Fragment. tit. xxii. N° 28. p. 643, 644.).

[51] The furtum lance licioque conceptum was no longer underſtood in the time of the Antonines (Aulus Gellius, xvi. 10.). The Attic derivation of Heineccius (Antiquit. Rom. l. iv. tit. i. No 13—21.) is ſupported by the evidence of Ariſtophanes, his ſcholiaſt, and Pollux.

[52] In his Oration for Murena (c. 9—13.) Cicero turns into ridicule the forms and myſteries of the civilians, which are repreſented with more candour by Aulus Gellius (Noct. Attic. xx. 10.), Gravina (Opp. p. 265, 266, 267.) and Heineccius (Antiquitat. l. iv. tit. vi.).

[53] The ſeries of the civil lawyers is deduced by Pomponius (de Origine Juris Pandect. l. i. tit. ii.). The moderns have diſcuſſed, with learning and criticiſm, this branch of literary hiſtory; and among theſe I have chiefly been guided by Gravina (p. 41—79.) and Heineccius (Hiſt. J. R. N° 113—351.). Cicero more eſpecially in his books de Oratore de Claris Oratoribus, de Legibus, and the Clavis Ciceroniana of Erneſti (under the names of *Mucius*, etc.), afford much genuine and pleaſing information. Horace often alludes to the morning labours of the civilians (Serm. I. i. 10. Epiſt. II. i. 103, etc.).

Agricolam laudat juris legumque peritus
Sub galli cantum, conſultor ubi oſtia pulſat.
.
Romæ dulce diu fuit et ſolemne, reclusâ
Mane domo vigilare, clienti promere jura.

[54] Craſſus, or rather Cicero himſelf, propoſes (de Oratore, l. i. 41, 42.) an idea of the art or ſcience of juriſprudence, which the eloquent, but illiterate, Antonius (i. 58.) affects to deride. It was partly executed

by Servius Sulpicius (in Bruto, c. 41), whose praises are elegantly varied in the classic Latinity of the Roman Gravina (p. 60.).

[55] Perturbatricem autem omnium harum rerum academiam, hanc ab Arcesila et Carneade recentem, exoremus ut sileat, nam si invaserit in hæc, quæ satis scite instructa et composita videantur, nimis edet ruinas, quam quidem ego placare cupio, submovere non audeo (de Legibus, i. 13.). From this passage alone, Bentley (Remarks on Free-thinking, p. 250.) might have learned how firmly Cicero believed in the specious doctrines which he has adorned.

[56] The Stoic philosophy was first taught at Rome by Panætius, the friend of the younger Scipio (see his life in the Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 75—89.).

[57] As he is quoted by Ulpian (leg. 40. ad Sabinum in Pandect. l. xlvii. tit. ii. leg. 21.). Yet Trebatius, after he was a leading civilian, qui familiam duxit, became an epicurean (Cicero ad Fam. vii. 5.). Perhaps he was not constant or sincere in his new sect.

[58] See Gravina (p. 45—51.) and the ineffectual cavils of Mascou. Heineccius (Hist. J. R. N° 125.) quotes and approves a dissertation of Everard Otto, de Stoicâ Jurisconsultorum Philosophiâ.

[59] We have heard of the Catonian rule, the Aquilian stipulation, and the Manilian forms, of 211 maxims, and of 247 definitions (Pandect. l. L. tit. xvi, xvii.).

[60] Read Cicero, l. i. de Oratore, Topica, pro Murena.

[61] See Pomponius (de Origine Juris Pandect. l. i. tit. ii. leg. 2. N° 47.), Heineccius (ad Institut l. i. tit. ii. N° 8, l. ii. tit. xxv. in Element. et Antiquitat.), and Gravina (p. 41—45.). Yet the monopoly of Augustus, an harsh measure, would appear with some softening in contemporary evidence; and it was probably veiled by a decree of the senate.

[62] I have perused the Diatribe of Gotfridus Mascovius, the learned Mascou, de Sectis Jurisconsultorum (Lipsiæ, 1728, in 12mo, p. 276.), a learned treatise on a narrow and barren ground.

[63] See the character of Antistius Labeo in Tacitus (Annal. iii. 75.) and in an epistle of Ateius Capito (Aul. Gellius, xiii. 12.), who accuses his rival of libertas nimia et *vecors*. Yet Horace would not have lashed a virtuous and respectable senator; and I must adopt the emendation of Bentley, who reads *Labieno* insanior (Serm. I. iii. 82.). See Mascou, de Sectis, c. 1. p. 1—24.).

[64] Justinian (Institut. l. iii. tit. xxiii. and Theophil. Vers. Græc. p. 677. 680.) has commemorated this weighty dispute, and the verses of Homer that were alleged on either side as legal authorities. It was decided by Paul (leg. 33. ad Edict. in Pandect. l. xviii. tit. i. leg. 1.),

ſince, in a ſimple exchange, the buyer could not be diſcriminated from the ſeller.

[65] This controverſy was likewiſe given for the Proculians, to ſuperſede the indecency of a ſearch, and to comply with the aphoriſm of Hippocrates, who was attached to the ſeptenary number of two weeks of years, or 700 of days (Inſtitut. l. i. tit. xxii.). Plutarch and the ſtoics (de Placit. Philoſoph. l. v. c. 24.) aſſign a more natural reaſon. Fourteen years is the age—περι ἣν ὁ σπερματικος χρονος ὁρος. See the *veſtigia* of the ſects in Maſcou, c. ix. p. 145—276.

[66] The ſeries and concluſion of the ſects are deſcribed by Maſcou (c. ii—vii. p. 24—120.), and it would be almoſt ridiculous to praiſe his equal juſtice to theſe obſolete ſects.

[67] At the firſt ſummons he flies to the turbot-council; yet Juvenal (Satir. iv. 75—81.) ſtyles the præfect or *bailiff* of Rome ſanctiſſimus legum interpres. From his ſcience, ſays the old ſcholiaſt, he was called, not a man, but a book. He derived the ſingular name of Pegaſus from the galley which his father commanded.

[68] Tacit. Annal. xvii. 7. Sueton. in Nerone, c. 37.

[69] Maſcou, de Sectis, c. viii. p. 120—144. de Heriſgundis, a legal term which was applied to theſe eclectic lawyers: *hercisſcere* is ſynonymous to dividere.

[70] See the Theodoſian Code, l. i. tit. iv. with Godefroy's Commentary tom. i. p. 30—35.). This decree might give occaſion to Jeſuitical diſputes like thoſe in the Lettres Provinciales, whether a judge was obliged to follow the opinion of Papinian or of a majority, againſt his judgment, againſt his conſcience, etc. Yet a legiſlator might give that opinion, however falſe, the validity not of truth, but of law.

[71] For the legal labours of Juſtinian, I have ſtudied the Preface to the Inſtitutes; the 1st, 2d, and 3d Prefaces to the Pandects; the 1st and 2d Prefaces to the Code; and the Code itſelf (l. i. tit. xvii. de Veteri Jure enucleando). After theſe original teſtimonies, I have conſulted, among the moderns, Heineccius (Hiſt. J. R. N° 383—404.), Teraſſon (Hiſt. de la Juriſprudence Romaine, p. 295—356.), Gravina (Opp. p. 93—100.), and Ludewig, in his Life of Juſtinian (p. 19—123. 318—321.: for the Code and Novels, p. 209—261.; for the Digeſt or Pandects, p. 262—317.).

[72] For the character of Tribonian, ſee the teſtimonies of Procopius (Perſic. l. i. c. 23, 24. Anecdot. c. 13. 20.) and Suidas (tom. iii. p. 501. edit. Kuſter). Ludewig (in Vit. Juſtinian. p. 175—209.(works hard, very hard, to white-waſh—the black-a-moor.

[73] I apply the two paſſages of Suidas to the ſame man; every circumſtance ſo exactly tallies. Yet the lawyers appear ignorant; and

Fabricius is inclined to ſeparate the two characters (Bibliot. Græc. tom. i. p. 341. ii. p. 518. iii. p. 418. xii. p. 346. 353. 474).

[74] This ſtory is related by Heſychius (de Viris Illuſtribus), Procopius (Anecdot. c. 13.), and Suidas (tom. iii. p. 501.). Such flattery is incredible?

—Nihil eſt quod credere de ſe
Non poteſt, cum laudatur Diis æqua poteſtas.

Fontenelle (tom. i. p. 32—39.) has ridiculed the impudence of the modeſt Virgil. Butthe ſame Fontenelle places his king above the divine Auguſtus; and the ſage Boileau has not blushed to ſay "Le deſtin "à ſes yeux n'oſeroit balancer." Yet neither Auguſtus nor Louis XIV. were fools.

[75] Πανδέκται (general receivers) was a common title of the Greek miſcellanies (Plin. Præfat. ad Hiſt. Natur.). The *digeſta* of Scævola, Marcellinus, Celſus, were already familiar to the civilians: but Juſtinian was in the wrong when he uſed the two appellations as ſynonymous. Is the word *Pandects* Greek or Latin—maſculine or feminine? The diligent Brenckman will not preſume to decide theſe momentous controverſies (Hiſt. Pandect. Florentin. p. 300—304.).

[76] Angelus Politianus (l. v. Epiſt. ult.) reckons thirty-ſeven (p. 192—200.) civilians quoted in the Pandects—a learned, and, for his times, an extraordinary liſt. The Greek Index to the Pandects enumerates thirty-nine; and forty are produced by the indefatigable Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. iii. p. 488—502.). Antoninus Auguſtus (de Nominibus Propriis. Pandect. apud Ludewig, p. 283.) is ſaid to have added fifty-four names; but they muſt be vague or ſecond-hand references.

[77] The Στίχοι of the ancient MSS. may be ſtrictly defined as ſentences or periods of a complete ſenſe, which, on the breadth of the parchment rolls or volumes, compoſed as many lines of unequal length. The number of Στίχοι in each book ſerved as a check on the errors of the ſcribes (Ludewig, p. 211—215. and his original author Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſiaſt, tom. i. p. 1021—1036.).

[78] An ingenious and learned oration of Schultingius (Juriſprudentia Ante-Juſtinianea, p. 883—907.) juſtifies the choice of Tribonian, againſt the paſſionate charges of Francis Hottoman and his ſectaries.

[79] Strip away the cruſt of Tribonian, and allow for the uſe of technical words, and the Latin of the Pandects will be found not unworthy of the *ſilver* age. It has been vehemently attacked by Laurentius Valla, a faſtidious grammarian of the xvth century, and by his apologiſt Floridus Sabinus. It has been defended by Alciat and a nameleſs advocate (moſt probably James Capellus). Their various treatiſes are

collected by Duker (Opuſcula de Latinitate veterum Juriſconſultorum, Lugd Bat. 1721, in 12mo).

[80] Nomina quidem veteribus ſervavimus, legum autem veritatem noſtram feçimus. Itaque ſiquid erat in illis *ſeditioſum*, multa autem talia erant ibi repoſita, hoc deciſum eſt et definitum, et in perſpicuum finem deducta eſt quæque lex (Cod. Juſtinian. l. i. tit. xvii. leg. 3. N° 10.). A frank confeſſion!

[81] The number of theſe *emblemata* (a polite name for forgeries) is much reduced by Bynkerſhoek (in the iv. laſt books of his Obſervations), who poorly maintains the right of Juſtinian and the duty of Tribonian.

[82] The *antinomies*, or oppoſite laws of the Code and Pandects, are ſometimes the cauſe, and often the excuſe, of the glorious uncertainty of the civil law, which ſo often affords what Montaigne calls "Queſtions pour l'Ami." See a fine paſſage of Franciſcus Balduinus in Juſtinian (l. ii. p. 259, etc. apud Ludewig, p. 305, 306.).

[83] When Fuſt, or Fauſtus, ſold at Paris his firſt printed bibles as manuſcripts, the price of a parchment copy was reduced from four or five hundred to ſixty, fifty, and forty crowns. The public was at firſt pleaſed with the cheapneſs, and at length provoked by the diſcovery of the fraud (Maittaire, Annal. Typograph. tom. i. p. 12.; firſt edition).

[84] This execrable practice prevailed from the viiith, and more eſpecially from the xiith, century, when it became almoſt univerſal (Montfaucon, in the Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. vi. p. 606, etc. Bibliothéque Raiſonnée de la Diplomatique, tom. i. p. 176.).

[85] Pomponius (Pandect. l. i. tit. ii. leg. 2.) obſerves, that of the three founders of the civil law, Mucius, Brutus, and Manilius, extant volumina, ſcripta Manilii monumenta; that of ſome old republican lawyers, hæc verſantur eorum ſcripta inter manus hominum. Eight of the Auguſtan ſages were reduced to a compendium: of Caſcellius, ſcripta non extant ſed unus liber, etc.; of Trebatius, minus frequentantur; of Tubero, libri parum grati ſunt. Many quotations in the Pandects are derived from books which Tribonian never ſaw; and, in the long period from the viith to the xiiith century of Rome, the *apparent* reading of the moderns ſucceſſively depends on the knowledge and veracity of their predeceſſors.

[86] *All*, in ſeveral inſtances, repeat the errors of the ſcribe and the tranſpoſitions of ſome leaves in the Florentine Pandects. This fact, if it be true, is deciſive. Yet the Pandects are quoted by Ivo of Chartres (who died in 1117), by Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and by Vacarius, our firſt profeſſor, in the year 1140 (Selden ad Fletam, c. 7. tom. ii. p. 1080—1085.). Have our Britiſh MSS. of the Pandects been collated?

[87] See

[87] See the deſcription of this original in Brenckman (Hiſt. Pandect. Florent. l. i. c. 2, 3. p. 4—17. and l. ii.). Politian, an enthuſiaſt, revered it as the authentic ſtandard of Juſtinian himſelf (p. 407, 408.); but this paradox is refuted by the abbreviations of the Florentine MS. (l. ii. c. 3. p. 117—130.) It is compoſed of two quarto volumes, with large margins, on a thin parchment, and the Latin characters betray the hand of a Greek ſcribe.

[88] Brenckman, at the end of his hiſtory, has inſerted two diſſertations, on the republic of Amalphi, and the Piſan war in the year 1135, etc.

[89] The diſcovery of the Pandects at Amalphi (A. D. 1137.) is firſt noticed (in 1501.) by Ludovicus Bologninus (Brenckman, l. i. c. xi. p. 73, 74. l. iv. c. 2. p. 417—425.), on the faith of a Piſan chronicle (p. 409, 410.), without a name or a date. The whole ſtory, though unknown to the xiith century, embellished by ignorant ages, and ſuſpected by rigid criticiſm, is not, however, deſtitute of much internal probability (l. i. c. 4—8. p. 17—50.). The Liber Pandectarum of Piſa was undoubtedly conſulted in the xivth century by the great Bartolus (p. 406, 407. See l. i. c. 9. p. 50—62.).

[90] Piſa was taken by the Florentines in the year 1406; and in 1411 the Pandects were tranſported to the capital. Theſe events are authentic and famous.

[91] They were new bound in purple, depoſited in a rich caſket, and ſhewn to curious travellers by the monks and magiſtrates bare-headed, and with lighted tapers (Brenckman, l. i. c. 10, 11, 12. p. 62—93.).

[92] After the collations of Politian, Bologninus, and Antoninus Auguſtinus, and the ſplendid edition of the Pandects by Taurellus (in 1551), Henry Brenckman, a Dutchman, undertook a pilgrimage to Florence, where he employed ſeveral years in the ſtudy of a ſingle manuſcript. His Hiſtoria Pandectarum Florentinorum (Utrecht, 1722, in 4to), though a monument of induſtry, is a ſmall portion of his original deſign.

[93] Χρυσεια χαλκειων, ἑκατομβοι ἐννεαβοιων, apud Homerum patrem omnis virtutis (1ſt Præfat. ad Pandect.). A line of Milton or Taſſo would ſurpriſe us in an act of parliament. Quæ omnia obtinere ſancimus in omne ævum. Of the firſt Code, he ſays (2d Præfat.), in æternum valiturum. Man and for ever!

[94] *Novellæ* is a claſſic adjective, but a barbarous ſubſtantive (Ludewig, p. 245.). Juſtinian never collected them himſelf: the nine collations, the legal ſtandard of modern tribunals, conſiſt of ninety-eight Novels; but the number was encreaſed by the diligence of Julian, Haloander, and Contius (Ludewig, p. 249, 258. Aleman. Not. in Anecdot. p. 98.).

[95] Monteſquieu, Conſidérations ſur la Grandeur et la Décadence des

Romains, c. 20. tom. iii. p. 501. in 4to. On this occaſion he threw aſide the gown and cap of a Preſident à Mortier.

[96] Procopius, Anecdot. c. 28. A ſimilar privilege was granted to the church of Rome (Novel. ix.). For the general repeal of theſe miſchievous indulgences, ſee Novel. cxi. and Edict. v.

[97] Lactantius, in his Inſtitutes of Chriſtianity, an elegant and ſpecious work, propoſes to imitate the title and method of the civilians. Quidam prudentes et arbitri æquitatis Inſtituciones Civilis Juris compoſitas ediderunt (Inſtitut. Divin. l. i. c. 1.). Such as Ulpian, Paul, Florentinus, Marcian.

[98] The emperor Juſtinian calls him *ſuum*, though he died before the end of the ſecond century. His Inſtitutes are quoted by Servius, Boethius, Priſcian, etc. and the Epitome by Arrian is ſtill extant. (See the Prolegomena and Notes to the edition of Schulting, in the Juriſprudentia Ante-Juſtinianea, Lugd. Bat. 1717. Heineccius, Hiſt. J. R. N° 313. Ludewig, in Vit. Juſt. p. 199.)

[99] See the Annales Politiques de l'Abbé de St. Pierre, tom. i. p. 25. who dates in the year 1735. The moſt ancient families claim the immemorial poſſeſſion of arms and fiefs. Since the Cruſades, ſome, the moſt truly reſpectable, have been created by the king for merit and ſervices. The recent and vulgar crowd is derived from the multitude of venal offices without truſt or dignity, which continually ennoble the wealthy plebeians.

[100] If the option of a ſlave was bequeathed to ſeveral legatees, they drew lots, and the loſers were entitled to their ſhare of his value: ten pieces of gold for a common ſervant or maid under ten years; if above that age, twenty; if they knew a trade, thirty; notaries or writers, fifty; midwives or *phyſicians*, ſixty; eunuchs under ten years, thirty pieces; above, fifty; if tradeſmen, ſeventy (Cod. l. vi. tit. xliii. leg. 3.). Theſe legal prices are generally below thoſe of the market.

[101] For the ſtate of ſlaves and freedmen, ſee Inſtitutes, l. i. tit. iii —vii. l. ii. tit. ix. l. iii. tit. viii, ix. Pandects or Digeſt, l. i. tit. v, vi. l. xxxviii. tit. i—iv. and the whole of the xlth book. Code, l. vi. tit. iv, v. l. vii. tit. i—xxiii.). Be it henceforwards underſtood that, with the original text of the Inſtitutes and Pandects, the correſpondent articles in the Antiquities and Elements of Heineccius are implicitly quoted; and, with the xxvii firſt books of the Pandects, the learned and rational Commentaries of Gerard Noodt (Opera, tom. ii. p. 1—590, the end. Lugd. Bat. 1724).

[102] See the patria poteſtas in the Inſtitutes (l. i. tit. ix.), the Pandects (l. i. tit. vi, vii.), and the Code (l. viii. tit. xlvii, xlviii, xlix.). Jus poteſtatis quod in liberos habemus proprium eſt civium Romanorum.

Nulli enim alii ſunt homines, qui talem in liberos habeant poteſtatem qualem nos habemus.

[103] Dionyſius Hal. l. ii. p. 94, 95. Gravina (Opp. p. 286.) produces the words of the xii tables. Papinian (in Collatione Legum Romanæ et Moſaicarum, tit. iv. p. 204.) ſtyles this patria poteſtas, lex regia: Ulpian (ad Sabin. l. xxvi. in Pandect. l. i. tit. vi. leg. 8.) ſays, jus poteſtatis moribus receptum; and furioſus filium in poteſtate habebit. How ſacred—or rather how abſurd!

[104] Pandect. l. xlvii. tit. ii. leg. 14. N° 13. leg. 38. N° 1. Such was the deciſion of Ulpian and Paul.

[105] The trina mancipatio is moſt clearly defined by Ulpian (Fragment, x. p. 591, 592. edit. Schulting); and beſt illuſtrated in the Antiquities of Heineccius.

[106] By Juſtinian, the old law, the jus necis of the Roman father (Inſtitut. l. iv. tit. ix. N° 7.), is reported and reprobated. Some legal veſtiges are left in the Pandects (l. xliii. tit. xxix. leg. 3. N° 4.) and the Collatio Legum Romanarum et Moſaicarum (tit. ii. N°. 3. p. 189.).

[107] Except on public occaſions, and in the actual exerciſe of his office. In publicis locis atque muneribus, atque actionibus patrum, jura cum filiorum qui in magiſtratu ſunt, poteſtatibus collata interquieſcere pauſulum et connivere, etc. (Aul. Gellius, Noctes Atticæ, ii. 2.). The leſſons of the philoſopher Taurus were juſtified by the old and memorable example of Fabius; and we may contemplate the ſame ſtory in the ſtyle of Livy (xxiv. 44.) and the homely idiom of Claudius Quadrigarius the annaliſt.

[108] See the gradual enlargement and ſecurity of the filial *peculium* in the Inſtitutes (l. ii. tit. ix.), the Pandects (l. xv. tit. i. l. xli. tit. i.), and the Code (l. iv. tit. xxvi, xxvii.).

[109] The examples of Erixo and Arius are related by Seneca (de Clementiâ, i. 14, 15.), the former with horror, the latter with applauſe.

[110] Quod latronis magis quam patris jure eum interfecit, nam patriæ poteſtas in pietate debet non in atrocitate conſiſtere (Marcian, Inſtitut. l. xiv. in Pandect. l. xlviii. tit. ix. leg. 5.).

[111] The Pompeian and Cornelian laws de *ſicariis* and *parricidis*, are repeated, or rather abridged, with the laſt ſupplements of Alexander Severus. Conſtantine, and Valentinian, in the Pandects (l. xlviii. tit. viii, ix.) and Code (l. ix. tit. xvi, xvii.). See likewiſe the Theodoſian Code (l. ix. tit. xiv, xv.), with Godefroy's Commentary (tom. iii. p. 84—113.), who pours a flood of ancient and modern learning over theſe penal laws.

[112] When the Chremes of Terence reproaches his wife for not obeying his orders and expoſing their infant, he ſpeaks like a father

and a maſter, and ſilences the ſcruples of a foolish woman. See Apuleius (Metamorph. l. x. p. 337. edit. Delphin.).

[113] The opinion of the lawyers, and the diſcretion of the magiſtrates, had introduced in the time of Tacitus ſome legal reſtraints, which might ſupport his contraſt of the boni mores of the Germans to the bonæ leges alibi—that is to ſay, at Rome (de Moribus Germanorum, c 19.). Tertullian ad Nationes, l. i. c. 15.) refutes his own charges and thoſe of his brethren, againſt the heathen juriſprudence.

[114] The wiſe and humane ſentence of the civilian Paul (l. ii. Sententiarum in Pandect. l. xxv. tit. iii. leg. 4.) is repreſented as a mere moral precept by General Noodt (Opp. tom. i. in Julius Paulus, p. 567—588. and Amica Reſponſio, p. 591—606.), who maintains the opinion of Juſtus Lipſius (Opp. tom. ii. p. 409. ad Belgas, cent. i. epiſt. 85.), and as a poſitive binding law by Bynkershoek (de Jure occidendi Liberos, Opp. tom. i. p. 318—340. Curæ ſecundæ, p. 391—427.). In a learned but angry controverſy the two friends deviated into the oppoſite extremes.

[115] Dionyſ. Hal. l. ii. p. 92, 93. Plutarch, in Numa, p. 140, 141. Το σωμα και το ηθος καθαρον και αβικτον επι τῳ γαμηντι γενεσθαι.

[116] Among the winter *frumenta*, the *triticum*, or bearded wheat; the *ſiligo*, or the unbearded; the *far*, *adorea*, *oryza*, whoſe deſcription perfectly tallies with the rice of Spain and Italy. I adopt this identity on the credit of M. Paucton in his uſeful and laborious Métrologie (p. 517—529.).

[117] Aulus Gellius (Noctes Atticæ, xviii. 6.) gives a ridiculous definition of Ælius Meliſſus, Matrona, quæ ſemel, *materfamilias* quæ ſæpius peperit, as porcetra and ſcropha in the ſow kind. He then adds the genuine meaning, quæ in matrimonium vel in manum convenerat.

[118] It was enough to have taſted wine, or to have ſtolen the key of the cellar (Plin. Hiſt. Nat. xiv. 14.).

[119] Solon requires three payments per month. By the Miſna, a daily debt was impoſed on an idle, vigorous, young huſband; twice a week on a citizen; once on a peaſant; once in thirty days on a camel-driver; once in ſix months on a ſeaman. But the ſtudent or doctor was free from tribute; and *no* wife, if ſhe received a *weekly* ſuſtenance, could ſue for a divorce; for one week a vow of abſtinence was allowed. Polygamy divided, without multiplying, the duties of the huſband (Selden, Uxor Ebraica, l. iii. c. 6. in his works, vol. ii. p. 717—720.).

[120] On the Oppian law we may hear the mitigating ſpeech of Valerius Flaccus, and the ſevere cenſorial oration of the elder Cato

(Liv. xxxiv. 1—8.). But we shall rather hear the polished hiſtorian of the eighth, than the rough orators of the ſixth, century of Rome. The principles, and even the ſtyle, of Cato are more accurately preſerved by Aulus Gellius (x. 23.).

[121] For the ſyſtem of Jewiſh and Catholic matrimony, ſee Selden (Uxor Ebraica, Opp. vol. ii. p. 529—860.), Bingham (Chriſtian Antiquities, l. xxii.), and Chardon (Hiſt. des Sacrémens, tom. vi.).

[122] The civil laws of marriage are expoſed in the Inſtitutes (l. i. tit. x.), the Pandects (l. xxiii, xxiv, xxv.), and the Code (l. v.); but as the title de ritu nuptiarum is yet imperfect, we are obliged to explore the fragments of Ulpian (tit. ix. p. 590, 591.) and the Collatio Legum Moſaicarum (tit. xvi. p. 790, 791.), with the Notes of Pithæus and Schulting. They find, in the Commentary of Servius (on the 1st Georgic and the 4th Æneid), two curious paſſages.

[123] According to Plutarch (p. 57.), Romulus allowed only three grounds of a divorce—drunkenneſs, adultery, and falſe keys. Otherwiſe, the husband who abuſed his ſupremacy forfeited half his goods to the wife, and half to the goddeſs Ceres, and offered a ſacrifice (with the remainder?) to the terreſtrial deities. This ſtrange law was either imaginary or tranſient.

[124] In the year of Rome 523, Spurius Carvilius Ruga repudiated a fair, a good, but a barren, wife (Dionyſius Hal. l. ii. p. 93. Plutarch, in Numa, p. 141. Valerius Maximus, l. ii. c. 1. Aulus Gellius, iv. 3.). He was queſtioned by the cenſors, and hated by the people, but his divorce ſtood unimpeached in law.

[125] —Sic fiunt octo mariti
Quinque per autumnos.
(Juvenal. Satir. vi. 20.)

A rapid ſucceſſion, which may yet be credible, as well as the non conſulum numero, ſed maritorum annos ſuos computant, of Seneca (de Beneficiis, iii. 16.). Jerom ſaw at Rome a triumphant husband bury his twenty-firſt wife, who had interred twenty two of his leſs ſturdy predeceſſors (Opp. tom. i. p. 90. ad Gerontiam). But the ten husbands, in a month of the poet Martial, is an extravagant hyperbole (l. vi. epigram. 7.).

[126] Sacellum Viriplacæ (Valerius Maximus, l. ii. c. 1.) in the Palatine region appears in the time of Theodoſius, in the deſcription of Rome by Publius Victor.

[127] Valerius Maximus, l. ii. c. 9. With ſome propriety he judges divorce more criminal than celibacy: illo namque conjugalia ſacra ſpreta tantum, hoc etiam injurioſe tractata.

[128] See the laws of Auguſtus and his ſucceſſors, in Heineccius, ad

Legem Papiam-Poppæam, c. 19. in Opp. tom. vi. P. i. p. 323—333.

[129] Aliæ ſunt leges Cæſarum, aliæ Chriſti; aliud Papinianus, aliud Paulus *noſter* præcipit (Jerom. tom. i. p. 198. Selden, Uxor Ebraica, l. iii. c. 31. p. 847—853.).

[130] The Inſtitutes are ſilent, but we may conſult the Codes of Theodoſius (l. iii. tit. xvi. with Godefroy's Commentary, tom. i. p. 310—315.) and Juſtinian (l. v. tit. xvii.), the Pandects (l. xxiv. tit. ii.) and the Novels (xxii. cxvii. cxxvii. cxxxiv. cxl.). Juſtinian fluctuated to the laſt between civil and eccleſiaſtical law.

[131] In pure Greek, πορνεια is not a common word; nor can the proper meaning, fornication, be ſtrictly applied to matrimonial ſin. In a figurative ſenſe, how far, and to what offences, may it be extended? Did Chriſt ſpeak the Rabbinical or Syriac tongue? Of what original word is πορνεια the tranſlation? How variouſly is that Greek word tranſlated in the verſions ancient and modern! There are two (Mark, x. 11. Luke, xvi. 18.) to one (Matthew, xix. 9.) that ſuch ground of divorce was not excepted by Jeſus. Some critics have preſumed to think, by an evaſive anſwer, he avoided the giving offence either to the ſchool of Sammai or to that of Hillel (Selden, Uxor Ebraica, l. iii. c. 18—22. 28. 31.).

[132] The principles of the Roman juriſprudence are expoſed by Juſtinian (Inſtitut. l. i. tit. x.); and the laws and manners of the different nations of antiquity concerning forbidden degrees, etc. are copiouſly explained by Dr. Taylor in his Elements of Civil Law (p. 108. 314—339.), a work of amuſing, though various, reading; but which cannot be praiſed for philoſophical preciſion.

[133] When her father Agrippa died (A. D. 44), Berenice was ſixteen years of age (Joſeph. tom. i. Antiquit. Judaic. l. xix. c. 9. p. 952, edit. Havercamp). She was therefore above fifty years old when Titus (A. D. 79) invitus invitam inviſit. This date would not have adorned the tragedy or paſtoral of the tender Racine.

[134] The *Ægyptia conjunx* of Virgil (Æneid, viii. 688.) ſeems to be numbered among the monſters who warred with Mark-Antony againſt Auguſtus, the ſenate and the gods of Italy.

[135] The humble but legal rights of concubines and natural children, are ſtated in the Inſtitutes (l. i. tit. x.), the Pandects (l. i. tit. vii.), the Code (l. v. tit. xxv.), and the Novels (lxxiv. lxxxix.). The reſearches of Heinecoius and Giannone (ad Legem Juliam et Papiam-Poppæam, c. iv. p. 164—175. Opere Poſthume, p. 108—158.) illuſtrate this intereſting and domeſtic ſubject.

[136] See the article of guardians and wards in the Inſtitutes (l. i. tit. xlii—xxvi.), the Pandects (l. xxvi, xxvii.), and the Code (l. v. it. xxviii—lxx.).

[137] Inſtitut. l. ii. tit. i, ii. Compare the pure and preciſe reaſoning of Caius and Heineccius (l. ii. tit. i. p. 69—91.) with the looſe prolixity of Theophilus (p. 207—265.). The opinions of Ulpian are preſerved in the Pandects (l. i. tit. viii. leg. 41. N° 1.).

[138] The *heredium* of the firſt Romans is defined by Varro (de Re Ruſticâ, l. i. c. 2. p. 141. c. 10. p. 160, 161. edit. Geſner), and clouded by Pliny's declamation (Hiſt. Natur. xviii. 2.). A juſt and learned comment is given in the Adminiſtration des Terres chez les Romains (p. 12—66.).

[139] The *res mancipe* is explained from faint and remote lights by Ulpian (Fragment. tit. xviii. p. 618, 619.) and Bynkershoek (Opp. tom. i. p. 306—315.). The definition is ſomewhat arbitrary; and as none except myſelf have aſſigned a reaſon, I am diffident of my own.

[140] From this ſhort preſcription, Hume (Eſſays, vol. i. p. 423.) infers that there could not *then* be more order and ſettlement in Italy than *now* amongſt the Tartars. By the civilian of his adverſary Wallace, he is reproached, and not without reaſon, for overlooking the conditions (Inſtitut. l. ii. tit. vi.).

[141] See the Inſtitutes (l. i. tit. iv, v.) and the Pandects (l. vii.). Noodt has compoſed a learned and diſtinct treatiſe de *Uſufructû* (Opp. tom. i. p. 387—478.).

[142] The queſtions *de Servitutibus* are diſcuſſed in the Inſtitutes (l. ii. tit. iii.) and Pandects (l. viii.). Cicero (pro Murenâ, c. 9.) and Lactantius (Inſtitut. Divin. l. i. c. 1.) affect to laugh at the inſignificant doctrine, de aquâ pluviâ arcendâ, etc. Yet it might be of frequent uſe among litigious neighbours, both in town and country.

[143] Among the patriarchs, the firſt born enjoyed a myſtic and ſpiritual primogeniture (Geneſis, xxv. 31.). In the land of Canaan he was entitled to a double portion of inheritance (Deuteronomy, xxi. 17. with Le Clerc's judicious Commentary).

[144] At Athens the ſons were equal, but the poor daughters were endowed at the diſcretion of their brothers. See the κλητικοι pleadings of Iſæus (in the viith volume of the Greek Orators), illuſtrated by the verſion and comment of Sir William Jones, a ſcholar, a lawyer, and a man of genius.

[145] In England, the eldeſt ſon alone inherits *all* the land, a law, ſays the orthodox judge Blackſtone (Commentaries on the Laws of England, vol. ii. p. 215.), unjuſt only in the opinion of younger brothers. It may be of ſome political uſe in ſharpening their induſtry.

[146] Blackſtone's Tables (vol. ii. p. 202.) repreſent and compare the degrees of the civil with thoſe of the canon and common law. A ſeparate tract of Julius Paulus, de gradibus et affinibus, is inſerted

or abridged in the Pandects (l. xxxviii. tit. x.). In the viith degrees he computes (N° 18.) 1024 perſons.

[147] The Voconian law was enacted in the year of Rome 584. The younger Scipio, who was then xvii years of age (Frenshemius, Supplement. Livian. xlvi. 40.), found an occaſion of exerciſing his generoſity to his mother, ſiſters, etc. (Polybius, tom. ii. l. xxxi. p. 1453—1464. edit. Gronov. a domeſtic witneſs).

[148] Legem Voconiam (Erneſti, Clavis Ciceroniana) magnâ voce bonis lateribus (at lxv years of age) ſuaſiſſem, ſays old Cato (de Senectute, c. 5.). Aulus Gellius (vii. 13. xvii. 6.) has ſaved ſome paſſages.

[149] See the law of ſucceſſion in the Inſtitutes of Caius (l. ii. tit. viii. p. 130—144.) and Juſtinian (l. iii. tit. i—vi. with the Greek verſion of Theophilus, p. 515—575. 588—600.), the Pandects (l. xxxviii. tit. vi—xvii.), the Code (l. vi. tit. lv—lx.), and the Novels (cxviii.).

[150] That ſucceſſion was the *rule*, teſtament the *exception*, is proved by Taylor (Elements of Civil Law, p. 519—527.), a learned, rambling, ſpirited, writer. In the iid and iiid books the method of the Inſtitutes is doubtleſs prepoſterous; and the Chancellor Dagueſſeau (Oeuvres, tom. i. p. 275.) wiſhes his countryman Domat in the place of Tribonian. Yet *covenants* before *ſucceſſions* is not ſurely *the natural order of the civil laws.*

[151] Prior examples of teſtaments are perhaps fabulous. At Athens a *childleſs* father only could make a will (Plutarch, in Solone, tom. i. p. 164. See Iſæus and Jones).

[152] The teſtament of Auguſtus is ſpecified by Suetonius (in Auguſt. c. 101. in Neron. c. 4.), who may be ſtudied as a code of Roman antiquities. Plutarch (Opuſcul. tom. ii. p. 976.) is ſurpriſed ὁταν δε διαθηκας γραφωσιν ἑτερος μεν απολειπηται κληρονομος, ἑτεροι δε πωλωσι τας ουσιας. The language of Ulpian (Fragment. tit. xx. p. 627. edit. Schulting) is almoſt too excluſive—ſolum in uſû eſt.

[153] Juſtinian (Novell. cxv. N° 3, 4.) enumerates only the public and private crimes, for which a ſon might likewiſe diſinherit his father.

[154] The *ſubſtitutions fidei-commiſſaires* of the modern civil law is a feudal idea grafted on the Roman juriſprudence, and bears ſcarcely any reſemblance to the ancient fidei-commiſſa (Inſtitutions du Droit François, tom. i. p. 347—383. Déniſart, Déciſions de Juriſprudence, tom. iv. p. 577—604.). They were ſtretched to the fourth degree by an abuſe of the clixth Novel; a partial, perplexed, declamatory law.

[155] Dion Caſſius (tom. ii. l. lvi. p. 814. with Reimar's Notes) ſpecifies in Greek money the ſum of 25,000 drachms

[156] The revolutions of the Roman laws of inheritance are finely,

though ſometimes fancifully, deduced by Monteſquieu (Eſprit des Loix, l. xxvii.).

157 Of the civil juriſprudence of ſucceſſions, teſtaments, codicils, legacies, and truſts, the principles are aſcertained in the Inſtitutes of Caius (l. ii. tit ii—ix. p. 91—144.), Juſtinian (l. ii. tit. x—xxv.), and Theophilus (p. 328—514.); and the immenſe detail occupies twelve books (xxviii—xxxix.) of the Pandects.

158 The Inſtitutes of Caius (l. ii. tit. ix, x. p. 144—214.), of Juſtinian (l. iii. tit. xiv—xxx. l. iv. tit. i—vi.), and of Theophilus (p. 616—837.), diſtinguish four ſorts of obligations—aut *re*, aut *verbis*, aut *litteris*, aut *conſenſu*: but I confeſs myſelf partial to my own diviſion.

159 How much is the cool, rational evidence of Polybius (l. vi. p. 693. l. xxxi. p. 1459, 1460.) ſuperior to vague, indiſcriminate applauſe—omnium maxime et præcipue fidem coluit (A. Gellius, xx. 1.).

160 The Jus prætorium de Pactis et Tranſactionibus is a ſeparate and ſatisfactory treatiſe of Gerard Noodt (Opp. tom. i. p. 483—564.). And I will here obſerve that the Univerſities of Holland and Brandenburgh, in the beginning of the preſent century, appear to have ſtudied the civil law on the moſt juſt and liberal principles.

161 The nice and various ſubject of contracts by conſent, is ſpread over four books (xvii—xx.) of the Pandects, and is one of the parts beſt deſerving of the attention of an Engliſh ſtudent.

162 The covenants of rent are defined in the Pandects (l. xix.) and the Code (l. iv. tit. lxv.). The quinquennium, or term of five years, appears to have been a cuſtom rather than a law; but in France all leaſes of land were determined in nine years. This limitation was removed only in the year 1775 (Encyclopédie Méthodique, tom. i. de la Juriſprudence, p. 668, 669.); and I am ſorry to obſerve that it yet prevails in the beauteous and happy country where I am permitted to reſide.

163 I might implicitly acquieſce in the ſenſe and learning of the three books of G. Noodt, de fœnore et uſuris (Opp. tom. i. p. 175—268.), The interpretation of the *aſſes* or *centeſimæ uſuræ* at twelve, the *unciariæ* at one, per cent. is maintained by the beſt critics and civilians: Noodt (l. ii. c. 2. p. 207.), Gravina (Opp. p. 205, etc. 210.), Heineccius (Antiquitat. ad Inſtitut. l. iii. tit. xv.), Monteſquieu (Eſprit des Loix, l. xxii. c. 22. tom. ii. p. 36. Defence de l'Eſprit des Loix, tom. iii. p. 478, etc.), and above all John Frederic Gronovius (de Pecuniâ Veteri, l. iii. c. 13. p. 213—227. and his three Antexegeſes, p. 455—655.), the founder, or at leaſt the champion,

[181] This law is noticed by Livy (ii. 8.) and Plutarch (in Publicola, tom. i. p. 187.); and it fully juſtifies the public opinion on the death of Cæſar, which Suetonius could publish under the Imperial government. Jure cæſus exiſtimatur (in Julio, c. 76.). Read the letters that paſſed between Cicero and Marius a few months after the ides of March (ad Fam. xi. 27, 28.).

[182] Πρωτοι δε Αθηναιοι τον τε σιδηρον κατεθεντο. Thucydid. l. i. c. 6. The hiſtorian who conſiders this circumſtance as the teſt of civilization, would diſdain the barbariſm of an European court.

[183] He firſt rated at *millies* (800,000 *l.*) the damages of Sicily (Divinatio in Cæcilium, c 5.), which he afterwards reduced to *quadringenties* (320,000 *l.*—1 Actio in Verrem, c. 18.), and was finally content with *tricies* (24,000 *l.*). Plutarch (in Ciceron. tom. iii. p. 1584.) has not diſſembled the popular ſuſpicion and report.

[184] Verres lived near thirty years after his trial, till the ſecond triumvirate, when he was proſcribed by the taſte of Mark-Antony for the ſake of his Corinthian plate (Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xxxiv. 3.).

[185] Such is the number aſſigned by Valerius Maximus (l. ix. c. 2. N° 1.). Florus (iv. 21.) diſtinguiſhes 2000 ſenators and knights. Appian (de Bell. Civil. l. i. c. 95. tom. ii. p. 133. edit. Schweighæuſer) more accurately computes 40 victims of the ſenatorian rank, and 1600 of the equeſtrian cenſus or order.

[186] For the penal laws (Leges Corneliæ, Pompeiæ, Juliæ, of Sylla, Pompey, and the Cæſars), ſee the ſentences of Paulus (l. iv. tit. xviii —xxx. p. 497—528. edit Schulting), the Gregorian Code (Fragment. l. xix. p. 705, 706. in Schulting), the Collatio Legum Moſaicarum et Romanarum (tit. i—xv.), the Theodoſian Code l. ix.), the Code of Juſtinian (l. ix.), the Pandects (l. xlviii.), the Inſtitutes (l. iv. tit. xviii.), and the Greek verſion of Theophilus (p. 917—926.).

[187] It was a guardian who had poiſoned his ward. The crime was atrocious; yet the puniſhment is reckoned by Suetonius (c. 9.) among the acts in which Galba ſhewed himſelf acer vehemens, et in delictis coercendis immodicus.

[188] The abactores or abigeatores, who drove one horſe, or two mares or oxen, or five hogs, or ten goats, were ſubject to capital puniſhment (Paul, Sentent. Recept. l. iv. tit. xviii. p. 497, 498.). Hadrian (ad Concil. Bæticæ), moſt ſevere where the offence was moſt frequent, condemns the criminals, ad gladium, ludi damnationem (Ulpian, de Officio Proconſulis, l. viii. in Collatione Legum Moſaic. et Rom. tit. xi. p. 235.).

[189] Till the publication of the Julius Paulus of Schulting (l. ii. tit. xxvi. p. 317—323.), it was affirmed and believed, that the Julian

laws punished adultery with death; and the miſtake aroſe from the fraud or error of Tribonian. Yet Lipſius had ſuſpected the truth from the narratives of Tacitus (Annal. ii. 50. iii. 24. iv. 42.), and even from the practice of Auguſtus, who diſtinguished the *treaſonable* frailties of his female kindred.

[190] In caſes of adultery, Severus confined to the husband the right of public accuſation (Cod. Juſtinian. l. ix. tit. ix. leg. 1.). Nor is this privilege unjuſt—ſo different are the effects of male or female infidelity.

[191] Timon (l. i.) and Theopompus (l. xliii. apud Athenæum, l. xii. p. 517.) deſcribe the luxury and luſt of the Etruſcans: πολυ μεν τοι γε χαιρουσι συνοντες τοις παισι και τοις μειρακιοις. About the ſame period (A. U. C. 445) the Roman youth ſtudied in Etruria (Liv. ix. 36.).

[192] The Perſians had been corrupted in the ſame ſchool: απ' Ελληνων μαθοντες παισι μισγονται (Herodot. l. i. c. 135.). A curious diſſertation might be formed on the introduction of pæderaſty after the time of Homer, its progreſs among the Greeks of Aſia and Europe, the vehemence of their paſſions, and the thin device of virtue and friendſhip which amuſed the philoſophers of Athens. But, ſcelera oſtendi oportet dum puniuntur, abſcondi flagitia.

[193] The name, the date, and the proviſions of this law, are equally doubtful (Gravina, Opp. p. 432, 433. Heineccius, Hiſt. Jur. Rom. N° 108. Erneſti, Clav. Ciceron. in Indice Legum). But I will obſerve that the *nefanda* Venus of the honeſt German is ſtyled *averſa* by the more polite Italian.

[194] See the oration of Æſchines againſt the catamite Timarchus (in Reiske, Orator. Græc. tom. iii. p. 21—184.).

[195] A crowd of diſgraceful paſſages will force themſelves on the memory of the claſſic reader; I will only remind him of the cool declaration of Ovid:

Odi concubitus qui non utrumque reſolvunt.
Hoc eſt quod puerum tangar amore *minus*.

[196] Ælius Lampridius, in Vit. Heliogabal. in Hiſt. Auguſt. p. 112. Aurelius Victor, in Philippo. Codex Theodoſ. l. ix. tit. vii. leg. 7. and Godefroy's Commentary, tom. iii. p. 63. Theodoſius abolished the ſubterraneous brothels of Rome, in which the proſtitution of both ſexes was acted with impunity.

[197] See the laws of Conſtantine and his ſucceſſors againſt adultery, ſodomy, etc. in the Theodoſian (l. ix. tit. vii. leg. 7. l. xi. tit. xxxvi. leg. 1. 4.) and Juſtinian Codes (l. ix. tit. ix. leg. 30, 31.). Theſe princes ſpeak the language of paſſion as well as of juſtice, and fraudulently aſcribe their own ſeverity to the firſt Cæſars.

[198] Juſtinian, Novel. lxxvii. cxxxiv. cxli. Procopius, in Anecdot. c. 11. 16. with the Notes of Alemannus. Theophanes, p. 151. Cedrenus, p. 368. Zonaras, l. xiv. p. 64.

[199] Monteſquieu, Eſprit des Loix, l. xii. c. 6. That eloquent philoſopher conciliates the rights of liberty and of nature, which ſhould never be placed in oppoſition to each other.

[200] For the corruption of Paleſtine, 2000 years before the Chriſtian æra, ſee the hiſtory and laws of Moſes. Ancient Gaul is ſtigmatiſed by Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. v. p. 356.), China by the Mahometan and Chriſtian travellers (Ancient Relations of India and China, p. 84. tranſlated by Renaudot, and his bitter critic Père Premare, Lettres Edifiantes, tom. xix. p. 435.), and native America by the Spaniſh hiſtorians (Garcilaſſo de la Vega, l. iii. c. 13. Rycaut's tranſlation; and Dictionnaire de Bayle, tom. iii. p. 88.). I believe, and hope, that the negroes, in their own country, were exempt from this moral peſtilence.

[201] The important ſubject of the public queſtions and judgments at Rome is explained with much learning, and in a claſſic ſtyle, by Charles Sigonius (l. iii. de Judiciis, in Opp. tom. iii. 679—864.); and a good abridgment may be found in the République Romaine of Beaufort (tom. ii. l. v. p. 1—121.). Thoſe who wiſh for more abſtruſe law, may ſtudy Noodt (de Juriſdictione et Imperio Libri duo, tom. i. p. 93—134.), Heineccius (ad Pandect. l. i. et ii. ad Inſtitut. l. iv. tit. xvii. Element. ad Antiquitat.), and Gravina (Opp. 230—251.).

[202] The office, both at Rome and in England, muſt be conſidered as an occaſional duty, and not a magiſtracy or profeſſion. But the obligation of an unanimous verdict is peculiar to our laws, which condemn the jurymen to undergo the torture from whence they have exempted the criminal.

[203] We are indebted for this intereſting fact to a fragment of Aſconius Pedianus, who flouriſhed under the reign of Tiberius. The loſs of his Commentaries on the Orations of Cicero has deprived us of a valuable fund of hiſtorical and legal knowledge.

[204] Polyb. l. vi. p. 643. The extenſion of the empire and *city* of Rome, obliged the exile to ſeek a more diſtant place of retirement.

[205] Qui de ſe ſtatuebant, humabantur corpora, manebant teſtamenta; pretium feſtinandi. Tacit. Annal. vi. 25. with the Notes of Lipſius.

[206] Julius Paulus (Sentent. Recept. l. v. tit. xii. p. 476.), the Pandects (l. xlviii. tit. xxi.), the Code (l. ix. tit. 50.), Bynkerſhoek (tom. i. p. 59. Obſervat J. C. R. iv. 4.), and Monteſquieu (Eſprit des Loix, l. xxix. c. 9.), define the civil limitations of the liberty and privileges of ſuicide. The criminal penalties are the production of a later and darker age.

[207] Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xxxvi. 24. When he fatigued his ſubjects in building the Capitol, many of the labourers were provoked to diſpatch themſelves; he nailed their dead bodies to croſſes.

[208] The ſole reſemblance of a violent and premature death has engaged Virgil (Æneid vi. 434—439.) to confound ſuicides with infants, lovers, and perſons unjuſtly condemned. Heyne, the beſt of his editors, is at a loſs to deduce the idea, or aſcertain the juriſprudence, of the Roman poet.

CHAP. XLV.

[1] See the family of Juſtin. and Juſtinian in the Familiæ Byzantinæ of Ducange, p. 89—101. The devout civilians Ludewig (in Vit. Juſtinian. p. 131.) and Heineccius (Hiſt. Juris Roman. p. 374.) have ſince illuſtrated the genealogy of their favourite prince.

[2] In the ſtory of Juſtin's elevation I have tranſlated, into ſimple and conciſe proſe, the eight hundred verſes of the two firſt books of Corippus, de Laudibus Juſtini, Appendix Hiſt. Byzant. p. 401—416. Rome, 1777.

[3] It is ſurpriſing how Pagi (Critica in Annal. Baron. tom. ii. p. 639.) could be tempted by any chronicles to contradict the plain and deciſive text of Corippus (vicina dona, l. ii. 354. vicina dies, l. iv. 1), and to poſtpone, till A. D. 567, the conſulſhip of Juſtin.

[4] Theophan, Chronograph. p. 205. Whenever Cedrenus or Zonaras are mere tranſcribers, it is ſuperfluous to allege their teſtimony.

[5] Corippus, l. iii. 390. The unqueſtionable ſenſe relates to the Turks, the conquerors of the Avars; but the word *ſcultor* has no apparent meaning, and the ſole MS. of Corippus, from whence the firſt edition (1581, apud Plantin) was printed, is no longer viſible. The laſt editor, Foggini of Rome, has inſerted the conjectural emendation of *ſoldan*: but the proofs of Ducange (Joinville, Diſſert. xvi. p. 238—240.) for the early uſe of this title among the Turks and Perſians, are weak or ambiguous. And I muſt incline to the authority of d'Herbelot (Bibliothéque Orient. p. 825.), who aſcribes the word to the Arabic and Chaldæan tongues, and the date to the beginning of the xith century, when it was beſtowed by the khalif of Bagdad on Mahmud prince of Gazna, and conqueror of India.

[6] For theſe characteriſtic ſpeeches, compare the verſe of Corippus (l. iii. 251—401.) with the proſe of Menander (Excerpt. Legation. p. 102, 103.). Their diverſity proves that they did not copy each other; their reſemblance, that they drew from a common original.

[7] For the Auſtraſian war, ſee Menander (Excerpt. Legat. p. 110.), Gregory of Tours (Hiſt. Franc. l. iv. c. 29.), and Paul the deacon (de Geſt. Langobard. l. ii. c. 10.).

[8] Paul Warnefrid, the deacon of Friuli, de Geſt. Langobard. l. i. c. 23, 24. His pictures of national manners, though rudely sketched, are more lively and faithful than thoſe of Bede, or Gregory of Tours.

[9] The ſtory is told by an impoſtor (Theophylact. Simocat. l. vi. c. 10.); but he had art enough to build his fictions on public and notorious facts.

[10] It appears from Strabo, Pliny, and Ammianus Marcellinus, that the ſame practice was common among the Scythian tribes (Muratori, Scriptores Rer. Italic. tom. i. p. 424.). The *ſcalps* of North America are likewiſe trophies of valour. The skull of Cunimund was preſerved above two hundred years among the Lombards; and Paul himſelf was one of the gueſts to whom duke Ratchis exhibited this cup on a high feſtival (l. ii. c. 28.).

[11] Paul, l. i. c. 27. Menander, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 110, 111.

[12] Ut hactenus etiam tam apud Bajoariorum gentem, quam et Saxonum ſed et alios ejuſdem linguæ homines in eorum carminibus celebretur. Paul, l. i. c. 27. He died A. D. 799 (Muratori, in Præfat. tom. i. p. 307.). Theſe German ſongs, ſome of which might be as old as Tacitus (de Moribus Germ. c. 2.), were compiled and tranſcribed by Charlemagne. Barbara et antiquiſſima carmina, quibus veterum regum actus et bella canebantur ſcripſit memoriæque mandavit (Eginard, in Vit. Carol. Magn. c. 29. p. 130, 131.). The poems, which Goldaſt commends (Animadverſ. ad Eginard. p. 207.), appear to be recent and contemptible romances.

[13] The other nations are rehearſed by Paul (l. ii. c. 6. 26.). Muratori (Antichità Italiane, tom. i. differt. i. p. 4.) has diſcovered the village of the Bavarians, three miles from Modena.

[14] Gregory the Roman (Dialog. l. iii. c. 27, 28. apud Baron. Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 579, N° 10.), ſuppoſes that they likewiſe adored this shegoat. I know but of one religion in which the god and the victim are the ſame.

[15] The charge of the deacon againſt Narſes (l. ii. c. 5.) may be groundleſs; but the weak apology of the cardinal (Baron. Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 567, N° 8—12.) is rejected by the beſt critics—Pagi (tom. ii. p. 639, 640.), Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. v. p. 160—163.), and the laſt editors, Horatius Blancus (Script. Rerum Italic. tom. i. p. 427, 428.) and Philip Argelatus (Sigon. Opera, tom. ii. p. 11, 12.). The Narſes who aſſiſted at the coronation of Juſtin (Corippus, l. iii. 221) is clearly underſtood to be a different perſon.

[16] The death of Narſes is mentioned by Paul, l. ii. c. 11. Anaſtaſ. in

in Vit. Johan. iii. p. 43. Agnellus, Liber Pontifical. Raven. in Script. Rer. Italicarum, tom. ii. part i. p. 114. 124. Yet I cannot believe with Agnellus that Narſes was ninety-five years of age. It is probable that all his exploits were performed at fourſcore?

[17] The deſigns of Narſes and of the Lombards for the invaſion of Italy are expoſed in the laſt chapter of the firſt book, and the ſeven firſt chapters of the ſecond book, of Paul the deacon.

[18] Which from this tranſlation was called New Aquileia (Chron. Venet. p. 3.). The patriarch of Grado ſoon became the firſt citizen of the republic (p. 9, etc.), but his ſeat was not removed to Venice till the year 1450. He is now decorated with titles and honours; but the genius of the church has bowed to that of the ſtate, and the government of a Catholic city is ſtrictly presbyterian. Thomaſſin, Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 156, 157. 161—165. Amelot de la Houſſaye, Gouvernement de Veniſe, tom. i. p. 256—261.

[19] Paul has given a deſcription of Italy, as it was then divided into eighteen regions (l. ii. c. 14—24.). The Diſſertatio Chorographica de Italiâ Medii Ævi, by Father Beretti, a Benedictine monk, and regius profeſſor at Pavia, has been uſefully conſulted.

[20] For the conqueſt of Italy, ſee the original materials of Paul (l. ii. c. 7—10. 12. 14. 25, 26, 27.), the eloquent narrative of Sigonius (tom. ii. de Regno Italiæ, l. i. p. 13—19.), and the correct and critical review of Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. v. p. 164—180.).

[21] The claſſical reader will recollect the wife and murder of Candaules, ſo agreeably told in the firſt book of Herodotus. The choice of Gyges, αἱρεεται αυτος περιιναι, may ſerve as the excuſe of Peredeus; and this ſoft inſinuation of an odious idea has been imitated by the beſt writers of antiquity (Grævius, ad Ciceron. Orat. pro Milone, c. 10.).

[22] See the hiſtory of Paul, l. ii. c. 28—32. I have borrowed ſome intereſting circumſtances from the Liber Pontificalis of Agnellus, in Script. Rer. Ital. tom. ii. p. 124. Of all chronological guides, Muratori is the faſteſt.

[23] The original authors for the reign of Juſtin the younger, are Evagrius, Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. v. c. 1—12. Theophanes, in Chronograph. p. 204—210. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 70—72. Cedrenus, in Compend. p. 388—392.

[24] Diſpoſitorque novus ſacræ Baduarius aulæ.
Succeſſor ſoceri mox factus Cura-palati.
Corippus.

Baduarius is enumerated among the deſcendants and allies of the houſe of Juſtinian. A family of noble Venetians (Caſa *Badoero*) built churches

and gave dukes to the republic as early as the ixth century; and if their deſcent be admitted, no kings in Europe can produce a pedigree ſo ancient and illuſtrious. Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 99. Amelot de la Houſſaye, Gouvernement de Veniſe, tom. ii. p. 555.

[25] The praiſe beſtowed on princes before their elevation, is the pureſt and moſt weighty. Corippus has celebrated Tiberius at the time of the acceſſion of Juſtin (l. i. 212—222.). Yet even a captain of the guards might attract the flattery of an African exile.

[26] Evagrius (l. v. c. 13.) has added the reproach to his miniſters. He applies this ſpeech to the ceremony when Tiberius was inveſted with the rank of Cæſar. The looſe expreſſion, rather than the poſitive error, of Theophanes, etc. has delayed it to his *Auguſtan* inveſtiture, immediately before the death of Juſtin.

[27] Theophylact Simocatta (l. iii. c. 11.) declares that he ſhall give to poſterity the ſpeech of Juſtin as it was pronounced, without attempting to correct the imperfections of language or rhetoric. Perhaps the vain ſophiſt would have been incapable of producing ſuch ſentiments.

[28] For the character and reign of Tiberius, ſee Evagrius, l. v. c. 13. Theophylact, l. iii. c. 12, etc. Theophanes, in Chron. p. 210—213. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 72. Cedrenus, p. 392. Paul Warnefrid, de Geſtis Langobard. l. iii. c. 11, 12. The deacon of Forum Julii appears to have poſſeſſed ſome curious and authentic facts.

[29] It is therefore ſingular enough that Paul (l. iii. c. 15.) ſhould diſtinguish him as the firſt Greek emperor—primus ex Græcorum genere in Imperio conſtitutus. His immediate predeceſſors had indeed been born in the Latin provinces of Europe; and a various reading, in Græcorum Imperio, would apply the expreſſion to the empire rather than the prince.

[30] Conſult, for the character and reign of Maurice, the fifth and ſixth books of Evagrius, particularly l. vi. c. 1.; the eight books of his prolix and florid hiſtory by Theophylact Simocatta. Theophanes, p. 213, etc. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 73. Cedrenus, p. 394.

[31] Αυτοκρατωρ ουτως γενομενος την μεν οχλοκρατειαν των παθων εκ της οικειας εξενηλατησε ψυχης· αριστοκρατειαν δε εν τοις εαυτω λογισμοις καταστησαμενος. Evagrius compoſed his hiſtory in the twelfth year of Maurice; and he had been ſo wiſely indiſcreet, that the emperor knew and rewarded his favourable opinion (l. vi. c. 24.).

[32] The Columna Rhegina, in the narroweſt part of the Faro of Meſſina, one hundred ſtadia from Rhegium itſelf, is frequently mentioned in ancient geography. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 1295. Lucas Holſten. Annotat. ad Cluver. p. 301. Weſſeling, Itinerar. p. 106.

[33] The Greek hiſtorians afford ſome faint hints of the wars of Italy (Menander, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 124. 126. Theophylact. l. iii. c. 4.). The Latins are more ſatisfactory; and eſpecially Paul Warnefrid, l. iii. c. 13—34. who had read the more ancient hiſtories of Secundus and Gregory of Tours. Baronius produces ſome letters of the popes, etc.; and the times are meaſured by the accurate ſcale of Pagi and Muratori.

[34] The papal advocates, Zacagni and Fontanini, might juſtly claim the valley or moraſs of Commachio as a part of the exarchate. But the ambition of including Modena, Reggio, Parma, and Placentia, has darkened a geographical queſtion ſomewhat doubtful and obſcure. Even Muratori, as the ſervant of the houſe of Eſte, is not free from partiality and prejudice.

[35] See Brencmann, Differt. Ima de Republicâ Amalphitanâ, p. 1—42. ad calcem Hiſt. Pandect. Florent.

[36] Gregor. Magn. l. iii. epiſt. 23. 25, 26, 27.

[37] I have deſcribed the ſtate of Italy from the excellent Diſſertation of Beretti. Gianone (Iſtoria Civile, tom. i. p. 374—387.) has followed the learned Camillo Pellegrini in the geography of the kingdom of Naples. After the loſs of the true Calabria, the vanity of the Greeks ſubſtituted that name inſtead of the more ignoble appellation of Bruttium; and the change appears to have taken place before the time of Charlemagne (Eginard, p. 75.).

[38] Maffei (Verona Illuſtrata, part i. p. 310—321.) and Muratori (Antichità Italiane, tom. ii. Diſſertazioni xxxii, xxxiii. p. 71—365.) have aſſerted the native claims of the Italian idiom: the former with enthuſiaſm, the latter with diſcretion; both with learning, ingenuity, and truth.

[39] Paul, de Geſt. Langobard. l. iii. c. 5, 6, 7.

[40] Paul, l. ii. c. 9. He calls theſe families or generations by the Teutonic name of *Faras*, which is likewiſe uſed in the Lombard laws. The humble deacon was not inſenſible of the nobility of his own race. See l. iv. c. 39.

[41] Compare N° 3 and 177 of the laws of Rotharis.

[42] Paul, l. ii. c. 31, 32. l. iii. c. 16. The laws of Rotharis, promulgated A. D. 643, do not contain the ſmalleſt veſtige of this payment of thirds; but they preſerve many curious circumſtances of the ſtate of Italy and the manners of the Lombards.

[43] The ſtuds of Dionyſius of Syracuſe, and his frequent victories in the Olympic games, had diffuſed among the Greeks the fame of the Venetian horſes; but the breed was extinct in the time of Strabo (l. v. p. 325.). Giſulf obtained from his uncle generoſarum equarum greges.

27B

Paul, l. ii. c. 9. The Lombards afterwards introduced caballi ſylvatici—wild horſes. Paul, l. iv. c. 11.

[44] Tunc (A. D. 596.) primum, *bubali* in Italiam delati Italiæ populis miracula fuere (Paul Warnefrid, l. iv. c. 11.). The buffaloes, whoſe native climate appears to be Africa and India, are unknown to Europe, Except in Italy, where they are numerous and uſeful. The ancients were ignorant of theſe animals, unleſs Ariſtotle (Hiſt. Animal. l. ii. c. 1. p. 58. Paris, 1783.) has deſcribed them as the wild oxen of Arachoſia. See Buffon, Hiſt. Naturelle, tom. xi. and Supplément, tom. vi. Hiſt. Générale des Voyages, tom. i. p. 7. 481. ii. 105. iii. 291. iv. 234. 461. v. 193. vi. 491. viii. 400. x. 666. Pennant's Quadrupeds, p. 24. Dictionnaire d'Hiſt. Naturelle, par Valmont de Bomare, tom. ii. p. 74. Yet I muſt not conceal the ſuſpicion that Paul, by a vulgar error, may have applied the name of *bubalus* to the aurochs, or wild bull, of ancient Germany.

[45] Conſult the xxist Diſſertation of Muratori.

[46] Their ignorance is proved by the ſilence even of thoſe who profeſſedly treat of the arts of hunting and the hiſtory of animals. Ariſtotle (Hiſt. Animal. l. ix. c. 36. tom. i. p. 586. and the Notes of his laſt editor, M. Camus, tom. ii. p. 314.), Pliny Hiſt. Natur. l. x. c. 10.), Ælian (de Natur. Animal. l. ii. c. 42.), and perhaps Homer (Odyſſ. xxii. 302—306.), deſcribe with aſtonishment a tacit league and common chace between the hawks and the Thracian fowlers.

[47] Particularly the gerfaut, or gyrfalcon, of the ſize of a ſmall eagle. See the animated deſcription of M. de Buffon, Hiſt. Naturelle, tom. xvi. p. 239, etc.

[48] Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. i. part ii. p. 129. This is the xvith law of the emperor Lewis the Pious. His father Charlemagne had falconers in his houſehold as well as huntſmen (Mémoires ſur l'ancienne Chevalerie, par M. de St. Palaye, tom. iii. p. 175.). I obſerve in the laws of Rotharis a more early mention of the art of hawking (N° 322.); and in Gaul, in the vth century, it is celebrated by Sidonius Apollinaris among the talents of Avitus (202—207.).

[49] The epitaph of Droctulf (Paul. l. iii. c. 19.) may be applied to many of his countrymen:

Terribilis viſu facies, ſed corde benignus
Longaque robuſto pectore barba fuit.

The portraits of the old Lombards might ſtill be ſeen in the palace of Monza, twelve miles from Milan, which had been founded or reſtored by queen Theudelinda (l. iv. 22, 23.). See Muratori, tom. i. diſſertaz. xxiii. p. 300.

[50] The ſtory of Autharis and Theudelinda is related by Paul, l. iii.

c. 29. 34.; and any fragment of Bavarian antiquity excites the indefatigable diligence of the count de Buat, Hiſt. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. xi. p. 595—635. tom. xii. p. 1—53.

[51] Giannone (Iſtoria Civile di Napoli, tom. i. p. 263.) has juſtly cenſured the impertinence of Boccaccio (Gio. iii. Novel. 2.), who, without right, or truth, or pretence, has given the pious queen Theudelinda to the arms of a muleteer.

[52] Paul, l. iii. c. 16. The firſt diſſertations of Muratori, and the firſt volume of Giannone's hiſtory, may be conſulted for the ſtate of the kingdom of Italy.

[53] The moſt accurate edition of the laws of the Lombards is to be found in the Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. i. part ii. p. 1—181. collated from the moſt ancient MSS. and illuſtrated by the critical notes of Muratori.

[54] Monteſquieu, Eſprit des Loix, l. xxviii. c. 1. Les loix des Bourguignons ſont aſſez judicieuſes: celles de Rotharis et des autres princes Lombards le ſont encore plus.

[55] See Leges Rotharis, N° 379, p. 47. Striga is uſed as the name of a witch. It is of the pureſt claſſic origin (Horat. epod. v. 20. Petron. c. 134.); and, from the words of Petronius (quæ ſtriges comederunt nervos tuos?), it may be inferred that the prejudice was of Italian rather than Barbaric extraction.

[56] Quia incerti ſumus de judicio dei, et multos audivimus per pugnam ſine juſtâ cauſâ ſuam cauſam perdere. Sed propter conſuetudinem gentem noſtram Langobardorum legem impiam vetare non poſſumus. See p. 74. N° 65. of the Laws of Luitprand, promulgated A. D. 724.

[57] Read the hiſtory of Paul Warnefrid; particularly l. iii. c. 16. Baronius rejects the praiſe, which appears to contradict the invectives, of pope Gregory the Great; but Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. v. p. 217.) preſumes to inſinuate that the ſaint may have magnified the faults of Arians and enemies.

[58] The paſſages of the homilies of Gregory, which repreſent the miſerable ſtate of the city and country, are tranſcribed in the Annals of Baronius, A. D. 590. N° 16. A. D. 595. N° 2, etc. etc.

[59] The inundation and plague were reported by a deacon, whom his biſhop, Gregory of Tours, had diſpatched to Rome for ſome relics. The ingenious meſſenger embelliſhed his tale and the river with a great dragon and a train of little ſerpents (Greg. Turon. l. x. c. 1.).

[60] Gregory of Rome (Dialog. i. ii. c. 15.) relates a memorable prediction of St. Benedict. Roma a Gentilibus non exterminabitur ſed tempeſtatibus, coruſcis turbinibus ac terræ motû in ſemetipſa marceſcet,

Such a prophecy melts into true hiſtory, and becomes the evidence of the fact after which it was invented.

[61] Quia in uno ſe ore cum Jovis laudibus, Chriſti laudes non capiunt, et quam grave nefandumque ſit epiſcopis canere quod nec laico religioſo conveniat, ipſe conſidera (l. ix. ep. 4.). The writings of Gregory himſelf atteſt his innocence of any claſſic taſte or literature.

[62] Bayle (Dictionnaire Critique, tom. ii. p. 598, 599.) in a very good article of *Gregoire* I. has quoted, for the buildings and ſtatues, Platina in Gregorio I.; for the Palatine library, John of Saliſbury (de Nugis Curialium, l. ii. c. 26.); and for Livy, Antoninus of Florence: the oldeſt of the three lived in the xiith century.

[63] Gregor. l. iii epiſt. 24. indict. 12, etc. From the Epiſtles of Gregory, and the viiith volume of the Annals of Baronius, the pious reader may collect the particles of holy iron which were inſerted in keys or croſſes of gold, and diſtributed in Britain, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Conſtantinople, and Egypt. The pontifical ſmith who handled the file muſt have underſtood the miracles which it was in his own power to operate or with-hold: a circumſtance which abates the ſuperſtition of Gregory, at the expence of his veracity.

[64] Beſides the Epiſtles of Gregory himſelf, which are methodiſed by Dupin (Bibliothéque Eccléſ. tom. v. p. 103—126.), we have three lives of the pope; the two firſt written in the viiith and ixth centuries (de Triplici Vita St. Greg. Preface to the ivth volume of the Benedictine edition) by the deacons Paul (p. 1—18.) and John (p. 19—188.), and containing much original, though doubtful, evidence; the third, a long and laboured compilation by the Benedictine editors (p. 199—305.). The Annals of Baronius are a copious but partial hiſtory. His papal prejudices are tempered by the good ſenſe of Fleury (Hiſt. Eccléſ. tom. viii.), and his chronology has been rectified by the criticiſm of Pagi and Muratori.

[65] John the deacon has deſcribed them like an eye-witneſs (l. iv. c. 83, 84.); and his deſcription is illuſtrated by Angelo Rocca, a Roman antiquary (St. Greg. Opera, tom. iv. p. 312—326.), who obſerves, that ſome moſaics of the popes of the viith century are ſtill preſerved in the old churches of Rome (p. 321—323.). The ſame walls which repreſented Gregory's family are now decorated with the martyrdom of St. Andrew, the noble conteſt of Dominichino and Guido.

[66] Diſciplinis vero liberalibus, hoc eſt grammaticâ, rhetoricâ, dialecticâ, ita a puero eſt inſtitutus, ut quamvis eo tempore florerent adhuc Romæ ſtudia literarum, tamen nulli in urbe ipſâ ſecundus putaretur. Paul. Diacon. in Vit. S. Greg. c. 2.

[67] The Benedictines (Vit. Greg. l. i. p. 205—208.) labour to reduce

the monaſteries of Gregory within the rule of their own order; but as the queſtion is confeſſed to be doubtful, it is clear that theſe powerful monks are in the wrong. See Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. iii. p. 145.; a work of merit; the ſenſe and learning belong to the author —his prejudices are thoſe of his profeſſion.

[68] Monaſterium Gregorianum in ejuſdem Beati Gregorii ædibus ad clivum Scauri prope eccleſiam S. S. Johannis et Pauli in honorem St. Andreæ (John, in Vit. Greg. l. i. c. 6. Greg. l. vii. epiſt. 13.). This houſe and monaſtery were ſituate on the ſide of the Cælian hill which fronts the Palatine: they are now occupied by the Camaldoli; San Gregorio triumphs, and St. Andrew has retired to a ſmall chapel. Nardini, Roma Antica, l. iii. c. 6. p. 100. Deſcrizzione di Roma, tom. i. p. 442—446.

[69] The Lord's prayer conſiſts of half a dozen lines: the Sacramentarius and Antiphonarius of Gregory fill 880 folio pages (tom. iii. P. i. p. 1—880.); yet theſe only conſtitute a part of the *Ordo Romanus*, which Mabillon has illuſtrated and Fleury has abridged (Hiſt. Eccléſ. tom. viii. p. 139—152.).

[70] I learn from the Abbé Dubos (Réflexions ſur la Poéſie et la Peinture, tom. iii. p. 174, 175.) that the ſimplicity of the Ambroſian chant was confined to four *modes*, while the more perfect harmony of the Gregorian comprized the eight modes or fifteen chords of the ancient muſic. He obſerves (p. 332.) that the connoiſſeurs admire the preface and many paſſages of the Gregorian office.

[71] John the deacon (in Vit. Greg. l. ii. c. 7.) expreſſes the early contempt of the Italians for tramontane ſinging. Alpina ſcilicet corpora vocum ſuarum tonitruis altiſone perſtrepentia, ſuſceptæ modulationis dulcedinem proprie non reſultant: quia bibuli gutturis barbara feritas dum inflexionibus et repercuſſionibus mitem nititur edere cantilenam, naturali quodam fragore quaſi plauſtra per gradus confuſe ſonantia rigidas voces jactat, etc. In the time of Charlemagne, the Franks, though with ſome reluctance, admitted the juſtice of the reproach. Muratori, Differt. xxv.

[72] A French critic (Petrus Guſſanvillus, Opera, tom. ii. p. 105—112.) has vindicated the right of Gregory to the entire nonſenſe of the Dialogues. Dupin (tom. v. p. 138.) does not think that any one will vouch for the truth of all theſe miracles: I ſhould like to know *how many* of them he believed himſelf.

[73] Baronius is unwilling to expatiate on the care of the patrimonies, leſt he ſhould betray that they conſiſted not of *kingdoms* but *farms*. The French writers, the Benedictine editors (tom. iv. l. iii. p. 272, etc.), and Fleury (tom. viii. p. 29, etc.), are not afraid of entering into

theſe humble, though uſeful, details; and the humanity of Fleury dwells on the ſocial virtues of Gregory.

[74] I much ſuſpect that this pecuniary fine on the marriages of villains produced the famous, and often fabulous, right, *de cuiſſage*, *de marquette*, etc. With the conſent of her husband, an handſome bride might commute the payment in the arms of a young landlord, and the mutual favour might afford a precedent of local rather than legal tyranny.

[75] The temporal reign of Gregory I. is ably expoſed by Sigonius in the firſt book, de Regno Italiæ. See his works, tom. ii. p. 44—75.

CHAP. XLVI.

[1] Miſſis qui ... repoſcerent ... veteres Perſarum ac Macedonum terminos, ſeque invaſurum poſſeſſa Cyro et poſt Alexandro, per vaniloquentiam ac minas jaciebat. Tacit. Annal. vi. 31. Such was the language of the *Arſacides*: I have repeatedly marked the lofty claims of the *Saſſanians*.

[2] See the embaſſies of Menander, extracted and preſerved in the xth century by the order of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus.

[3] The general independence of the Arabs, which cannot be admitted without many limitations, is blindly aſſerted in a ſeparate diſſertation of the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory, vol. xx. p. 196—250. A perpetual miracle is ſuppoſed to have guarded the prophecy in favour of the poſterity of Ishmael; and theſe learned bigots are not afraid to risk the truth of Chriſtianity on this frail and slippery foundation.

[4] D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. p. 477. Pocock, Specimen Hiſt. Arabum, p. 64, 65. Father Pagi (Critica, tom. ii. p. 646.) has proved that, after ten years peace, the Perſian war which continued twenty years, was renewed A. D. 571. Mahomet was born A. D. 569, in the year of the elephant, or the defeat of Abrahah (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 89, 90. 98.); and this account allows two years for the conqueſt of Yemen.

[5] He had vanquiſhed the Albanians, who brought into the field 12,000 horſe and 60,000 foot; but he dreaded the multitude of venomous reptiles, whoſe exiſtence may admit of ſome doubt, as well as that of the neighbouring Amazons. Plutarch, in Pompeio, tom. ii. p. 1165, 1166.

[6] In the hiſtory of the world I can only perceive two navies on the Caſpian: 1. Of the Macedonians, when Patrocles, the admiral of the kings of Syria, Seleucus and Antiochus, deſcended moſt probably the

river Oxus, from the confines of India (Plin. Hiſt. Natur. vi. 21.). 2. Of the Ruſſians, when Peter the Firſt conducted a fleet and army from the neighbourhood of Moſcow to the coaſt of Perſia (Bell's Travels, vol. ii. p. 325—352.). He juſtly obſerves, that ſuch martial pomp had never been diſplayed on the Volga.

[7] For theſe Perſian wars and treaties, ſee Menander, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 113—125. Theophanes Byzant. apud Photium, cod. lxiv. p. 77. 80, 81. Evagrius, l. v. c. 7—15. Theophylact, l. iii. c. 9—16. Agathias, l. iv. p. 140.

[8] Buzurg Mihir may be conſidered, in his character and ſtation, as the Seneca of the Eaſt; but his virtues, and perhaps his faults, are leſs known than thoſe of the Roman, who appears to have been much more loquacious. The Perſian ſage was the perſon who imported from India the game of cheſs and the fables of Pilpay. Such has been the fame of his wiſdom and virtues, that the Chriſtians claim him as a believer in the goſpel; and the Mahometans revere Buzurg as a premature Muſulman. D'Herbelot, Bibliothéque Orientale, p. 218.

[9] See the imitation of Scipio in Theophylact, l. i. c. 14.; the image of Chriſt, l. ii. c. 3. Hereafter I ſhall ſpeak more amply of the Chriſtian *images*—I had almoſt ſaid *idols*. This, if I am not miſtaken, is the oldeſt ἀχειροποιητος of divine manufacture; but in the next thouſand years, many others iſſued from the ſame workſhop.

[10] Ragæ, or Rei, is mentioned in the apocryphal book of Tobit as already flouriſhing, 700 years before Chriſt, under the Aſſyrian empire. Under the foreign names of Europus and Arſacia, this city, 500 ſtadia to the ſouth of the Caſpian gates, was ſucceſſively embelliſhed by the Macedonians and Parthians (Strabo, l. xi. p. 796.). Its grandeur and populouſneſs in the ixth century, is exaggerated beyond the bounds of credibility; but Rei has been ſince ruined by wars and the unwholeſomeneſs of the air. Chardin, Voyage en Perſe, tom. i. p. 279, 280. D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Oriental. p. 714.

[11] Theophylact, l. iii. c. 18. The ſtory of the ſeven Perſians is told in the third book of Herodotus; and their noble deſcendants are often mentioned, eſpecially in the fragments of Cteſias. Yet the independence of Otanes (Herodot. l. iii. c. 83, 84.) is hoſtile to the ſpirit of deſpotiſm, and it may not ſeem probable that the ſeven families could ſurvive the revolutions of eleven hundred years. They might however be repreſented by the ſeven miniſters (Briſſon, de Regno Perſico, l. i. p. 190.); and ſome Perſian nobles, like the kings of Pontus (Polyb. l. v. p. 540.) and Cappadocia (Diodor. Sicul. l. xxxi. tom. ii. p. 517.), might claim their deſcent from the bold companions of Darius.

[12] See an accurate deſcription of this mountain by Olearius (Voyage en Perſe, p. 997, 998.), who aſcended it with much difficulty and danger in his return from Iſpahan to the Caſpian ſea.

[13] The Orientals ſuppoſe that Bahram convened this aſſembly and proclaimed Choſroes; but Theophylact is, in this inſtance, more diſtinct and credible.

[14] See the words of Theophylact, l. iv. c. 7. Βαραμ Φιλος τοις θεοις, νικητης επιφανης, τυραννων εχθρος, σατραπης μεγιςανων, της Περσικης αρχων δυναμεως, etc. In his anſwer, Choſroes ſtyles himſelf τη νυκτι χαριζομενος ομματα ὁ της Ασωγας (the genii) μισθαμενος. This is genuine Oriental bombaſt.

[15] Theophylact (l. iv. c. 7.) imputes the death of Hormouz to his ſon, by whoſe command he was beaten to death with clubs, I have followed the milder account of Khondemir and Eutychius, and ſhall always be content with the ſlighteſt evidence to extenuate the crime of parricide.

[16] After the battle of Pharſalia, the Pompey of Lucan (l. viii. 256—455.) holds a ſimilar debate, he was himſelf deſirous of ſeeking the Parthians; but his companions abhorred the unnatural alliance; and the adverſe prejudices might operate as forcibly on Choſroes and his companions, who could deſcribe, with the ſame vehemence, the contraſt of laws, religion, and manners, between the Eaſt and Weſt.

[17] In this age there were three warriors of the name of *Narſes*, who have been often confounded (Pagi, Critica, tom. ii. p. 640.): 1. A Perſarmenian, the brother of Iſaac and Armatius, who, after a ſucceſsful action againſt Beliſarius, deſerted from his Perſian ſovereign, and afterwards ſerved in the Italian war.—2. The eunuch who conquered Italy.—3. The reſtorer of Choſroes, who is celebrated in the poem of Corippus (l. iii. 220—227.) as excelſus ſuper omnia vertice agmina.... habitu modeſtus.... morum probitate placens, virtute verendus; fulmineus, cautus, vigilans, etc.

[18] Experimentis cognitum eſt Barbaros malle Româ petere reges quam habere. Theſe experiments are admirably repreſented in the invitation and expulſion of Vonones (Annal. ii. 1—3.), Tiridates (Annal. vi. 32—44.), and Meherdates (Annal. xi. 10. xii. 10—14.). The eye of Tacitus ſeems to have tranſpierced the camp of the Parthians and the walls of the haram.

[19] Sergius and his companion Bacchus, who are ſaid to have ſuffered in the perſecution of Maximian, obtained divine honour in France, Italy, Conſtantinople, and the Eaſt. Their tomb at Raſaphe was famous for miracles, and that Syrian town acquired the more honourable name of Sergiopolis. Tillemont, Mém. Eccléſ. tom. v. p. 491—496. Butler's Saints, vol. x. p. 155.

[20] Evagrius (l. vi. c. 21.) and Theophylact (l. v. c. 13, 14.) have preſerved the original letters of Choſroes, written in Greek, ſigned with his own hand, and afterwards inſcribed on croſſes and tables of gold, which were depoſited in the church of Sergiopolis. They had been ſent to the biſhop of Antioch, as primate of Syria.

[21] The Greeks only deſcribe her as a Roman by birth, a Chriſtian by religion; but ſhe is repreſented as the daughter of the emperor Maurice in the Perſian and Turkiſh romances, which celebrate the love of Khoſrou for Schirin, of Schirin for Ferhad, the moſt beautiful youth of the Eaſt. D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. p. 789. 997, 998.

[22] The whole ſeries of the tyranny of Hormouz, the revolt of Bahram, and the flight and reſtoration of Choſroes, is related by two contemporary Greeks—more conciſely by Evagrius (l. vi. c. 16, 17, 18, 19.)—and moſt diffuſely by Theophylact Simocatta (l. iii. c. 6—18. l. iv. c. 1—16. l. v. c. 1—15.): ſucceeding compilers, Zonaras and Cedrenus, can only tranſcribe and abridge. The Chriſtian Arabs, Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 200—208.) and Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. P. 96—98.), appear to have conſulted ſome particular memoirs. The great Perſian hiſtorians of the xvth century, Mirkhond and Khondemir, are only known to me by the imperfect extracts of Schikard (Tarikh, p. 150—155.), Texeira, or rather Stevens (Hiſt. of Perſia, p. 182—186.), a Turkiſh MS. tranſlated by the Abbé Fourmont (Hiſt. de l'Académie des Inſcriptions, tom. vii. p. 325—334.), and d'Herbelot (au mot, *Hormouz*, p. 457—359. Bahram, p. 174. Khoſrou Parviz, p. 996.). Were I perfectly ſatisfied of their authority, I could wish theſe Oriental materials had been more copious.

[23] A general idea of the pride and power of the chagan may be taken from Menander (Excerpt. Legat. p. 117, etc.) and Theophylact (l. i. c. 3. l. vii. c. 15.), whoſe eight books are much more honourable to the Avar than to the Roman prince. The predeceſſors of Baian had taſted the liberality of Rome, and *he* ſurvived the reign of Maurice (Buat, Hiſt. des Peuples Barbares, tom. xi. p. 545.). The chagan who invaded Italy A. D. 611. (Muratori, Annali, tom. v. p. 305.) was then juvenili ætate florentem (Paul Warnefrid, de Geſt. Langobard. l. v. c. 38.), the ſon, perhaps, or the grandſon, of Baian.

[24] Theophylact, l. i. c. 5, 6.

[25] Even in the field, the chagan delighted in the uſe of theſe aromatics. He ſolicited, as a gift, Ινδικας καρυοχιας, and received πεπερι και Φυλλον Ινδων, κασιαν τε και τον λεγομενον κοστον. Theophylact, l. vii. c. 13. The Europeans of the ruder ages conſumed more ſpices in their meat and drink than is compatible with the delicacy of a modern palate. Vie Privée des François, tom. ii. p. 162, 163.

[26] Theophylact, l. vi. c. 6. l. vii. c. 15. The Greek hiſtorian confeſſes the truth and juſtice of his reproach.

[27] Menander (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 126—132. 174, 175.) deſcribes the perjury of Baian and the ſurrender of Sirmium. We have loſt his account of the ſiege, which is commended by Theophylact, l. i. c. 3. Το δ' ἑπως Μεναιδῳ τῳ περιφανει σαφως διηγορευται.

[28] See d'Anville, in the Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inſcriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 412—443. The Sclavonic name of *Belgrade* is mentioned in the xth century by Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus; the Latin appellation of *Alba Græca* is uſed by the Franks in the beginning of the xth (p. 414.).

[29] Baron. Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 600, N° 1. Paul Warnefrid (l. iv. c. 38.) relates their irruption into Friuli, and (c. 39.) the captivity of his anceſtors, about A. D. 632. The Sclavi traverſed the Hadriatic, cum multitudine navium, and made a deſcent in the territory of Sipontum (c. 47.).

[30] Even the helepolis, or moveable turret. Theophylact, l. ii. 16, 17.

[31] The arms and alliances of the chagan reached to the neighbourhood of a weſtern ſea, fifteen months journey from Conſtantinople. The emperor Maurice converſed with ſome itinerant harpers from that remote country, and only ſeems to have miſtaken a trade for a nation. Theophylact, l. vi. c. 2.

[32] This is one of the moſt probable and luminous conjectures of the learned count de Buat (Hiſt. des Peuples Barbares, tom. xi. p. 446—568.). The Tzechi and Serbi are found together near mount Caucaſus, in Illyricum, and on the Lower Elbe. Even the wildeſt traditions of the Bohemians, etc. afford ſome colour to his hypotheſis.

[33] See Fredegarius, in the Hiſtorians of France, tom. ii. p. 432. Baian did not conceal his proud inſenſibility. Οτι τοιυτος (not τοσυτος, according to a foolish emendation) επαφησω τη Ρωμαϊκη, ὡς ει και συμβαιη γε σφισι θανατῳ ἁλωναι, αλλ' εμοι γε μη γενεσθαι συναισθησιν.

[34] See the march and return of Maurice, in Theophylact, l. v. c. 16 l. vi c. 1, 2, 3. If he were a writer of taſte or genius, we might ſuſpect him of an elegant irony: but Theophylact is ſurely harmleſs.

[35] Εις οιωνος αριστος αμυνεσθαι περι πατρης. Iliad. xii. 243. This noble verſe, which unites the ſpirit of an hero with the reaſon of a ſage, may prove that Homer was in every light ſuperior to his age and country.

[36] Theophylact, l. vii. c. 3. On the evidence of this fact, which had not occurred to my memory, the candid reader will correct and excuſe a note in the iiid volume of this hiſtory, p. 374. which haſtens

the decay of Aſimus, or Azimuntium: another century of patriotiſm and valour is cheaply purchaſed by ſuch a confeſſion.

[37] See the ſhameful conduct of Commentiolus, in Theophylact, l. ii. c. 10—15. l. vii. c. 13, 14. l. viii. c. 2. 4.

[38] See the exploits of Priſcus, l. viii. c. 2, 3.

[39] The general detail of the war againſt the Avars, may be traced in the firſt, ſecond, ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth books of the Hiſtory of the Emperor Maurice, by Theophylact Simocatta. As he wrote in the reign of Heraclius, he had no temptation to flatter; but his want of judgment renders him diffuſe in trifles and conciſe in the moſt intereſting facts.

[40] Maurice himſelf compoſed xii books on the military art, which are ſtill extant, and have been published (Upſal, 1664) by John Scheffer at the end of the Tactics of Arrian (Fabricius, Bibliot. Græca, l. iv. c. 8. tom. iii. p. 278.), who promiſes to ſpeak more fully of his work in its proper place.

[41] See the mutinies under the reign of Maurice, in Theophylact, l. iii. c. 1—4. l. vi. c. 7, 8. 10. l. vii. c. 1. l. viii. c. 6, etc.

[42] Theophylact and Theophanes ſeem ignorant of the conſpiracy and avarice of Maurice. Theſe charges, ſo unfavourable to the memory of that emperor, are firſt mentioned by the author of the Paſchal Chronicle (p. 379, 380.); from whence Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 77, 78.) has tranſcribed them. Cedrenus (p. 399.) has followed another computation of the ranſom.

[43] In their clamours againſt Maurice, the people of Conſtantinople branded him with the name of Marcionite or Marcioniſt: a hereſy (ſays Theophylact, l. viii. c. 9.) μετα τινος μωρας συλλαβειας, ευηθης τε και κατακγελαστος. Did they only caſt out a vague reproach—or had the emperor really liſtened to ſome obſcure teacher of thoſe ancient Gnoſtics?

[44] The church of St Autonomus (whom I have not the honour to know) was 150 ſtadia from Conſtantinople (Theophylact, l. viii. c. 9.). The port of Eutropius, where Maurice and his children were murdered, is deſcribed by Gyllius (de Boſphoro Thracio, l. iii. c. xi.) as one of the two harbours of Chalcedon.

[45] The inhabitants of Conſtantinople were generally ſubject to the νοσοι αρθριτιδες; and Theophylact inſinuates (l. viii. c. 9.), that if it were conſiſtent with the rules of hiſtory, he could aſſign the medical cauſe. Yet ſuch a digreſſion would not have been more impertinent than his enquiry (l. vii. c. 16, 17.) into the annual inundations of the Nile, and all the opinions of the Greek philoſophers on that ſubject.

[46] From this generous attempt, Corneille has deduced the intricate

web of his tragedy of *Heraclius*, which requires more than one repreſentation to be clearly underſtood (Corneille de Voltaire, tom. v. p. 300.); and which, after an interval of ſome years, is ſaid to have puzzled the author himſelf (Anecdotes Dramatiques, tom. i. p. 422.).

47 The revolt of Phocas and death of Maurice are told by Theophylact Simocatta (l. viii. c. 7—12.), the Paſchal Chronicle (p. 379, 380.). Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 238—244.), Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 77—80.), and Cedrenus (p. 399—404.).

48 Gregor. l. xi. epiſt. 38. indict. vi. Benignitatem veſtræ pietatis ad Imperiale faſtigium perveniſſe gaudemus. Lætentur cœli et exultet terra, et de veſtris benignis actibus univerſæ reipublicæ populus nunc uſque vehementer afflictus hilareſcat, etc. This baſe flattery, the topic of proteſtant invective, is juſtly cenſured by the philoſopher Bayle (Dictionaire Critique, Gregoire I. Not. H. tom. ii. p. 597, 598.). Cardinal Baronius juſtifies the pope at the expence of the fallen emperor.

49 The images of Phocas were deſtroyed; but even the malice of his enemies would ſuffer one copy of ſuch a portrait or caricatura (Cedrenus, p. 404.) to eſcape the flames.

50 The family of Maurice is repreſented by Ducange (Familiæ Byzantinæ, p. 106, 107, 108.): his eldeſt ſon Theodoſius had been crowned emperor when he was no more than four years and a half old, and he is always joined with his father in the ſalutations of Gregory. With the Chriſtian daughters, Anaſtaſia and Theocteſte, I am ſurpriſed to find the Pagan name of Cleopatra.

51 Some of the cruelties of Phocas are marked by Theophylact, l. viii. c. 13, 14, 15. George of Piſicia, the poet of Heraclius, ſtyles him (Bell. Avaricum, p. 45. Rome 1777) της τυραννιδος ὁ δυσκαθεκτος και βιοφθορος δρακων. The latter epithet is juſt—but the corrupter of life was eaſily vanquiſhed.

52 In the writers, and in the copies of thoſe writers, there is ſuch heſitation between the names of *Priſcus* and *Criſpus* (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 111.), that I have been tempted to identify the ſon-in-law of Phocas with the hero five times victorious over the Avars.

53 According to Theophanes, κιβωτια, and εικονα θεομητορος. Cedrenus adds an αχειροποιητον εικονα τε κυριε, which Heraclius bore as a banner in the firſt Perſian expedition. See George Piſid. Acroas I. 140. The manufacture ſeems to have flouriſhed; but Foggini, the Roman editor (p. 26.), is at a loſs to determine whether this picture was an original or a copy.

54 See the tyranny of Phocas and the elevation of Heraclius, in Chron. Paſchal. p. 380—383. Theophanes, p. 242—250. Nicephorus, p.

3—7. Cedrenus, p. 404—407. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 80—82.

[55] Theophylact, l. viii. c. 15. The life of Maurice was compoſed about the year 628 (l. viii. c. 13.) by Theophylact Simocatta, ex-præfect, a native of Egypt. Photius, who gives an ample extract of the work (cod. lxv. p. 81—100.), gently reproves the affectation and allegory of the ſtyle His preface is a dialogue between Philoſophy and Hiſtory; they ſeat themſelves under a plane-tree, and the latter touches her lyre.

[56] Chriſtianis nec pactum eſſe, nec fidem nec fœdus.... quod ſi ulla illis fides fuiſſet, regem ſuum non occidiſſent. Eutych. Annales, tom. ii. p. 211. verſ. Pocock.

[57] We muſt now, for ſomes ages, take our leave of contemporary hiſtorians, and deſcend, if it be a deſcent, from the affectation of rhetoric to the rude ſimplicity of chronicles and abridgments. Thoſe of Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 244—279.) and Nicephorus (p. 3—16.) ſupply a regular, but imperfect, ſeries of the Perſian war; and for any additional facts I quote my ſpecial authorities. Theophanes, a courtier who became a monk, was born A. D. 748; Nicephorus, patriarch of Conſtantinople, who died A. D. 829, was ſomewhat younger: they both ſuffered in the cauſe of images. Hankius, de Scriptoribus Byzantinis, p. 200—246.

[58] The Perſian hiſtorians have been themſelves deceived; but Theophanes (p. 244.) accuſes Choſroes of the fraud and falſehood; and Eutychius believes (Annal. tom. ii. p. 211.) that the ſon of Maurice, who was ſaved from the aſſaſſins, lived and died a monk on mount Sinai.

[59] Eutychius dates all the loſſes of the empire under the reign of Phocas, an error which ſaves the honour of Heraclius, whom he brings not from Carthage, but Salonica, with a fleet laden with vegetables for the relief of Conſtantinople (Annal. tom. ii. p. 223,224.). The other Chriſtians of the Eaſt, Barhebræus (apud Aſſeman, Bibliothec. Oriental. tom. iii. p. 412, 413.), Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 13—16.), Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 98, 99.), are more ſincere and accurate. The years of the Perſian war are diſpoſed in the chronology of Pagi.

[60] On the conqueſt of Jeruſalem, an event ſo intereſting to the church, ſee the Annals of Eutychius (tom. ii. p. 212—223.) and the lamentations of the monk Antiochus (apud Baronium, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 614, N° 16—26.), whoſe one hundred and twenty-nine homilies are ſtill extant, if what no one reads may be ſaid to be extant.

[61] The life of this worthy ſaint is compoſed by Leontius, a contemporary biſhop; and I find in Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 610.

N° 10, etc.) and Fleury (tom. viii. p. 235—242.) sufficient extracts of this edifying work.

[62] The error of Baronius, and many others who have carried the arms of Chosroes to Carthage instead of Chalcedon, is founded on the near resemblance of the Greek words Καλχηδονα and Καρχηδονα, in the text of Theophanes, etc. which have been sometimes confounded by transcribers and sometimes by critics.

[63] The *genuine* acts of St. Anastasius are published in those of the viith general council, from whence Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 614, 626, 627.) and Butler (Lives of the Saints, vol. i. p. 242—248.) have taken their accounts. The holy martyr deserted from the Persian to the Roman army, became a monk at Jerusalem, and insulted the worship of the Magi, which was then established at Cæsarea in Palestine.

[64] Abulpharagius, Dynast. p. 99. Elmacin, Hist. Saracen. p. 14.

[65] D'Anville, Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxxii. p. 568—571.

[66] The difference between the two races consists in one or two humps; the dromedary has only once; the size of the proper camel is larger; the country he comes from, Turkestan or Bactriana; the dromedary is confined to Arabia and Africa. Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. xii. p. 211, etc. Aristot. Hist. Animal. tom. i. l. ii. c. 1. tom. ii. p. 185.

[67] Theophanes, Chronograph. p. 268. D'Herbelot, Bibliothéque Orientale, p. 997. The Greeks describe the decay, the Persians the splendour, of Dastagerd; but the former speak from the modest witness of the eye, the latter from the vague report of the ear.

[68] The historians of Mahomet, Abulfeda (in Vit. Mohammed, p. 92, 93.) and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 247.), date this embassy in the viith year of the hegira, which commences A. D. 628, May 11. Their chronology is erroneous, since Chosroes died in the month of February of the same year (Pagi, Critica, tom. ii. p. 779.). The count de Boulainvilliers (Vie de Mahomet, p. 327, 328.) places this embassy about A. D. 615, soon after the conquest of Palestine. Yet Mahomet would scarcely have ventured so soon on so bold a step.

[69] See the xxxth chapter of the Koran, entitled *the Greeks*. Our honest and learned translator Sale (p. 330, 331.) fairly states this conjecture, guess, wager, of Mahomet; but Boulainvilliers (p. 329—344.), with wicked intentions, labours to establish this evident prophecy of a future event, which must, in his opinion, embarrass the Christian polemics.

[70] Paul

[70] Paul Warnefrid, de Geſtis Langobardorum, l. iv. c. 38. 42. Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. v. p. 305, etc.

[71] The Paſchal Chronicle, which ſometimes introduces fragments of hiſtory into a barren liſt of names and dates, gives the beſt account of the treaſon of the Avars, p. 389, 390. The number of captives is added by Nicephorus.

[72] Some original pieces, ſuch as the ſpeech or letter of the Roman ambaſſadors (p. 386—388.), likewiſe conſtitute the merit of the Paſchal Chronicle, which was compoſed, perhaps at Alexandria, under the reign of Heraclius.

[73] Nicephorus. (p. 10, 11.), who brands this marriage with the names of αθεσμον and αθεμιτον, is happy to obſerve that of two ſons, its inceſtuous fruit, the elder was marked by Providence with a ſtiff neck, the younger with the loſs of hearing.

[74] George of Piſidia (Acroaſ. i. 112—125. p. 5.), who ſtates the opinions, acquits the puſillanimous counſellors of any ſiniſter views. Would he have excuſed the proud and contemptuous admonition of Criſpus? Επιθωπταζων ουκ εξον βασιλει σφακελ καταλιμπανειν βασιλειαν, και τας πορρω επιχωριαξειν δυναμεσιν.

[75] Ει τας επ' ακρον ηρμενας ευξιους
Εσφαλμενας λεγουσιν ουκ απεικοτως
Κεισθω το λοιπον εν κακοις τα Περσιδος
Αντιστροφως δε, etc.

George Piſid. Acroaſ. i. 51, etc. p. 4.

The Orientals are not leſs fond of remarking this ſtrange viciſſitude; and I remember ſome ſtory of Khoſrou Parviz, not very unlike the ring of Polycrates of Samos.

[76] Baronius gravely relates this diſcovery, or rather tranſmutation, of barrels, not of honey, but of gold (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 620, N° 3, etc.). Yet the loan was arbitrary, ſince it was collected by ſoldiers, who were ordered to leave the patriarch of Alexandria no more than one hundred pounds of gold. Nicephorus (p. 11.), two hundred years afterwards, ſpeaks with ill-humour of this contribution, which the church of Conſtantinople might ſtill feel.

[77] Theophylact Simocatta, l. viii. c. 12. This circumſtance need not excite our ſurpriſe. The muſter-roll of a regiment, even in time of peace, is renewed in leſs than twenty or twenty-five years.

[78] He changed his *purple*, for *black*, buskins, and dyed them *red* in the blood of the Perſians (Georg. Piſid. Acroaſ. iii. 118. 121, 122. See the Notes of Foggini, p. 35.).

[79] George of Piſidia (Acroaſ. ii. 10. p. 8.) has fixed this important

point of the Syrian and Cilician gates. They are elegantly deſcribed by Xenophon, who marched through them a thouſand years before. A narrow paſs of three ſtadia between ſteep high rocks (πετραι ηλιβατοι) and the Mediterraneau, was cloſed at each end by ſtrong gates, impregnable to the land (παρελθειν απ ηπειρου βια), acceſſible by ſea (Anabaſis, l. i. p. 35, 36. with Hutchinſon's Geographical Diſſertation, p. vi.). The gates were thirty-five paraſangs, or leagues, from Tarſus (Anabaſis, l. i. p. 33, 34.), and eight or ten from Antioch (Compare Itinerar. Weſſeling. p. 580, 581. Schulten's Index Geograph ad calcem Vit. Saladin. p. 9. Voyage en Turquie et en Perſe, par M. Otter, tom. i. p. 78, 79.).

[80] Heraclius might write to a friend in the modeſt words of Cicero: "Caſtra habuimus ea ipſa quæ contra Darium habuerat apud Iſſum Alexander, imperator haud paullo melior quam aut tu aut ego.". Ad Atticum, v. 20. Iſſus, a rich and flouriſhing city in the time of Xenophon, was ruined by the proſperity of Alexandria or Scanderoon, on the other ſide of the bay.

[81] Foggini (Annotat. p. 31.) ſuſpects that the Perſians were deceived by the Φαλαγξ πεπλεγμενη of Ælian (Tactic, c. 48.), an intricate ſpiral motion of the army. He obſerves (p. 28.) that the military deſcriptions of George of Piſidia are tranſcribed in the tactics of the emperor Leo.

[82] George of Piſidia, an eye-witneſs (Acroaſ. ii. 122, etc.), deſcribed, in three *acroaſeis* or cantos, the firſt expedition of Heraclius. The poem has been lately (1777) published at Rome; but ſuch vague and declamatory praiſe is far from correſponding with the ſanguine hopes of Pagi, D'Anville, etc.

[83] Theophanes (p. 256.) carries Heraclius ſwiftly (κατα ταχος) into Armenia. Nicephorus (p. 11.), though he confounds the two expeditions, defines the province of Lazica. Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 231.) has given the 5000 men, with the more probable ſtation of Trebizond.

[84] From Conſtantinople to Trebizond, with a fair wind, four or five days; from thence to Erzerom, five; to Erivan, twelve; to Tauris, ten; in all, thirty two. Such is the Itinerary of Tavernier (Voyages, tom. i. p. 12—56.), who was perfectly converſant with the roads of Aſia. Tournefort, who travelled with a paſha, ſpent ten or twelve days between Trebizond and Erzerom (Voyage du Levant, tom. iii. lettre xviii.); and Chardin (Voyages, tom. i. p. 249—254.) gives the more correct diſtance of fifty-three paraſangs, each of 5000 paces (what paces?), between Erivan and Tauris.

[85] The expedition of Heraclius into Perſia is finely illuſtrated by M. d'Anville (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxviii.

p. 569—573.). He diſcovers the ſituation of Gandzaca, Thebarma, Daſtagerd, etc. with admirable ſkill and learning; but the obſcure campaign of 624, he paſſes over in ſilence.

[86] Et Pontem indignatus Araxes.

Virgil. Æneid viii. 728.

The river Araxes is noiſy, rapid, vehement, and, with the melting of the ſnows, irreſiſtible: the ſtrongeſt and moſt maſſy bridges are ſwept away by the current; and its *indignation* is atteſted by the ruins of many arches near the old town of Zulfa. Voyages de Chardin, tom. i. p. 252.

[87] Chardin, tom. i. p. 255—259. With the Orientals (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 834.), he aſcribes the foundation of Tauris, or Tebris, to Zobeide, the wife of the famous Khalif Harun-al-Rashid; but it appears to have been more ancient, and the names of Gandzaca, Gazaca, Gaza, are expreſſive of the royal treaſure. The number of 550,000 inhabitants is reduced by Chardin from 1,100,000, the popular eſtimate.

[88] He opened the goſpel, and applied or interpreted the firſt caſual paſſage to the name and ſituation of Albania. Theophanes, p. 258.

[89] The heath of Mogan, between the Cyrus and the Araxes, is ſixty paraſangs in length and twenty in breadth (Olearius, p. 1023, 1024.), abounding in waters and fruitful paſtures (Hiſt. de Nader Shah, tranſlated by Mr. Jones from a Perſian MS. part. ii. p. 2, 3.). See the encampments of Timur (Hiſt. par Sherefeddin Ali, l. v. c. 37. l. vi. c. 13.) and the coronation of Nader Shah (Hiſt. Perſanne, p. 3—13. and the Engliſh Life by Mr. Jones, p. 64, 65.).

[90] Thebarma and Urmia, near the lake Spauta, are proved to be the ſame city by D'Anville (Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. xxviii. p. 564, 565.). It is honoured as the birth-place of Zoroaſter, according to the Perſians (Schulten's Index Geograph. p. 48.); and their tradition is fortified by M. Perron d'Anquetil (Mém. de l'Acad. des Inſcript. tom. xxxi. p. 375.), with ſome texts from *his*, or *their*, Zendaveſta.

[91] I cannot find, and (what is much more) M. d'Anville does not attempt to ſeek, the Salban, Tarantum, territory of the Huns, etc. mentioned by Theophanes (p. 260—262.). Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 231, 232.), an inſufficient author, names Aſphahan; and Casbin is moſt probably the city of Sapor. Iſpahan is twenty-four days journey from Tauris, and Cashin half way between them (Voyages de Tavernier, tom. i. p. 63—82.).

[92] At ten paraſangs from Tarſus, the army of the younger Cyrus paſſed the Sarus, three plethra in breadth: the pyramus, a ſtadium

in breadth, ran five paraſangs farther to the eaſt (Xenophon, Anabaſ. l. i. p. 33, 34.).

[93] George of Piſidia (Bell. Abaricum, 246—265. p. 49.) celebrates with truth the perſevering courage of the three campaigns (τρεις περιοδους) againſt the Perſians.

[94] Petavius (Annotationes ad Nicephorum, p. 62, 63, 64.) diſcriminates the names and actions of five Perſian generals who were ſucceſſively ſent againſt Heraclius.

[95] This number of eight myriads is ſpecified by George of Piſidia (Bell. Abar. 219.). The poet (50—88.) clearly indicates that the old chagan lived till the reign of Heraclius, and that his ſon and ſucceſſor was born of a foreign mother. Yet Foggini (Annotat. p. 57.) has given another interpretation to this paſſage.

[96] A bird, a frog, a mouſe, and five arrows, had been the preſent of the Scythian king to Darius (Herodot. l. iv. c. 131, 132.). "Subſtituez une lettre à ces ſignes (ſays Rouſſeau, with much good taſte) plus elle ſera menaçante moins elle effrayera: ce ne ſera qu'une fanfarronade dont Darius n'eût fait que rire (Emile, tom. iii. p. 146.). Yet I much queſtion whether the ſenate and people of Conſtantinople *laughed* at this meſſage of the chagan.

[97] The Paſchal Chronicle (p. 392—397.) gives a minute and authentic narrative of the ſiege and deliverance of Conſtantinople. Theophanes (p. 264.) adds ſome circumſtances; and a faint light may be obtained from the ſmoke of George of Piſidia, who has compoſed a poem (de Bello Abarico, p. 45—54.) to commemorate this auſpicious event.

[98] The power of the Chozars prevailed in the viith, viiith, and ixth centuries. They were known to the Greeks, the Arabs, and, under the name of *Koſa*, to the Chineſe themſelves. De Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. ii. part. ii. p. 507—509.

[99] Epiphania, or Eudocia, the only daughter of Heraclius and his firſt wife Eudocia, was born at Conſtantinople on the 7th of July, A. D. 611, baptiſed the 15th of Auguſt, and crowned (in the oratory of St. Stephen in the palace) the 4th of October of the ſame year. At this time ſhe was about fifteen. Eudocia was afterwards ſent to her Turkiſh huſband, but the news of his death ſtopped her journey and prevented the conſummation (Ducange, Familiæ Byzantin. p. 118.).

[100] Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 13—16.) gives ſome curious and probable facts: but his numbers are rather too high—300,000 Romans aſſembled at Edeſſa—500,000 Perſians killed at Nineveh. The abatement of a cypher is ſcarcely enough to reſtore his ſanity.

[101] Cteſias (apud Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. ii. p. 115. edit. Weſſeling) aſſigns 480 ſtadia (perhaps only 32 miles) for the circumference of

Nineveh. Jonas talks of three days journey: the 120,000 perſons deſcribed by the prophet as incapable of diſcerning their right hand from their left, may afford about 700,000 perſons of all ages for the inhabitants of that ancient capital (Goguet, Origines des Loix, etc. tom. iii. part i. p. 92, 93.), which ceaſed to exiſt 600 years before Chriſt. The weſtern ſuburb ſtill ſubſiſted, and is mentioned under the name of Moſul in the firſt age of the Arabian khalifs.

[102] Niebuhr (Voyage en Arabie, etc. tom. ii. p. 286.) paſſed over Nineveh without perceiving it. He miſtook for a ridge of hills the old rampart of brick or earth. It is ſaid to have been 100 feet high, flanked with 1500 towers, each of the height of 200 feet.

[103] Rex regia arma fero (ſays Romulus, in the firſt conſecration)... bina poſtea (continues Livy, i. 10.) inter tot bella, opima parta ſunt ſpolia, adeo rara ejus fortuna decoris. If Varro (apud Pomp. Feſtum, p. 306. edit. Dacier) could juſtify his liberality in granting the *opime* ſpoils even to a common ſoldier who had ſlain the king or general of the enemy, the honour would have been much more cheap and common.

[104] In deſcribing this laſt expedition of Heraclius, the facts, the places, and the dates of Theophanes (p. 265—271.) are ſo accurate and authentic, that he muſt have followed the original letters of the emperor, of which the Paſchal Chronicle has preſerved (p. 398—402.) a very curious ſpecimen.

[105] The words of Theophanes are remarkable: εισηλθε Χοσροης εις οικον γεωργυ μηδαμινυ μεινας, & χωρησεις εν τη τυτυ θυρα, ην ιδων εσχατον Ἡρακλειος εθαυμασε (p. 269.). Young princes who diſcover a propenſity to war ſhould repeatedly tranſcribe and tranſlate ſuch ſalutary texts.

[106] The authentic narrative of the fall of Choſroes is contained in the letter of Heraclius (Chron. Paſchal. p. 398.) and the hiſtory of Theophanes (p. 271.).

[107] On the firſt rumour of the death of Choſroes, an Heraclïad in two cantos was inſtantly published at Conſtantinople by George of Piſidia (p. 97—105.). A prieſt and a poet might very properly exult in the damnation of the public enemy (εμπεσων εν τοις τοις, v. 56.): but ſuch mean revenge is unworthy of a king and a conqueror; and I am ſorry to find ſo much black ſuperſtition (θεομαχος Χοσροης επεσε και επτωματιτθη εις τα καταχθονια εις το πυρ ακαταβατον, etc. in the letter of Heraclius: he almoſt applauds the parricide of Siroes as an act of piety and juſtice.

[108] The beſt Oriental accounts of this laſt period of the Saſſanian kings are found in Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 251—256.), who

diſſembles the parricide of Siroes, d'Herbelot (Bibliothéque Orientale, p. 789.), and Aſſemanni (Bibliothec. Oriental. tom. iii. p. 415—420.).

[109] The letter of Siroes in the Paſchal Chronicle (p. 402.) unfortunately ends before he proceeds to buſineſs. The treaty appears in its execution in the hiſtories of Theophanes and Nicephorus.

[110] The burthen of Corneille's ſong,

"Montrez Héraclius au peuple qui l'attend,"

is much better ſuited to the preſent occaſion. See his triumph in Theophanes (p. 272, 273.) and Nicephorus (p. 15, 16.). The life of the mother and tenderneſs of the ſon are atteſted by George of Piſidia (Bell. Abar. 255, etc. p. 49.). The metaphor of the Sabbath is uſed, ſomewhat profanely, by theſe Byzantine Chriſtians.

[111] See Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 628, N° 1—4.), Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 240—248.), Nicephorus (Brev. p. 15.). The ſeals of the caſe had never been broken; and this preſervation of the croſs is aſcribed (under God) to the devotion of queen Sira.

[112] George of Piſidia, Acroaſ. iii. de Expedit. contra Perſas, 415, etc. and Heracleid. Acroaſ. i. 65—138. I neglect the meaner parallels of Daniel, Timotheus, etc. Choſroes and the chagan were of courſe compared to Belshazzar, Pharaoh, the old ſerpent, etc.

[113] Suidas (in Excerpt. Hiſt. Byzant. p. 46.) gives this number; but either the *Perſian* muſt be read for the *Iſaurian*, war, or this paſſage does not belong to the *emperor* Heraclius.

CHAP. XLVII.

[1] By what means ſhall I authenticate this previous enquiry, which I have ſtudied to circumſcribe and compreſs?—If I perſiſt in ſupporting each fact or reflexion by its proper and ſpecial evidence, every line would demand a ſtring of teſtimonies, and every note would ſwell to a critical diſſertation. But the numberleſs paſſages of antiquity which I have ſeen with my own eyes, are compiled, digeſted, and illuſtrated, by *Petavius* and *Le Clerc*, by *Beauſobre* and *Moſheim*. I ſhall be content to fortify my narrative by the names and characters of theſe reſpectable guides; and in the contemplation of a minute or remote object, I am not aſhamed to borrow the aid of the ſtrongeſt glaſſes: 1. The *Dogmata Theologica* of Petavius, are a work of incredible labour and compaſs; the volumes which relate ſolely to the incarnation (two folios, vth and vith, of 837 pages), are divided into xvi books—the firſt of hiſtory, the remainder of controverſy and doctrine. The Jeſuit's learning is copious and correct; his latinity is pure, his

method clear, his argument profound and well connected: but he is the ſlave of the fathers, the ſcourge of heretics, and the enemy of truth and candour, as often as *they* are inimical to the Catholic cauſe. 2. The Arminian Le Clerc, who has compoſed in a quarto volume (Amſterdam, 1716) the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the two firſt centuries, was free both in his temper and ſituation; his ſenſe is clear, but his thoughts are narrow; he reduces the reaſon or folly of ages to the ſtandard of his private judgment, and his impartiality is ſometimes quickened, and ſometimes tainted, by his oppoſition to the fathers. See the heretics (Cerinthians, lxxx. Ebionites, ciii. Carpocratians, cxx. Valentinians, cxxi. Baſilidians, cxxiii. Marcionites, cxli. etc.) under their proper dates. 3. The Hiſtoire Critique du Manichéiſme (Amſterdam, 1734, 1739, in two vols. in 4to, with a poſthumous diſſertation ſur les Nazaréens, Lauſanne, 1745.) of M. de Beauſobre, is a treaſure of ancient philoſophy and theology. The learned hiſtorian ſpins with incomparable art the ſyſtematic thread of opinion, and transforms himſelf by turns into the perſon of a ſaint, a ſage, or an heretic. Yet his refinement is ſometimes exceſſive: he betrays an amiable partiality in favour of the weaker ſide, and, while he guards againſt calumny, he does not allow ſufficient ſcope for ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm. A copious table of contents will direct the reader to any point that he wiſhes to examine. 4. Leſs profound than Petavius, leſs independent than Le Clerc, leſs ingenious than Beauſobre, the hiſtorian Mosheim is full, rational, correct, and moderate. In his learned work, De Rebus Chriſtianis ante Conſtantinum (Helmſtadt, 1753, in 4to), ſee the *Nazarenes* and *Ebionites*, p. 172—179. 328—332. The Gnoſtics in general, p. 179, etc. *Cerinthus*, p. 196—202. Baſilides, p. 352—361. Carpocrates, p. 363—367. Valentinus, p. 371—389. Marcion, p. 404—410. The Manichæans, p. 829—837, etc.

[2] Και γαρ παντες ημεις τον Χριστον ανθρωπον εξ ανθρωπων προσδοκωμεν γεννησεσθαι, ſays the Jew Tryphon (Juſtin. Dialog. p. 207.), in the name of his countrymen; and the modern Jews, the few who divert their thoughts from money to religion, ſtill hold the ſame language, and allege the literal ſenſe of the prophets.

[3] Chryſoſtom (Baſnage, Hiſt. des Juifs, tom. v. c. 9. p. 183.) and Athanaſius (Petav. Dogmat. Theolog. tom. v. l. i. c. 2. p. 3.) are obliged to confeſs that the divinity of Chriſt is rarely mentioned by himſelf or his apoſtles.

[4] The two firſt chapters of St. Matthew did not exiſt in the Ebionite copies (Epiphan. Hæreſ. xxx. 13.); and the miraculous conception is one of the laſt articles which Dr. Prieſtly has curtailed from his ſcanty creed.

[5] It is probable enough that the firſt of the goſpels for the uſe of the Jewiſh converts, was compoſed in the Hebrew or Syriac idiom: the fact is atteſted by a chain of fathers—Papias, Irenæus, Origen, Jerom, etc. It is devoutly believed by the Catholics, and admitted by Caſaubon, Grotius, and Iſaac Voſſius, among the proteſtant critics. But this Hebrew goſpel of St. Matthew is moſt unaccountably loſt; and we may accuſe the diligence or fidelity of the primitive churches, who have preferred the unauthoriſed verſion of ſome nameleſs Greek. Eraſmus and his followers, who reſpect our Greek text as the original goſpel, deprive themſelves of the evidence which declares it to be the work of an apoſtle. See Simon, Hiſt. Critique, etc. tom. iii. c. 5—9. p. 47—101. and the Prolegomena of Mill and Wettſtein to the New Teſtament.

[6] The metaphyſics of the ſoul are diſengaged by Cicero (Tuſculan. l. i.) and Maximus of Tyre (Diſſertat. xvi.) from the intricacies of dialogue, which ſometimes amuſe, and often perplex, the readers of the *Phædrus*, the *Phædon*, and the *Laws* of Plato.

[7] The diſciples of Jeſus were perſuaded that a man might have ſinned before he was born (John, ix. 2), and the Phariſees held the tranſmigration of virtuous ſouls (Joſeph. de Bell. Judaico, l. ii. c. 7.); and a modern Rabbi is modeſtly aſſured that Hermes, Pythagoras, Plato, etc. derived their metaphyſics from his illuſtrious countrymen.

[8] Four different opinions have been entertained concerning the origin of human ſouls. 1. That they are eternal and divine. 2. That they were created, in a ſeparate ſtate of exiſtence, before their union with the body. 3. That they have been propagated from the original ſtock of Adam, who contained in himſelf the mental as well as the corporeal ſeed of his poſterity. 4. That each ſoul is occaſionally created and embodied in the moment of conception.—The laſt of theſe ſentiments appears to have prevailed among the moderns; and our ſpiritual hiſtory is grown leſs ſublime, without becoming more intelligible.

[9] Ὅτι ἡ τε Σωτηρος ψυχη, ἡ τε Ἀδαμ ην—was one of the fifteen hereſies imputed to Origen and denied by his apologiſt (Photius, Bibliothec. cod. cxvii. p. 296.). Some of the Rabbis attribute one and the ſame ſoul to the perſons of Adam, David, and the Meſſiah.

[10] Apoſtolis adhuc in ſeculo ſuperſtitibus, apud Judæam Chriſti ſanguine recente, PHANTASMA domini corpus aſſerebatur. Hieronym. adverſ. Lucifer. c. 8 The epiſtle of Ignatius to the Smyrnæans, and even the goſpel according to St. John, are levelled againſt the growing error of the Docetes, who had obtained too much credit in the world (1 John, iv. 1—5.).

[11] About the year 200 of the Chriſtian æra, Irenæus and Hippolytus

refuted the thirty-two ſects, της ψευδωνυμυ γνωσεως, which had multiplied to fourſcore in the time of Epiphanius (Phot. Biblioth. cod. cxx, cxxi, cxxii.). The five books of Irenæus exiſt only in barbarous Latin; but the original might perhaps be found in ſome monaſtery of Greece.

[12] The pilgrim Caſſian, who viſited Egypt in the beginning of the vth century, obſerves and laments the reign of anthropomorphiſm among the monks, who were not conſcious that they embraced the ſyſtem of Epicurus (Cicero, de Nat. Deorum, i. 18. 34.). Ab univerſo propemodum genere monachorum, qui per totam provinciam Egyptum morabantur, pro ſimplicitatis errore ſuſceptum eſt, ut e contrario memoratum pontificem (*Theophilum*) velut hæreſi graviſſimâ depravatum, pars maxima ſeniorum ab univerſo fraternitatis corpore decerneret deteſtandum (Caſſian, Collation. x. 2.). As long as St. Auguſtin remained a Manichæan, he was ſcandalized by the anthropomorphiſm of the vulgar Catholics.

[13] Ita eſt in oratione ſenex mente confuſus, eo quod illam ανθρωπομορφον imaginem Deitatis, quam proponere ſibi in oratione conſueverat aboleri de ſuo corde ſentiret, ut in amariſſimos fletus, crebroſque ſingultus repentè prorumpens, in terram proſtratus, cum ejulatû validiſſimo proclamaret; "Heu me miſerum!" tulerunt a me Deum meum, et quem nunc teneam non habeo, vel quem adorem, aut interpellem jam néſcio (Caſſian, Collat. x. 2.).

[14] St. John and Cerinthus (A. D. 80. Cleric. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 493.) accidentally met in the public bath of Epheſus; but the apoſtle fled from the heretic, leſt the building ſhould tumble on their heads. This foolish ſtory, reprobated by Dr. Middleton (Miſcellaneous Works, vol. ii.), is related however by Irenæus (iii. 3.), on the evidence of Polycarp, and was probably ſuited to the time and reſidence of Cerinthus. The obſolete, yet probably the true, reading of 1 John, iv. 3, —ὁ λυει τον Ιησουν—alludes to the double nature of that primitive heretic.

[15] The Valentinians embraced a complex, and almoſt incoherent, ſyſtem. 1. Both Chriſt and Jeſus were æons, though of different degrees; the one acting as the rational ſoul, the other as the divine ſpirit of the Saviour. 2. At the time of the paſſion, they both retired, and left only a ſenſitive ſoul and an human body. 3. Even that body was æthereal, and perhaps apparent —Such are the laborious concluſions of Moſheim. But I much doubt whether the Latin tranſlator underſtood Irenæus, and whether Irenæus and the Valentinians underſtood themſelves.

[16] The heretics abuſed the paſſionate exclamation of "My God, my

God, why haſt thou *forſaken* me!" Rouſſeau, who has drawn an eloquent, but indecent, parallel between Chriſt and Socrates, forgets that not a word of impatience or deſpair eſcaped from the mouth of the dying philoſopher. In the Meſſiah, ſuch ſentiments could be only apparent; and ſuch ill ſounding words are properly explained as the application of a pſalm and prophecy.

[17] This ſtrong expreſſion might be juſtified by the language of St. Paul (1 Tim. iii. 16.); but we are deceived by our modern bibles. The word ὁ (*which*) was altered to θεος (*God*) at Conſtantinople in the beginning of the vith century: the true reading, which is viſible in the Latin and Syriac verſions, ſtill exiſts in the reaſoning of the Greek, as well as of the Latin fathers; and this fraud, with that of the *three witneſſes of St. John* is admirably detected by Sir Iſaac Newton. (See his two Letters tranſlated by M. de Miſſy, in the Journal Britannique, tom. xv. p. 148—190. 361—390.) I have weighed the arguments, and may yield to the authority of the firſt of philoſophers, who was deeply ſkilled in critical and theological ſtudies.

[18] For Apollinaris and his ſect, ſee Socrates, l. ii. c. 46. l. iii. c. 16. Sozomen, l. v. c. 18. l. vi. c. 25. 27. Theodoret, l. v. 3 10, 11. Tillemont, Mémoires Eccléſiaſtiques, tom. vii. p 602—638. Not. p. 789—794. in 4to, Veniſe, 1732. The contemporary ſaints always mention the biſhop of Laodicea as a friend and brother. The ſtyle of the more recent hiſtorians is harſh and hoſtile; yet Philoſtorgius compares him (l. viii. c. 11—15.) to Baſil and Gregory.

[19] I appeal to the confeſſion of two Oriental prelates, Gregory Abulpharagius the Jacobite primate of the Eaſt, and Elias, the Neſtorian metropolitan of Damaſcus (ſee Aſſeman. Bibliothec. Oriental. tom. ii. p. 291. tom. iii. p. 514, etc.), that the Melchites, Jacobites, Neſtorians, etc. agree in the *doctrine*, and differ only in the *expreſſion*. Our moſt learned and rational divines—Baſnage, Le Clerc, Beauſobre, La Croze, Moſheim, Jablonski—are inclined to favour this charitable judgment; but the zeal of Petavius is loud and angry, and the moderation of Dupin is conveyed in a whiſper.

[20] La Croze (Hiſt. du Chriſtianiſme des Indes, tom. i. p. 24.) avows his contempt for the genius and writings of Cyril. De tous les ouvrages des anciens, il y en a peu qu'on liſe avec moins d'utilité; and Dupin (Bibliothéque Eccléſiaſtique, tom. iv. p. 42—52.), in words of reſpect, teaches us to deſpiſe them.

[21] Of Iſidore of Peluſium (l. i. epiſt. 25. p. 8.). As the letter is not of the moſt creditable ſort, Tillemont, leſs ſincere than the Bollandiſts, affects a doubt whether *this* Cyril is the nephew of Theophilus (Mém. Eccléſ. tom. xiv. p. 268.).

[22] A grammarian is named by Socrates (l. vii. 13.) διαπυρος δε ακροατης τυ επισκοπυ Κυριλλυ καθεςως, και περι το κροτυς εν ταις διδασκαλιαις αυτυ εγειρειν την σπουδαιοτατος.

[23] See the youth and promotion of Cyril, in Socrates (l. vii. c. 7.) and Renaudot (Hiſt. Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 106. 108.). The Abbé Renaudot drew his materials from the Arabic hiſtory of Severus, biſhop of Hermopolis Magna, or Aſhmunein, in the xth century, who can never be truſted, unleſs our aſſent is extorted by the internal evidence of facts.

[24] The *Parabolani* of Alexandria were a charitable corporation, inſtituted during the plague of Gallienus to viſit the ſick and to bury the dead. They gradually enlarged; abuſed and ſold the privileges of their order. Their outrageous conduct under the reign of Cyril provoked the emperor to deprive the patriarch of their nomination, and to reſtrain their number to five or ſix hundred. But theſe reſtraints were tranſient and ineffectual. See the Theodoſian Code, l. xvi. tit. ii. and Tillemont, Mém. Eccléſ. tom. xiv. p. 276—278.

[25] For Theon, and his daughter Hypatia, ſee Fabricius, Bibliothec. tom. viii. p. 210, 211. Her article in the Lexicon of Suidas is curious and original. Heſychius (Meurſii Opera, tom. vii. p. 295, 296.) obſerves, that ſhe was perſecuted δια την υπερβαλλυσαν σοφιαν; and an epigram in the Greek Anthology (l. i. c. 76. p. 159. edit. Brodæi) celebrates her knowledge and eloquence. She is honourably mentioned (Epiſt. 10. 15, 16. 33—80. 124. 135. 153.) by her friend and diſciple the philoſophic biſhop Syneſius.

[26] Οστρακοις ωνειλον, και μελησδον διασπασαντες, etc. Oyſter-ſhells were plentifully ſtrewed on the ſea-beach before the Cæſareum. I may therefore prefer the literal ſenſe, without rejecting the metaphorical verſion of *tegulæ*, tiles, which is uſed by M. de Valois. I am ignorant, and the aſſaſſins were probably regardleſs, whether their victim was yet alive.

[27] Theſe exploits of St. Cyril are recorded by Socrates (l. vii. c. 13, 14, 15.); and the moſt reluctant bigotry is compelled to copy an hiſtorian who coolly ſtyles the murderers of Hypatia ανδρες το φρονημα ενθερμοι. At the mention of that injured name, I am pleaſed to obſerve a bluſh even on the cheek of Baronius (A. D. 415, N° 48.).

[28] He was deaf to the entreaties of Atticus of Conſtantinople, and of Iſidore of Peluſium, and yielded only (if we may believe Nicephorus, l. xiv. c. 18.) to the perſonal interceſſion of the virgin. Yet in his laſt years he ſtill muttered that John Chryſoſtom had been juſtly condemned (Tillemont, Mém. Eccléſ. tom. xiv. p. 278—282. Baron.

ius, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 412, N° 46—64.).

[29] See their characters in the hiſtory of Socrates (l. vii. c. 25—28.); their power and pretenſions, in the huge compilation of Thomaſſin (Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 80—91.).

[30] His elevation and conduct are deſcribed by Socrates (l. vii. c. 29. 31.); and Marcellinus ſeems to have applied the loquentiæ ſatis, ſapientiæ parum, of Saluſt.

[31] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 65. with the illuſtrations of Baronius (A. D. 428, N° 25, etc.), Godefroy (ad locum), and Pagi (Critica, tom. ii. p. 208.).

[32] Iſidore of Peluſium (l. iv. epiſt. 57?). His words are ſtrong and ſcandalous — τι θαυμαζεις, ει και νυν περι πραγματος θειου και λογου κρειττονος διαφωνειν προσπειρανται υπο φιλαρχιας εκβακχευομενοι. Iſidore is a ſaint, but he never became a biſhop; and I half ſuſpect, that the pride of Diogenes trampled on the pride of Plato.

[33] La Croze (Chriſtianiſme des Indes, tom. i. p. 44—53. Theſaurus Epiſtolicus La Crozianus, tom. iii. p. 276—280. has detected the uſe of ὁ δεσποτης, and ὁ κυριος Ιησους, which in the ivth, vth, and vith centuries, diſcriminates the ſchool of Diodorus of Tarſus and his Neſtorian diſciples.

[34] Θεοτοκος—*Deipara:* as in zoology we familiarly ſpeak of oviparous and viviparous animals. It is not eaſy to fix the invention of this word, which La Croze (Chriſtianiſme des Indes, tom. i. p. 16.) aſcribes to Euſebius of Cæſarea and the Arians. The orthodox teſtimonies are produced by Cyril and Petavius (Dogmat. Theolog. tom. v. l. v. c. 15. p. 254, etc.); but the veracity of the ſaint is queſtionable, and the epithet of Θεοτοκος ſo eaſily ſlides from the margin to the text of a Catholic MS.

[35] Baſnage, in his Hiſtoire de l'Egliſe, a work of controverſy (tom. i. p. 505.), juſtifies the mother, by the blood, of God (Acts, xx. 28. with Mill's various readings). But the Greek MSS. are far from unanimous; and the primitive ſtyle of the blood of Chriſt is preſerved in the Syriac verſion, even in thoſe copies which were uſed by the Chriſtians of St. Thomas on the coaſt of Malabar (La Croze, Chriſtianiſme des Indes, tom. i. p. 347.). The jealouſy of the Neſtorians and Monophyſites has guarded the purity of their text.

[36] The Pagans of Egypt already laughed at the new Cybele of the Chriſtians (Iſidor. l. i. epiſt. 54.): a letter was forged in the name of Hypatia, to ridicule the theology of her aſſaſſin (Synodicon, c. 216. in iv tom. Concil. p. 484.). In the article of NESTORIUS, Bayle has ſcattered ſome looſe philoſophy on the worship of the Virgin Mary.

[37] The *ἀντιδοσις* of the Greeks, a mutual loan or transfer of the idioms or properties of each nature to the other——of infinity to man, paſſibility to God, etc. Twelve rules on this niceſt of ſubjects compoſe the Theological Grammar of Petavius (Dogmata Theolog. tom. v. l. iv. c. 14, 15. p. 209, etc.).

[38] See Ducange, C. P. Chriſtiana. l. i. p. 30, etc.

[39] Concil. tom. iii. p. 943. They have never been *directly* approved by the church (Tillemont, Mém. Eccléſ. tom. xiv. p. 368——372.). I almoſt pity the agony of rage and ſophiſtry with which Petavius ſeems to be agitated in the vith book of his Dogmata Theologica.

[40] Such as the rational Baſnage (ad tom. i. Variar. Lection. Canifii in Præfat. c. ii. p. 11——23.) and La Croze, the univerſal ſcholar (Chriſtianiſme des Indes, tom. i. p. 16——20. De l'Ethiopie, p. 26, 27. Theſaur. Epiſt. p. 176, etc. 283. 285.). His free ſentence is confirmed by that of his friends Jablonski (Theſaur. Epiſt. tom. i. p. 193——201) and Moſheim (idem, p. 304. Neſtorium crimine caruiſſe eſt et mea ſententia); and three more reſpectable judges will not eaſily be found. Aſſeman, a learned and modeſt ſlave, can *hardly* diſcern (Bibliothec. Orient. tom. iv. p. 190——224.) the guilt and error of the Neſtorians.

[41] The origin and progreſs of the Neſtorian controverſy, till the ſynod of Epheſus, may be found in Socrates (l. vii. c. 32.), Evagrius (l. i. c. 1, 2.), Liberatus (Brev. c. 1——4.), the original Acts (Concil. tom. iii. p. 551——991. edit. Veniſe, 1728), the Annals of Baronius and Pagi, and the faithful collections of Tillemont (Mém. Eccléſ. tom. xiv. p 283——377.).

[42] The Chriſtians of the four firſt centuries were ignorant of the death and burial of Mary. The tradition of Epheſus is affirmed by the ſynod (ενθα ὁ θεολογος Ιωαννης, και ἡ θεοτοκος παρθενος ἡ ἁγια Μαρια. Concil. tom. iii. p. 1102.); yet it has been ſuperſeded by the claim of Jeruſalem; and her *empty* ſepulchre, as it was ſhewn to the pilgrims, produced the fable of her reſurrection and aſſumption, in which the Greek and Latin churches have piouſly acquieſced. See Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 48, N° 6, etc.) and Tillemont (Mém. Eccléſ. tom. i. p. 467——477.).

[43] The Acts of Chalcedon (Concil. tom. iv. p. 1405. 1408.) exhibit a lively picture of the blind, obſtinate ſervitude of the biſhops of Egypt to their patriarch.

[44] Civil or eccleſiaſtical buſineſs detained the biſhops at Antioch till the 18th of May. Epheſus was at the diſtance of thirty days journey; and ten days more may be fairly allowed for accidents and repoſe. The march of Xenophon over the ſame ground enumerates above 260

[57] Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 12.) and Gregory Bar-Hebræus, or Abulpharagius (Aſſeman, tom. ii. p. 316.) repreſent the credulity of the xth and xiiith centuries.

[58] We are obliged to Evagrius (l. i. c. 7.) for ſome extracts from the letters of Neſtorius; but the lively picture of his ſufferings is treated with inſult by the hard and ſtupid fanatic.

[59] Dixi Cyrillum dum viveret, auctoritate ſuâ effeciſſe, ne Eutychianiſmus et Monophyſitarum error in nervum erumperet: idque verum puto . . . aliquo . . . honeſto modo παλινωδιαν cecinerat. The learned but cautious Jablonski did not always ſpeak the whole truth. Cum Cyrillo lenius omnino egi, quam ſi tecum aut cum aliis rei hujus probe gnaris et æquis rerum æſtimatoribus ſermones privatos conferrem. (Theſaur. Epiſtol. La Crozian. tom. i. p. 197, 198.), an excellent key to his diſſertations on the Neſtorian controverſy!

[60] Η ἁγια συνοδος ειπεν, αρον, καυσον Ευσεβιον, ὁ τὸς ζων καη, ὁ τος εις δυο γενηται, ὡς εμερισθη ει τις λεγει δυο αναθεμα. At the requeſt of Dioſcorus, thoſe who were not able to roar (βοισαι), ſtretched out their hands. At Chalcedon, the Orientals diſclaimed theſe exclamations; but the Egyptians more conſiſtently declared ταυτα και τοτε ειπομεν και νυν λεγομεν (Concil. tom. iv. p. 1012.).

[61] Ελεγε δε (Euſebius, biſhop of Dorylæum) τον Φλαβιανον και δειλαιως αναιρεθηναι προς Διοσκορε αθεμενον τε και λακτιζομενον: and this teſtimony of Evagrius (l. ii. c. 2.) is amplified by the hiſtorian Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 44.), who affirms that Dioſcorus kicked like a wild aſs. But the language of Liberatus (Brev. c. 12. in Concil. tom. vi. p. 438.) is more cautious; and the Acts of Chalcedon, which lavish the names of *homicide*, *Cain*, etc. do not juſtify ſo pointed a charge. The monk Barſumas is more particularly accuſed—εσφαξε τον μακαριον Φλαυιανον αυτος ἑσηκε και ελεγε, σφαξον (Concil. tom. iv. p. 1413.).

[62] The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon (Concil. tom. iv. p. 761—2071.) comprehend thoſe of Epheſus (p. 890—1189.), which again compriſe the ſynod of Conſtantinople under Flavian (p. 930—1072.); and it requires ſome attention to diſengage this double involution. The whole buſineſs of Eutyches, Flavian, and Dioſcorus, is related by Evagrius (l. i. c. 9—12. and l. ii. c. 1, 2, 3, 4.) and Liberatus (Brev. c. 11, 12, 13, 14.). Once more, and almoſt for the laſt time, I appeal to the diligence of Tillemont (Mém. Eccléſ. tom. xv. p. 479—719.). The Annals of Baronius and Pagi will accompany me much further on my long and laborious journey.

[63] Μαλιστα

[63] Μαλιστα ἡ περιβοητος Παντοφιλη ἡ καλουμενη Ορεινη (perhaps Ειρηνη), περι ἡς και ὁ πολυανθρωπος της Αλεξανδρεων δημος αφηκε φωνην αὐτης τε και τυ ερασυ μεμνημενος (Concil. tom. iv. p. 1276.). A ſpecimen of the wit and malice of the people is preſerved in the Greek Anthology (l. ii. c. 5. p. 188. edit. Wechel), although the application was unknown to the editor Brodæus. The nameleſs epigrammatiſt raiſes a tolerable pun, by confounding the epiſcopal ſalutation of "Peace be to all!" with the genuine or corrupted name of the biſhop's concubine:

Ειρηνη παντεσσιν επισκοπος ειπεν επελθων,
Πως δυναται πασιν, μὴ μονος ενδον εχει;

I am ignorant whether the patriarch, who ſeems to have been a jealous lover, is the Cimon of a preceding epigram, whoſe πεος εςηκως was viewed with envy and wonder by Priapus himſelf.

[64] Thoſe who reverence the infallibility of ſynods, may try to aſcertain their ſenſe. The leading biſhops were attended by partial or careleſs ſcribes, who diſperſed their copies round the world. Our Greek MSS. are ſullied with the falſe and proſcribed reading of εκ των φυσεων (Concil. tom. iii. p. 1460.): the authentic tranſlation of pope Leo I. does not ſeem to have been executed; and the old Latin verſions materially differ from the preſent Vulgate, which was reviſed (A. D. 550) by Ruſticus, a Roman prieſt, from the beſt MSS. of the Ακοιμητοι at Conſtantinople (Ducange, C. P. Chriſtiana, l. iv. p. 151.), a famous monaſtery of Latins, Greeks, and Syrians. See Concil. tom. iv. p. 1959—2049. and Pagi, Critica, tom. ii. p. 326, etc.

[65] It is darkly repreſented in the microſcope of Petavius (tom. v. l. iii. c. 5.); yet the ſubtle theologian is himſelf afraid—ne quis fortaſſe ſupervacaneam, et nimis anxiam putet hujuſmodi vocularum inquiſitionem, et ab inſtituti theologici gravitate alienam (p. 124.).

[66] Εβοησαν η ὁ ὁρος κρατειτω η απερχομεθα... οἱ αντιλεγοντες φανεροι γενωνται, οἱ αντιλεγοντες Νεςοριανοι εισιν, οἱ αντιλεγοντες εις Ρωμην απελθωσιν (Concil. tom. iv. p. 1449.). Evagrius and Liberatus preſent only the placid face of the ſynod, and diſcreetly ſlide over theſe embers ſuppoſitos cinere doloſo.

[67] See, in the Appendix to the Acts of Chalcedon, the confirmation of the ſynod by Marcian (Concil. tom. iv. p. 1781. 1783.); his letters to the monks of Alexandria (p. 1791.), of Mount Sinai (p. 1793.), of Jeruſalem and Paleſtine (p. 1798.); his laws againſt the Eutychians (p. 1809. 1811. 1831.); the correſpondence of Leo with the provincial ſynods on the revolution of Alexandria (p. 1835—1930.).

[68] Photius (or rather Eulogius of Alexandria) confeſſes, in a fine paſſage, the ſpecious colour of this double charge againſt pope Leo and his ſynod of Chalcedon (Bibliot. cod. ccxxv. p. 768.). He waged a double war againſt the enemies of the church, and wounded either foe with the darts of his adverſary—κατελληλοις βελεσι τας αντιπαλας ετιτρωσκε. Againſt Neſtorius he ſeemed to introduce the συγχυσις of the Monophyſites: againſt Eutyches he appeared to countenance the ὑποστασεων διαφορα of the Neſtorians. The apologiſt claims a charitable interpretation for the ſaints: if the ſame had been extended to the heretics, the *ſound* of the controverſy would have been loſt in the air.

[69] Αιλυρος, from his nocturnal expeditions. In darkneſs and diſguiſe he crept round the cells of the monaſtery, and whiſpered the revelation to his ſlumbering brethren (Theodor. Lector, l. i.).

[70] Φονας τε τολμηθηναι μυριας, αιματων πλησθει μολυνθηναι μη μονον την γην αλλα και αυτον τον αερα. Such is the hyperbolic language of the Henoticon.

[71] See the Chronicle of Victor Tunnunenſis, in the Lectiones Antiquæ of Caniſius, republiſhed by Baſnage, tom. i. p. 326.

[72] The Henoticon is tranſcribed by Evagrius (l. iii. c. 13.), and tranſlated by Liberatus (Brev. c. 18.). Pagi (Critica, tom. ii. p. 411.) and Aſſeman (Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 343.) are ſatisfied that it is free from hereſy; but Petavius (Dogmat. Theolog. tom. v. l. i. c. 13. p. 40.) moſt unaccountably affirms Chalcedonenſem aſcivit. An adverſary would prove that he had never read the Henoticon.

[73] See Renaudot (Hiſt. Patriarch. Alex. p. 123. 131. 145. 195. 247.). They were reconciled by the care of Mark I. (A. D. 799—819): he promoted their chiefs to the biſhoprics of Athribis and Talba (perhaps Tava. See d'Anville, p. 82.), and ſupplied the ſacraments, which had failed for want of an epiſcopal ordination.

[74] De his quos baptizavit, quos ordinavit Acacius, majorum traditione confectam et veram, præcipue religioſæ ſolicitudini congruam præbemus ſine difficultate medicinam (Gelaſius, in epiſt. i. ad Euphemium, Concil. tom. v. p. 286.). The offer of a medicine proves the diſeaſe, and numbers muſt have periſhed before the arrival of the Roman phyſician. Tillemont himſelf (Mém. Eccléſ. tom. xvi. p. 372. 642, etc.) is ſhocked at the proud uncharitable temper of the popes: they are now glad, ſays he, to invoke St. Flavian of Antioch, St. Elias of Jeruſalem, etc. to whom they refuſed communion whilſt upon earth. But cardinal Baronius is firm and hard as the rock of St. Peter.

[75] Their names were erazed from the diptych of the church: ex venerabili diptycho, in quo piæ memoriæ tranſitum ad cœlum habentium

epiſcoporum vocabula continentur (Concil. tom. iv. p. 1846.). This eccleſiaſtical record was therefore equivalent to the book of life.

[76] Petavius (Dogmat. Theolog. tom. v. l. v. c. 2, 3, 4. p. 217—225.) and Tillemont (Mém. Eccléſ. tom. xiv. p. 713, &c. 799.) repreſent the hiſtory and doctrine of the Triſagion. In the twelve centuries between Iſaiah and St Proclus's boy, who was taken up into heaven before the biſhop and people of Conſtantinople, the ſong was conſiderably improved. The boy heard the angels ſing "Holy God! Holy ſtrong! Holy immortal!"

[77] Peter Gnapheus, the *fuller* (a trade which he had exerciſed in his monaſtery), patriarch of Antioch. His tedious ſtory is diſcuſſed in the Annals of Pagi (A. D. 477—490) and a Diſſertation of M. de Valois at the end of his Evagrius.

[78] The troubles under the reign of Anaſtaſius muſt be gathered from the Chronicles of Victor, Marcellinus, and Theophanes. As the laſt was not published in the time of Baronius, his critic Pagi is more copious, as well as more correct.

[79] The general hiſtory, from the council of Chalcedon to the death of Anaſtaſius, may be found in the Breviary of Liberatus (c. 14—19.), the iid and iiid books of Evagrius, the Abſtract of the two books of Theodore the Reader, the Acts of the Synods, and the Epiſtles of the Popes (Concil. tom. v.). The ſeries is continued with ſome diſorder in the xvth and xvith tomes of the Mémoires Eccléſiaſtiques of Tillemont. And here I muſt take leave for ever of that incomparable guide—whoſe bigotry is overbalanced by the merits of erudition, diligence, veracity, and ſcrupulous minuteneſs. He was prevented by death from completing, as he deſigned, the vith century of the church and empire.

[80] The ſtrain of the Anecdotes of Procopius (c. 11. 13. 18. 27, 28.), with the learned remarks of Alemannus, is confirmed, rather than contradicted, by the Acts of the Councils, the fourth book of Evagrius, and the complaints of the African Facundus in his xiith book de tribus capitulis, "cum videri doctus appetit importune . . . ſpontaneis quæſtionibus eccleſiam turbat." See Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. iii. c. 35.

[81] Procop. de Edificiis, l. i. c. 6, 7, etc. paſſim.

[82] Ὁς δε καθηται αφυλακτος εις αει επι λεσχης τινος αὡρι νυκτωρ ὁμα τοις των ἱερεων γερουσιν ασχετον ανακυκλειν τα Χριστιανων λογια σπουδην ἐχων. Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. iii. c. 32. In the life of St Eutychius (apud Aleman. ad Procop. Arcan. c. 18.), the ſame character is given with a deſign to praiſe Juſtinian.

[83] For theſe wiſe and moderate ſentiments, Procopius (de Bell. Goth. l. i. c. 3.) is ſcourged in the Preface of Alemannus, who ranks him among the *political* Chriſtians—ſed longe verius hæreſium omnium ſentinas, prorſuſque Atheos—abominable Atheiſts, who preached the imitation of God's mercy to man (ad Hiſt. Arcan. c. 13.).

[84] This alternative, a precious circumſtance, is preſerved by John Malala (tom. ii. p. 63. edit. Venet. 1733), who deſerves more credit as he draws towards his end. After numbering the heretics, Neſtorians, Eutychians, etc. ne expectent, ſays Juſtinian, ut digni veniâ judicentur: jubemus enim ut . . . convicti et aperti hæretici juſtæ et idoneæ animadverſioni ſubjiciantur. Baronius copies and applauds this edict of the Code (A. D. 527. N° 39, 40.).

[85] See the character and principles of the Montaniſts, in Moſheim, de Rebus Chriſt. ante Conſtantinum, p. 410—424.

[86] Theophan. Chron. p. 153. John the Monophyſite biſhop of Aſia, is a more authentic witneſs of this tranſaction, in which he was himſelf employed by the emperor (Aſſeman. Bibl. Orient. tom. ii. p. 85.).

[87] Compare Procopius (Hiſt. Arcan. c. 28. and Aleman's Notes) with Theophanes (Chron. p. 190.). The council of Nice has entruſted the patriarch, or rather the aſtronomers, of Alexandria with the annual proclamation of Eaſter; and we ſtill read, or rather we do not read, many of the Paſchal epiſtles of St. Cyril. Since the reign of Monophytiſm in Egypt, the Catholics were perplexed by ſuch a foolish prejudice as that which ſo long oppoſed, among the Proteſtants, the reception of the Gregorian ſtyle.

[88] For the religion and hiſtory of the Samaritans, conſult Baſnage, Hiſtoire des Juifs, a learned and impartial work.

[89] Sichem, Neapolis, Naplous, the ancient and modern ſeat of the Samaritans, is ſituate in a valley between the barren Ebal, the mountain of curſing to the north, the fruitful *Gariſim*, or mountain of curſing to the ſouth, ten or eleven hours travel from Jeruſalem. See Maundrel, Journey from Aleppo, etc. p. 59—63.

[90] Procop. Anecdot. c. 11. Theophan. Chron. p. 152. John Malala, Chron. tom. ii. p. 62. I remember an obſervation, half philoſophical, half ſuperſtitious, that the province which had been ruined by the bigotry of Juſtinian was the ſame through which the Mahometans penetrated into the empire.

[91] The expreſſion of Procopius is remarkable: ᾗ γαρ ὁι δοκει φονος ἀνθρωπων ειναι, ην γε μη της αυτῳ δοξης ὁι τελευτωντες τυχοιεν ὀντες. Anecdot. c. 13.

[92] See the Chronicle of Victor, p. 328. and the original evidence of the laws of Juſtinian. During the firſt years of his reign, Baronius

himſelf is in extreme good humour with the emperor, who courted the popes till he got them into his power.

[93] Procopius, Anecdot. c. 13. Evagrius, l. iv. c. 10. If the eccleſiaſtical never read the ſecret hiſtorian, their common ſuſpicion proves at leaſt the general hatred.

[94] On the ſubject of the three chapters, the original acts of the vth general council of Conſtantinople ſupply much uſeleſs, though authentic, knowledge (Concil. tom. vi. p. 1—419). The *Greek* Evagrius is leſs copious and correct (l. iv. c. 38.) than the three zealous *Africans*, Facundus (in his twelve books, de tribus capitulis, which are moſt correctly published by Sirmond); Liberatus (in his Breviarium, c. 22, 23, 24.), and Victor Tununenſis in his Chronicle (in tom. i. Antiq. Lect. Caniſii, p. 330—334.). The Liber Pontificalis, or Anaſtaſius (in Vigilio, Pelagio, etc.), is original, *Italian* evidence. The modern reader will derive ſome information from Dupin (Biblioth. Eccleſ. tom. v. p. 189—207.) and Baſnage (Hiſt. de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 519—541.); yet the latter is too firmly reſolved to depreciate the authority and character of the popes.

[95] Origen had indeed too great a propenſity to imitate the πλανη and δυτσεβεια of the old philoſophers (Juſtinian, ad Mennam, in Concil. tom. vi. p. 356.). His moderate opinions were too repugnant to the zeal of the church, and he was found guilty of the hereſy of reaſon.

[96] Baſnage (Præfat. p. 11—14. ad tom. i. Antiq. Lect. Caniſ.) has fairly weighed the guilt and innocence of Theodore of Mopſueſtia. If he compoſed 10,000 volumes, as many errors would be a charitable allowance. In all the ſubſequent catalogues of hereſiarchs, he alone, without his two brethren, is included; and it is the duty of Aſſeman (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 203—207.] to juſtify the ſentence.

[97] See the complaints of Liberatus and Victor, and the exhortations of Pope Pelagius to the conqueror and exarch of Italy. Schiſma per poteſtates publicas opprimatur, etc. (Concil. tom. vi. p. 467, etc.) An army was detained to ſuppreſs the ſedition of an Illyrian city. See Procopius (de Bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 25.): ὡν περ ἑνεκα σφισιν αυτοις οἱ Χριστιανοι διαμαχονται. He ſeems to promiſe an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. It would have been curious and impartial.

[98] The biſhops of the patriarchate of Aquileia were reconciled by pope Honorius, A. D. 638 (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. v. p. 376.); but they again relapſed, and the ſchiſm was not finally extinguiſhed till 698. Fourteen years before, the church of Spain had overlooked the vth general council with contemptuous ſilence (xiii Concil. Toletan. in Concil. tom. vii. p. 487—494.).

[99] Nicetius, bishop of Treves (Concil. tom. vi. p. 511—513.): he himself, like most of the Gallican prelates (Gregor. Epist. l. vii. ep. 5. in Concil. tom. vi. p. 1007.), was separated from the communion of the four patriarchs by his refusal to condemn the three chapters. Baronius almost pronounces the damnation of Justinian (A. D. 565, N° 6.).

[100] After relating the last heresy of Justinian (l. iv. c. 39, 40, 41.) and the edict of his successor (l. v. c. 3.), the remainder of the history of Evagrius is filled with civil, instead of ecclesiastical, events.

[101] This extraordinary, and perhaps inconsistent, doctrine of the Nestorians, had been observed by La Croze (Christianisme des Indes, tom. i. p. 19, 20.), and is more fully exposed by Abulpharagius (Bibliot. Orient. tom ii. p. 292. Hist. Dynast. p. 91. vers. Latin. Pocock) and Asseman himself (tom. iv. p. 218.). They seem ignorant that they might allege the positive authority of the ecthesis. Ὁ μακαρος Νεστοριος καιπερ δικαιων την θειαν τε Κυριε ενανθρωπησιν, και δυο εισαγων ϋας (the common reproach of the Monophysites), δυο θελημματα τουτων ειπειν ουκ ετολμησε, τουναντιον δε ταυτο βελιαν των. . . . δυο προσωπων εδοξασε (Concil. tom. vii. p. 205.).

[102] See the orthodox faith in Petavius (Dogmata Theolog. tom. v. l. ix. c. 6—10. p. 433—447.): all the depths of this controversy are founded in the Greek dialogue between Maximus and Pyrrhus (ad calcem tom. viii. Annal. Baron. p. 755—794.), which relates a real conference, and produced as a shortlived conversion.

[103] Impiissimam ecthesim scelerosum typum (Concil. tom. vii. p. 366.) diabolicæ operationis genimina (forsan *germina*, or else the Greek γενηματα, in the original. Concil. P. 363, 364.) are the expressions of the xviiith anathema. The epistle of Pope Martin to Amandus, a Gallican bishop, stigmatises the Monothelites and their heresy with equal virulence (p. 392.).

[104] The sufferings of Martin and Maximus are described with pathetic simplicity in their original letters and acts (Concil. tom. vii. p. 63—78. Baron. Annal. Eccles. A. D 656, N° 2. et annos subsequent.). Yet the chastisement of their disobedience, εξορια and σωματος αικισμος, had been previously announced in the Type of Constans (Concil. tom. vii. p. 240.).

[105] Eutychius (Annal. tom ii. p. 368.) most erroneously supposes that the 124 bishops of the Roman synod transported themselves to Constantinople; and by adding them to the 168 Greeks, thus composes the sixth council of 292 fathers.

[106] The Monothelite Constans was hated by all δια τοι ταυτα (say

Theophanes, Chron. p. 292.) εμισισθη σοφοδρα παρα παντων. When the Monothelite monk failed in his miracle, the people shouted, ὁ Θεος ημων βοηθησον (Concil. tom. vii. p. 1032.). But this was a natural and tranſient emotion; and I much fear that the latter is an anticipation of orthodoxy in the good people of Conſtantinople.

[107] The hiſtory of Monothelitiſm may be found in the Acts of the Synods of Rome (tom. vii. p. 77—395. 601—608.) and Conſtantinople (p. 609—1429.). Baronius extracted ſome original documents from the Vatican library; and his chronology is rectified by the diligence of Pagi. Even Dupin (Bibliothéque Eccléſ. tom. vi. p. 57—71.) and Baſnage (Hiſt. de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 541—555.) afford a tolerable abridgment.

[108] In the Lateran ſynod of 679, Wilfrid, an Anglo-Saxon biſhop, ſubſcribed pro omni Aquilonali parte Britanniæ et Hiberniæ, quæ ab Anglorum at Brittonum, necnon Scotorum et Pictorum gentibus colebantur (Eddius, in Vit. St. Wilfrid. c. 31. apud Pagi, Critica, tom. iii. p. 88.). Theodore (magnæ inſulæ Britanniæ archiepiſcopus et philoſophus) was long expected at Rome (Concil. tom. vii. p. 714.); but he contented himſelf with holding (A. D. 680) his provincial ſynod of Hatfield, in which he received the decrees of pope Martin and the firſt Lateran council againſt the Monothelites (Concil. tom. vii. p. 597, etc.). Theodore, a monk of Tarſus in Cilicia, had been named to the primacy of Britain by pope Vitalian (A. D. 668. See Baronius and Pagi), whoſe eſteem for his learning and piety was tainted by ſome diſtruſt of his national character—ne quid contrarium veritati fidei, Græcorum more, in eccleſiam cui præeſſet introduceret. The Cilician was ſent from Rome to Canteroury under the tuition of an African guide (Bedæ Hiſt. Eccléſ. Anglorum, l. iv. c. 1.). He adhered to the Roman doctrine; and the ſame creed of the incarnation has been uniformly tranſmitted from Theodore to the modern primates, whoſe ſound underſtanding is perhaps ſeldom engaged with that abſtruſe myſtery.

[109] This name, unknown till the xth century, appears to be of Syriac origin. It was invented by the Jacobites, and eagerly adopted by the Neſtorians and Mahometans; but it was accepted without ſhame by the Catholics, and is frequently uſed in the Annals of Eutychius (Aſſeman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 507, etc. tom. iii. p. 355. Renaudot, Hiſt Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 119.). Ἡμεις οἱ παλαι τῳ Βασιλεως, was the acclamation of the fathers of Conſtantinople (Concil. tom. vii. p. 765.).

[110] The Syriac, which the natives revere as the primitive language, was divided into three dialects. 1. The *Aramæan*, as it was refined

at Edeſſa and the cities of Meſopotamia. 2. The *Paleſtine*, which was uſed in Jeruſalem, Damaſcus, and the reſt of Syria. 3. The *Nabathæan*, the ruſtic idiom of the mountains of Aſſyria and the villages of Irak (Gregor. Abulpharag. Hiſt. Dynaſt. p. 11.). On the Syriac, ſee Ebed-Jeſu (Aſſeman. tom. iii. p. 326, etc.), whoſe prejudice alone could prefer it to the Arabic.

[111] I ſhall not enrich my ignorance with the ſpoils of Simon, Walton, Mill, Wetſtein, Aſſemannus, Ludolphus, La Croze, whom I have conſulted with ſome care. It appears, 1. *That* of all the verſions which are celebrated by the fathers, it is doubtful whether any are now extant in their priſtine integrity. 2. *That* the Syriac has the beſt claim; and that the conſent of the Oriental ſects is a proof that it more ancient than their ſchiſm.

[112] On the account of the Monophyſites and Neſtorians, I am deeply indebted to the Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana of Joſeph Simon Aſſemannus. That learned Maronite was diſpatched in the year 1715 by pope Clement XI. to viſit the monaſteries of Egypt and Syria, in ſearch of MSS. His four folio volumes published at Rome 1719—1728, contain a part only, though perhaps the moſt valuable, of his extenſive project. As a native and as a ſcholar, he poſſeſſed the Syriac literature; and, though a dependent of Rome, he wiſhes to be moderate and candid.

[113] See the Arabic canons of Nice in the tranſlation of Abraham Ecchelenſis, N° 37, 38, 39, 40. Concil. tom. ii. p. 335, 336. edit. Venet. Theſe vulgar titles, *Nicene* and *Arabic*, are both apocryphal. The council of Nice enacted no more than twenty canons (Theodoret, Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. i. c. 8.); and the remainder, ſeventy or eighty, were collected from the ſynods of the Greek church. The Syriac edition of Maruthas is no longer extant (Aſſeman. Bibliot. Oriental. tom. i. p. 195. tom. iii. p. 74.), and the Arabic verſion is marked with many recent interpolations. Yet this code contains many curious relics of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline; and ſince it is equally revered by all the eaſtern communions, it was probably finiſhed before the ſchiſm of the Neſtorians and Jacobites (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xi. p. 363—367.).

[114] Theodore the reader (l. ii. c. 5. 49 ad calcem Hiſt. Eccleſ.) has noticed this Perſian ſchool of Edeſſa. Its ancient ſplendour, and the two æras of its downfal (A. D. 431 and 489), are clearly diſcuſſed by Aſſemanni (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 402. iii. p. 376. 378. iv. p. 70. 924.).

[115] A diſſertation on the ſtate of the Neſtorians has ſwelled in the hands of Aſſemanni to a folio volume of 950 pages, and his learned reſearches are digeſted in the moſt lucid order. Beſides this ivth volume

of the *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, the extracts in the three preceding tomes (tom. i. p. 203. ii. p. 321—463. iii. 64—70. 378—395, etc. 403—408. 580—589.) may be uſefully conſulted.

[116] See the Topographia Chriſtiana of Coſmas, ſurnamed Indicopleuſtes, or the Indian navigator, l. iii. p. 178, 179. l. xi. p. 337. The entire work, of which ſome curious extracts may be found in Photius (cod. xxxvi. p. 9, 10. edit. Hoeſchel), Thevenot (in the Iſt Part of his Relations des Voyages, etc.), and Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. l. iii. c. 25. tom. ii. p. 603—617.), has been published by father Montfaucon at Paris 1707, in the Nova Collectio Patrum (tom. ii. p. 113—346.). It was the deſign of the author to confute the impious hereſy of thoſe who maintain that the earth is a globe, and not a flat oblong table, as it is repreſented in the Scriptures (l. ii. p. 138.). But the nonſenſe of the monk is mingled with the practical knowledge of the traveller, who performed his voyage A. D. 522, and published his book at Alexandria A. D. 547 (l. ii. p. 140, 141. Montfaucon, Præfat. c. 2.). The Neſtorianiſm of Coſmas, unknown to his learned editor, was detected by La Croze (Chriſtianiſme des Indes, tom. i. p. 40—55.), and is confirmed by Aſſemanni (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 605, 606.).

[117] In its long progreſs to Moſul, Jeruſalem, Rome, etc. the ſtory of Preſter John evaporated in a monſtrous fable, of which ſome features have been borrowed from the Lama of Thibet (Hiſt. Généalogique des Tatares, P. ii. p. 42. Hiſt. de Gengiſcan, p. 31, etc.), and were ignorantly transferred by the Portugueſe to the emperor of Abyſſinia (Ludolph. Hiſt. Æthiop. Comment. l. ii. c. 1.). Yet it is probable that in the xith and xiith centuries, Neſtorian Chriſtianity was profeſſed in the hord of the Keraites (d'Herbelot, p. 256. 915. 959. Aſſemanni, tom. iv. p. 468—504.).

[118] The Chriſtianity of China, between the ſeventh and the thirteenth century, is invincibly proved by the conſent of Chineſe, Arabian, Syriac, and Latin evidence (Aſſemanni, Biblioth. Orient. tom. iv. p. 502—552. Mém. de l'Académie des Inſcript. tom. xxx. p. 802—819.). The inſcription of Sigaufu, which deſcribes the fortunes of the Neſtorian church from the firſt miſſion A. D. 636, to the current year 781, is accuſed of forgery by La Croze, Voltaire, etc. who become the dupes of their own cunning, while they are afraid of a Jeſuitical fraud.

[119] Jacobitæ et Neſtorianæ plures quam Græci et Latini. Jacob a Vitriaco, Hiſt. Hieroſol. l. ii. c. 76. p. 1093. in the Geſta Dei per Francos. The numbers are given by Thomaſſin, Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 172.

[120] The diviſion of the patriarchate may be traced in the Bibliotheca

Orient. of Aſſemanni, tom. i. p. 523—549. tom. ii. p. 457, etc. tom. iii. p. 603. p. 621—623. tom. iv. p. 164—169. p. 423. p. 622—629, etc.

[121] The pompous language of Rome on the ſubmiſſion of a Neſtorian patriarch, is elegantly repreſented in the viith book of Fra Paolo, Babylon, Niniveh, Arbela, and the trophies of Alexander, Tauris, and Ecbatana, the Tigris and Indus.

[122] The Indian miſſionary St. Thomas, an apoſtle, a Manichæan, or an Armenian merchant (La Croze, Chriſtianiſme des Indes, tom. i. p. 57—70.), was famous, however, as early as the time of Jerom (ad Marcellam epiſt. 148.). Marco-Polo was informed on the ſpot that he ſuffered martyrdom in the city of Maabar, or Meliapour, a league only from Madras (d'Anville, Eclairciſſemens ſur l'Inde, p. 125.), where the Portugueſe founded an epiſcopal church under the name of St. Thomé, and where the ſaint performed an annual miracle, till he was ſilenced by the profane neighbourhood of the English (La Croze, tom. ii. p. 7—16.).

[123] Neither the author of the Saxon Chronicle (A. D. 883.) nor William of Malmsbury (de Geſtis Regum Angliæ, l. ii. c. 4. p. 44.) were capable, in the twelfth century, of inventing this extraordinary fact; they are incapable of explaining the motives and meaſures of Alfred; and their haſty notice ſerves only to provoke our curioſity. William of Malmsbury feels the difficulties of the enterpriſe, quod quivis in hoc ſæculo miretur; and I almoſt ſuſpect that the English ambaſſadors collected their cargo and legend in Egypt. The royal author has not enriched his Oroſius (ſee Barrington's Miſcellanies) with an Indian, as well as a Scandinavian voyage.

[124] Concerning the Chriſtians of St. Thomas, ſee Aſſemannus, Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 391—407. 435—451. Geddes's Church Hiſtory of Malabar; and, above all, La Croze, Hiſtoire du Chriſtianiſme des Indes, in two vols. 12mo, La Haye, 1758, a learned and agreeable work. They have drawn from the ſame ſource, the Portugueſe and Italian narratives; and the prejudices of the Jeſuits are ſufficiently corrected by thoſe of the proteſtants.

[125] Οιον ειπεν Ψευδαλληθης is the expreſſion of Theodore, in his treatiſe of the Incarnation, p. 245. 247. as he is quoted by La Croze (Hiſt. du Chriſtianiſme d'Ethiopie et d'Arménie, p. 35.), who exclaims, perhaps too haſtily, "Quel pitoyable raiſonnement!" Renaudot has touched (Hiſt. Patriarch. Alex. p. 127—138.) the Oriental accounts of Severus; and his authentic creed may be found in the epiſtle of John the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, in the xth century, to his brother Mennas of Alexandria (Aſſeman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 132—141.).

[126] Epiſt. Archimandritarum et Monachorum Syriæ Secundæ ad Papam Hormiſdam, Concil. tom. v. p. 598—602. The courage of St. Sabas, ut leo animoſus, will juſtify the ſuſpicion that the arms of theſe monks were not always ſpiritual or defenſive (Baronius, A. D. 513, N° 7, etc.).

[127] Aſſemanni (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 10—46.) and La Croze (Chriſtianiſme d'Ethiopie, p. 36—40.) will ſupply the hiſtory of Xenaias, or Philoxenus, biſhop of Mabug, or Hierapolis, in Syria. He was a perfect maſter of the Syriac language, and the author or editor of a verſion of the New Teſtament.

[128] The names and titles of fifty-four biſhops who were exiled by Juſtin, are preſerved in the Chronicle of Dionyſius (apud Aſſeman. tom. ii. p. 54.). Severus was perſonally ſummoned to Conſtantinople —for his trial, ſays Liberatus (Brev. c. 19.)—that his tongue might be cut out, ſays Evagrius (l. iv. c. 4.). The prudent patriarch did not ſtay to examine the difference. This eccleſiaſtical revolution is fixed by Pagi to the month of September of the year 518 (Critica, tom. ii. p. 506.).

[129] The obſcure hiſtory of James, or Jacobus Baradæus, or Zanzalus, may be gathered from Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 144. 147.), Renaudot (Hiſt. Patriarch. Alex. p. 133.), and Aſſemannus (Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 424 tom ii. p. 62—69. 324—332. p. 414. tom. iii. p. 385 —388.). He ſeems to be unknown to the Greeks. The Jacobites themſelves had rather deduce their name and pedigree from St. James the apoſtle.

[130] The account of his perſon and writings is perhaps the moſt curious article in the Bibliotheca of Aſſemannus (tom. ii. p. 244—321. under the name of *Gregorius Bar-Hebræus*). La Croze (Chriſtianiſme d'Ethiopie, p. 53—63.) ridicules the prejudice of the Spaniards againſt the Jewish blood which ſecretly defiles their church and ſtate.

[131] This *exceſſive* abſtinence is cenſured by La Croze (p. 352.), and even by the Syrian Aſſemannus (tom. i. p. 226. tom. ii. p. 304, 305.).

[132] The ſtate of the Monophyſites is excellently illuſtrated in a diſſertation at the beginning of the iid volume of Aſſemannus, which contains 142 pages. The Syriac Chronicle of Gregory Bar Hebræus, or Abulpharagius (Bibliot. Orient. tom ii. p. 321—463.), purſues the double ſeries of the Neſtorian *catholics* and the *maphrians* of the Jacobites.

[133] The ſynonymous uſe of the two words may be proved from Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 191. 267. 332.); and many ſimilar paſſages which may be found in the methodical table of Pocock. He was not actuated by any prejudice againſt the Maronites of the xth century; and we may believe a Melchite, whoſe teſtimony is confirmed by the Jacobites and Latins.

[134] Concil. tom. vii p. 780. The Monothelite cauſe was ſupported with firmneſs and ſubtlety by Conſtantine, a *Syrian* prieſt of Apamea (p. 1040, etc.).

[135] Theophanes (Chron. p. 295, 296. 300. 302. 306.) and Cedrenus (p. 437. 440.) relate the exploits of the Mardaites: the name (*Mard*, in Syriac *rebellavit*) is explained by La Roque (Voyage de la Syrie, tom. ii. p. 53.); the dates are fixed by Pagi (A. D. 676, N° 4—14. A. D. 685, N° 3, 4.); and even the obſcure ſtory of the patriarch John Maron (Aſſeman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 496—520.) illuſtrates, from the year 686 to 707, the troubles of mount Libanus.

[136] In the laſt century twenty large cedars ſtill remained (Voyage de la Roque, tom. i. p 68—76.); at preſent they are reduced to four or five (Volney, tom. i. p. 264.). Theſe trees, ſo famous in ſcripture, were guarded by excommunication: the wood was ſparingly borrowed for ſmall croſſes, etc; an annual maſs was chaunted under their ſhade; and they were endowed by the Syrians with a ſenſitive power of erecting their branches to repel the ſnow, to which mount Libanus is leſs faithful than it is painted by Tacitus: inter ardores opacum fidumque nivibus—a daring metaphor (Hiſt. v. 6.).

[137] The evidence of William of Tyre (Hiſt. in Geſtis Dei per Francos, l. xxii. c. 8. p. 1022.) is copied or confirmed by Jacques de Vitra (Hiſt. Hieroſolym. l. ii. c. 77. p. 1093, 1094.). But this unnatural league expired with the power of the Franks; and Abulpharagius (who died in 1286) conſiders the Maronites as a ſect of Monothelites (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 292.).

[138] I find a deſcription and hiſtory of the Maronites in the Voyage de la Syrie et du Mont Liban par La Roque (2 vols. in 12mo, Amſterdam, 1723; particularly tom. i. p. 42—47 p. 174—184. tom ii. p. 10—120). In the ancient part he copies the prejudices of Nairon and the other Maronites of Rome, which Aſſemannus is afraid to renounce, and aſhamed to ſupport. Jablonski (Inſtitut. Hiſt. Chriſt. tom. iii. p. 186.), Niebuhr (Voyage de l'Arabie, etc. tom. ii. p. 346. 370—381.), and, above all, the judicious Volney (Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie, tom. ii. p. 8—31. Paris, 1787), may be conſulted.

[139] The religion of the Armenians is briefly deſcribed by La Croze (Hiſt. du Chriſt. de l'Ethiope et de l'Arménie, p. 269—402.). He refers to the great Armenian Hiſtory of Galanus (3 vols. in fol. Rome, 1650—1661.), and commends the ſtate of Armenia in the iiid volume of the Nouveaux Mémoires des Miſſions du Levant. The work of a Jeſuit muſt have ſterling merit when it is praiſed by La Croze.

[140] The ſchiſm of the Armenians is placed 84 years after the council of Chalcedon (Pagi, Critica, ad A. D. 535.). It was conſummated

at the end of ſeventeen years; and it is from the year of Chriſt 552 that we date the æra of the Armenians (l'Art de vérifier les Dates, p. xxxv.).

[141] The ſentiments and ſucceſs of Julian of Halicarnaſſus may be ſeen in Liberatus (Brev. c. 19.), Renaudot (Hiſt. Patriarch. Alex. p. 132. 303.), and Aſſemannus (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. Diſſertat. de Monophyſitis, p. viii. p. 286.).

[142] See a remarkable fact of the xiith century in the Hiſtory of Nicetas Choniates (p. 258.). Yet three hundred years before, Photius (Epiſtol. ii. p. 49. edit. Montacul) had gloried in the converſion of the Armenians—λατρευει σημερον ορθοδοξως.

[143] The travelling Armenians are in the way of every traveller, and their mother church is on the high-road between Conſtantinople and Iſpahan: for their preſent ſtate, ſee Fabricius (Lux Evangelii, etc. c. xxxviii. p. 40—51.), Oleārius (l. iv. c. 40.), Chardin (vol. ii. p. 232.), Tournefort (lettre xx.), and, above all, Tavernier (tom. i. p. 28—37. 510—518.), that rambling jeweller, who had read nothing, but had ſeen ſo much and ſo well.

[144] The hiſtory of the Alexandrian patriarchs, from Dioſcorus to Benjamin, is taken from Renaudot (p. 114—164.) and the ſecond tome of the Annals of Eutychius.

[145] Liberat. Brev. c. 20. 23. Victor. Chron. p. 329, 330. Procop. Anecdot. c. 26, 27.

[146] Eulogius, who had been a monk of Antioch, was more conſpicuous for ſubtlety than eloquence. He proves that the enemies of the faith, the Gaianites and Theodoſians, ought not to be reconciled; that the ſame propoſition may be orthodox in the mouth of St. Cyril, heretical in that of Severus; that the oppoſite aſſertions of St. Leo are equally true, etc. His writings are no longer extant, except in the Extracts of Photius, who had peruſed them with care and ſatisfaction, cod. ccviii, ccxxv, ccxxvi, ccxxvii. ccxxx. cclxxx.

[147] See the life of John the eleemoſynary by his contemporary Leontius, biſhop of Neapolis in Cyprus, whoſe Greek text, either loſt or hidden, is reflected in the Latin verſion of Baronius (A. D. 610, N° 9. A. D. 620, N° 8.). Pagi (Critica, tom. ii. p. 763.) and Fabricius (l. v. c. 11. tom. vii. p. 454.) have made ſome critical obſervations.

[148] This number is taken from the curious Recherches ſur les Egyptiens et les Chinois (tom. ii. p. 192, 193.), and appears more probable than the 600,000 ancient, or 15,000 modern, Copts of Gemelli Carreri. Cyril Lucar, the proteſtant patriarch of Conſtantinople, laments that thoſe heretics were ten times more numerous than his orthodox Greeks, ingeniouſly applying the πολλαι κεν δεκαδες δενοιατο οιωχοιο of Homer (Iliad ii. 128.), Fabric. Lux Evangelii, 740.).

[149] The hiſtory of the Copts, their religion, manners, etc. may be found in the Abbé Renaudot's motley work, neither a tranſlation nor an original; the Chronicon Orientale of Peter, a Jacobite; in the two verſions of Abraham Ecchellenſis, Paris, 1651; and John Simon Aſſeman, Venet. 1729. Theſe annals deſcend no lower than the xiiith century. The more recent accounts muſt be ſearched for in the travellers into Egypt, and the Nouveaux Mémoires des Miſſions du Levant. In the laſt century, Joſeph Abudacnus, a native of Cairo, published at Oxford, in thirty pages, a ſlight Hiſtoria Jacobitarum, 147. poſt. 150.

[150] About the year 737. See Renaudot, Hiſt. Patriarch. Alex. p. 221, 222. Elmacin, Hiſt. Saracen. p. 99.

[151] Ludolph, Hiſt. Æthiopic. et Comment. l. i. c. 8. Renaudot, Hiſt. Patriarch. Alex. p. 480, etc. This opinion, introduced into Egypt and Europe by the artifice of the Copts, the pride of the Abyſſinians, the fear and ignorance of the Turks and Arabs, has not even the ſemblance of truth. The rains of Æthiopia do not, in the encreaſe of the Nile, conſult the will of the monarch. If the river approaches at Napata, within three days journey of the Red Sea (ſee d'Anville's Maps), a canal that ſhould divert its courſe would demand, and moſt probably ſurpaſs, the power of the Cæſars.

[152] The Abyſſinians, who ſtill preſerve the features and olive complexion of the Arabs, afford a proof that two thouſand years are not ſufficient to change the colour of the human race. The Nubians, an African race, are pure negroes, as black as thoſe of Senegal or Congo, with flat noſes, thick lips, and woolly hair (Buffon, Hiſt. Naturelle, tom. v. p. 117. 143, 144. 166. 219. edit. in 12mo, Paris, 1769.). The ancients beheld, without much attention, the extraordinary phænomenon which has exerciſed the philoſophers and theologians of modern times.

[153] Aſſeman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 329.

[154] The Chriſtianity of the Nubians, A. D. 1153, is atteſted by the ſheriff al Edriſi, falſely deſcribed under the name of the Nubian geographer (p. 18.), who repreſents them as a nation of Jacobites. The rays of hiſtorical light that twinkle in the Hiſtory of Renaudot (p. 178. 220—224. 281—286. 405. 434. 451. 464.) are all previous to this æra. See the modern ſtate in the Lettres Edifiantes (Recueil, iv.) and Buſching (tom. ix. p. 152—159. par Berenger.).

[155] The abuna is improperly dignified by the Latins with the title of patriarch. The Abyſſinians acknowledge only the four patriarchs, and their chief is no more than a metropolitan or national primate (Ludolph Hiſt. Æthiopic. et Comment. l. iii. c. 7.). The ſeven biſhops of Renaudot (p. 511.), who exiſted A. D. 1131, are unknown to the hiſtorian.

[156] I know not why Aſſemannus (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 384.) ſhould

call in queſtion theſe probable miſſions of Theodora into Nubia and Æthiopia. The ſlight notices of Abyſſinia till the year 1500 are ſupplied by Renaudot (p. 336—341. 381, 382. 405. 443, etc. 452. 456. 463 475. 480. 511. 525. 559—564.) from the Coptic writers. The mind of Ludolphus was a perfect blank.

157 Ludolph. Hiſt. Æthiop. l. iv. c. 5. The moſt neceſſary arts are now exerciſed by the Jews, and the foreign trade is in the hands of the Armenians. What Gregory principally admired and envied was the induſtry of Europe—artes et opificia.

158 John Bermudez, whoſe relation, printed at Lisbon, 1569, was tranſlated into English by Purchas (Pilgrims, l. vii. c. 7. p. 1149, etc.), and from thence into French by La Croze (Chriſtianiſme d'Ethiopie, p. 92—265.). The piece is curious; but the author may be ſuſpected of deceiving Abyſſinia, Rome, and Portugal. His title to the rank of patriarch is dark and doubtful (Ludolph. Comment. N° 101. p. 473.).

159 Religio Romana nec precibus patrum nec miraculis ab ipſis editis ſuffulciebatur, is the uncontradicted aſſurance of the devout emperor Suſneus to his patriarch Mendez (Ludolph. Comment. N° 126. p. 529.); and ſuch aſſurances ſhould be preciouſly kept as an antidote againſt any marvellous legends.

160 I am aware how tender is the queſtion of circumciſion. Yet I will affirm, 1. That the Æthiopians have a phyſical reaſon for the circumciſion of males, and even of females (Recherches Philoſophiques ſur les Américains, tom. ii.). 2. That it was practiſed in Æthiopia long before the introduction of Judaiſm or Chriſtianity (Herodot. l. ii. c. 104. Marsham, Canon Chron. p. 72, 73.). "Infantes circumcidunt ob conſuetudinem "non ob Judaiſmum," ſays Gregory the Abyſſinian prieſt (apud Fabric. Lux Chriſtiana, p. 720.). Yet, in the heat of diſpute, the Portugueſe were ſometimes branded with the name of *uncircumciſed* (La Croze, p. 80. Ludolph. Hiſt. and Comment. l. iii. c. 1.).

161 The three proteſtant hiſtorians, Ludolphus (Hiſt. Æthiopica, Francofurt. 1681; Commentarius, 1691; Relatio Nova, etc. 1693, in folio), Geddes (Church Hiſtory of Æthiopia, London, 1696, in 8vo), and La Croze (Hiſt. du Chriſtianiſme d'Ethiopie et d'Arménie, La Haye, 1739, in 12mo), have drawn their principal materials from the Jeſuits, eſpecially from the General Hiſtory of Tellez, published in Portugueſe at Conimbra, 1660. We might be ſurpriſed at their frankneſs; but their moſt flagitious vice, the ſpirit of perſecution, was in their eyes the moſt meritorious virtue. Ludolphus poſſeſſed ſome, though a ſlight, advantage from the Æthiopic language, and the perſonal converſation of Gregory, a free-ſpirited Abyſſinian prieſt, whom he invited from Rome to the court of Saxe-Gotha. See the Theologia Æthiopica of Gregory, in Fabricius, Lux Evangelii, p. 716—734.

NOTES

TO THE

NINTH VOLUME.

CHAP. XLIX.

[1] The learned Selden has given the hiſtory of tranſubſtantiation in a comprehenſive and pithy ſentence. " This opinion is only rhetoric " turned into logic. " (His Works, vol. iii. p. 2073. in his Table-talk.)

[2] Nec intelligunt homines ineptiſſimi, quôd ſi ſentire ſimulacra et moveri poſſent, adoratura hominem fuiſſent a quo ſunt expolita (Divin. Inſtitut. l. ii. c. 2.), Lactantius is the laſt, as well as the moſt eloquent, of the Latin apologiſts. Their raillery of idols attacks not only the object, but the form and matter.

[3] See Irenæus, Epiphanius, and Auguſtin (Baſnage, Hiſt. des Egliſes Reformées, tom. ii. p. 1313.). This Gnoſtic practice has a ſingular affinity with the private worship of Alexander Severus (Lampridius, c. 29. Lardner, Heathen Teſtimonies, vol. iii. p. 34.).

[4] See this Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 193. 383.; vol. iii. p. 93—105.

[5] Ου γαρ το Θειον ἁπλων ὑπαρχον και αληπτον μορφαις τισι και σχημασιν απεικαζομεν. ὑτε ξυλῳ και ξυλοις την ὑπερθυσιον και προκαρχον ὑσιαν τιμαν ἡμεις διεγνωκαμεν (Concilium Nicenum, ii. in Collect. Labb. tom. viii. p. 1025. edit. Venet.). Il ſerait peut-être à propos de ne point ſouffrir d'images de la Trinité ou de la Divinité; les défenſeurs les plus zélés des images ayant condamné celles-ci, et le concile de Trente ne parlant que des images de Jéſus-Chriſt et des Saints (Dupin, Bibliot. Eccléſ. tom. vi. p. 154.).

[6] This general hiſtory of images is drawn from the xxiid book of the Hiſt. des Egliſes Reformées of Baſnage, tom. ii. p. 1310—1337. He was a proteſtant, but of a manly ſpirit; and on this head the proteſtants are ſo notoriouſly in the right, that they can venture to be impartial. See the perplexity of poor friar Pagi, Critica, tom. i. p. 42.

[7] After removing ſome rubbiſh of miracle and inconſiſtency, it may be allowed, that as late as the year 300, Paneas in Paleſtine was decorated with a bronze ſtatue, repreſenting a grave perſonage wrapt in a cloak, with a grateful or ſuppliant female kneeling before him, and that an inſcription—τω Σωτηρι, τω ευεργετη—was perhaps inſcribed on

on the pedeſtal. By the Chriſtians, this group was foolishly explained of their founder and the *poor* woman whom he had cured of the bloody flux (Euſeb. vii. 18. Philoſtorg. vii. 3, etc.). M. de Beauſobre more reaſonably conjectures the philoſopher Apollonius, or the emperor Veſpaſian; in the latter ſuppoſition, the female is a city, a province, or perhaps the queen Berenice, (Bibliothéque Germanique, tom. xiii. p. 1—92.).

[8] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. i c. 13. The learned Aſſemannus has brought up the collateral aid of three Syrians, St. Ephrem, Joſua Stylites, and James biſhop of Sarug; but I do not find any notice of the Syriac original or the archives of Edeſſa (Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 318. 420. 554.); their vague belief is probably derived from the Greeks.

[9] The evidence for theſe epiſtles is ſtated and rejected by the candid Lardner (Heathen Teſtimonies, vol. i. p. 297—309.). Among the herd of bigots who are forcibly driven from this convenient, but untenable, poſt, I am aſhamed, with the Grabes, Caves, Tillemonts, etc. to diſcover Mr. Addiſon, an Engliſh gentleman (his Works, vol. i. p. 528. Baskerville's edition); but his ſuperficial tract on the Chriſtian religion owes its credit to his name, his ſtyle, and the intereſted applauſe of our clergy.

[10] From the ſilence of James of Sarug (Aſſeman. Bibliot. Orient. p. 289. 318.), and the teſtimony of Evagrius (Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. iv. c. 27.), I conclude that this fable was invented between the years 521 and 594, moſt probably after the ſiege of Edeſſa in 540 (Aſſeman. tom. i. p. 416. Procopius, de Bell. Perſic. l. ii.). It is the ſword and buckler of Gregory II. (in Epiſt. i. ad Leon. Iſaur. Concil. tom. viii. p. 656, 657.) of John Damaſcenus (Opera, tom. i. p. 281. edit. Lequien), and of the ſecond Nicene Council (Actio v. p. 1030.). The moſt perfect edition may be found in Cedrenus (Compend. p. 175—178.).

[11] Αχειροποιητος. See Ducange, in Gloſſ. Græc. et Lat. The ſubject is treated with equal learning and bigotry by the Jeſuit Gretſer (Syntagma de Imaginibus non Manû factis, ad calcem Codini de Officiis, p. 289—330.), the aſs, or rather the fox, of Ingolſtadt (ſee the Scaligeriana); with equal reaſon and wit by the proteſtant Beauſobre, in the ironical controverſy which he has ſpread through many volumes of the Bibliothéque Germanique (tom. xviii. p. 1—50. xx. p. 27—68. xxv. p. 1—36. xxvii. p. 85—118. xxviii. p. 1—33. xxxi. p. 111—148. xxxii. p. 75—107. xxxiv. p. 67—96.).

[12] Theophylact Simocatta (l. ii. c. 3. p. 34. l. iii. c. 1. p. 63.) celebrates the θεανδρικον εικασμα, which he ſtyles αχειροποιητον; yet it was no more than a copy, ſince he adds, αχχειτυπον το εικονον ου

αναθηματι συνοδικῳ (tom. ii. l. xv. p. 104, 105.). It may be obſerved, that the Greeks are apt to confound the times and actions of two Gregories.

[27] See Baronius, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 730, N° 4, 5.: dignum exemplum! Bellarmin, de Romano Pontifice, l. v. c. 8.: mulctavit eum parte imperii. Sigonius, de Regno Italiæ, l. iii. Opera, tom. ii. p. 169. Yet ſuch is the change of Italy, that Sigonius is corrected by the editor of Milan, Philippus Argelatus, a Bologneſe, and ſubject of the pope.

[28] Quod ſi Chriſtiani olim non depoſuerunt Neronem aut Julianum, id fuit quia deerant vires temporales Chriſtianis (honeſt Bellarmine, de Rom. Pont. l. v. c. 7.). Cardinal Perron adds a diſtinction more honourable to the firſt Chriſtians, but not more ſatisfactory to modern princes—the *treaſon* of heretics and apoſtates, who break their oath, belie their coin, and renounce their allegiance to Chriſt and his vicar (Perroniana, p. 89.).

[29] Take, as a ſpecimen, the cautious Baſnage (Hiſt. de l'Egliſe, p. 1350, 1351.) and the vehement Spanheim (Hiſt. Imaginum), who, with an hundred more, tread in the footſteps of the centuriators of Magdeburgh.

[30] See Launoy (Opera, tom. v. pars ii. epiſt. vii. 7. p. 456—474.), Natalis Alexander (Hiſt. Nov. Teſtamenti, ſecul. viii. differt. i. p. 92—96.), Pagi (Critica, tom. iii. p. 215, 216.), and Giannone (Iſtoria Civile di Napoli, tom. i. p. 317—320.), a diſciple of the Gallican ſchool. In the field of controverſy I always pity the moderate party, who ſtand on the open middle ground expoſed to the fire of both ſides.

[31] They appeal to Paul Warnefrid, or Diaconus (de Geſtis Langobard. l. vi. c. 49. p. 506, 507. in Script. Ital. Muratori, tom. i. pars i.), and the nominal Anaſtaſius (de Vit. Pont. in Muratori, tom. iii. pars i. Gregorius II. p. 154. Gregorius III. p. 158. Zacharias, p. 161. Stephanus III. p. 165. Paulus, p. 172. Stephanus IV. p. 174. Hadrianus, p. 179. Leo III. p. 195.). Yet I may remark, that the true Anaſtaſius (Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 134. edit. Reg.) and the Hiſtoria Miſcella (l. xxi. p. 151. in tom. i. Script. Ital.), both of the ixth century, tranſlate and approve the Greek text of Theophanes.

[32] With ſome minute difference, the moſt learned critics, Lucas Holſtenius, Scheleſtrate, Ciampini, Bianchini, Muratori (Prolegomena ad tom. iii. pars i.), are agreed that the Liber Pontificalis was compoſed and continued by the apoſtolical librarians and notaries of the viiith and ixth centuries; and that the laſt and ſmalleſt part is the work of Anaſtaſius, whoſe name it bears. The ſtyle is barbarous, the narrative partial, the details are trifling—yet it muſt be read as a

curious and authentic record of the times. The epiſtles of the popes are diſperſed in the volumes of Councils.

[33] The two epiſtles of Gregory II. have been preſerved in the Acts of the Nicene Council (tom. viii. p. 651—674.). They are without a date, which is variouſly fixed, by Baronius in the year 726, by Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 120.) in 729, and by Pagi in 730. Such is the force of prejudice, that ſome *papiſts* have praiſed the good ſenſe and moderation of theſe letters.

[34] Εικοσι-τεσσαρα σαδια ὑποχωρησει ὁ Αρχιερευς Ρωμης εις την χωραν της Καμπανιας, και ὑπαγε διωξων τους ανεμους (Epiſt. i. p. 664.). This proximity of the Lombards is hard of digeſtion. Camillo Pellegrini (diſſert. iv. de Ducatû Beneventi, in the Script. Ital. tom. v. p. 172, 173.) forcibly reckons the xxivth ſtadia, not from Rome, but from the limits of the Roman dutchy, to the firſt fortreſs, perhaps Sora, of the Lombards. I rather believe that Gregory, with the pedantry of the age, employs *ſtadia* for miles, without much enquiry into the genuine meaſure.

[35] Ὁν αἱ πασαι βασιλειαι της δυσεως ὡς Θεον επιγειον εχουσι.

[36] Απο της εσωτερω δυσεως τω λεγομενω Σεπτετω (p. 665.). The pope appears to have impoſed on the ignorance of the Greeks: he lived and died in the Lateran; and in his time all the kingdoms of the Weſt had embraced Chriſtianity. May not this unknown *Sepetus* have ſome reference to the chief of the Saxon *Heptarchy*, to Ina king of Weſſex, who, in the pontificate of Gregory the ſecond, viſited Rome, for the purpoſe, not of baptiſm, but of pilgrimage (Pagi, A. D. 689, N° 2. A. D. 726, N° 15.)?

[37] I ſhall tranſcribe the important and deciſive paſſage of the Liber Pontificalis. Reſpiciens ergo pius vir profanam principis juſſionem, jam contra Imperatorem quaſi contra *hoſtem* ſe armavit, renuens hæreſim ejus, ſcribens ubique ſe cavere Chriſtianos eo quod orta fuiſſet, impietas talis. *Igitur* permoti omnes Pentapolenſes, atque Venetiarum exercitus contra Imperatoris juſſionem reſtiterunt: dicentes ſe nunquam in ejuſdem pontificis condeſcendere necem, ſed pro ejus magis defenſione viriliter decertare (p. 156.).

[38] A *cenſus*, or capitation, ſays Anaſtaſius (p. 156.); a moſt cruel tax, unknown to the Saracens themſelves, exclaims the zealous Maimbourg (Hiſt. des Iconoclaſtes, l. i.), and Theophanes (p. 344.), who talks of Pharaoh's numbering the male children of Iſrael. This mode of taxation was familiar to the Saracens; and, moſt unluckily for the hiſtorian, it was impoſed a few years afterwards in France by his patron Lewis XIV.

[39] See the Liber Pontificalis of Agnellus (in the Scriptores Rerum Italicarum of Muratori, tom. ii. pars i.), whose deeper shade of Barbarism marks the difference between Rome and Ravenna. Yet we are indebted to him for some curious and domestic facts—the quarters and factions of Ravenna (p. 154.), the revenge of Justinian II. (p. 160, 161.), the defeat of the Greeks (p. 170, 171.), etc.

[40] Yet Leo was undoubtedly comprised in the si quis. . . . imaginum sacrarum. . . . destructor. . . . extiterit sit extorris a corpore D. N. Jesu Christi vel totius ecclesiæ unitate. The canonists may decide whether the guilt or the name constitutes the excommunication; and the decision is of the last importance to their safety, since, according to the oracle (Gratian Caus. xxiii. q. 5. c. 47. apud Spanheim, Hist. Imag. p. 112.), homicidas non esse qui excommunicatos trucidant.

[41] Compescuit tale consilium Pontifex, sperans conversionem principis (Anastas. p. 156.). Sed ne desisterent ab amore et fide R. J. admonebat (p. 157.). The popes style Leo and Constantine Copronymus, Imperatores et Domini, with the strange epithet of *Piissimi*. A famous Mosaic of the Lateran (A. D. 798.) represents Christ, who delivers the keys to St. Peter and the banner to Constantine V. (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 337.

[42] I have traced the Roman dutchy according to the maps, and the maps according to the excellent dissertation, of father Beretti (de Chorographia Italiæ Medii Ævi, sect. xx. p. 216—232.). Yet I must nicely observe, that Viterbo is of Lombard foundation (p. 211.), and that Terracina was usurped by the Greeks.

[43] On the extent, population, etc. of the Roman kingdom, the reader may peruse, with pleasure, the *Discours Préliminaire* to the République Romaine of M. de Beaufort (tom. i.), who will not be accused of too much credulity for the early ages of Rome.

[44] Quos (*Romanos*) nos, Longobardi scilicet, Saxones, Franci, Lotharingi, Bajoarii, Suevi, Burgundiones, tanto dedignamur ut inimicos nostros commoti, nil aliud contumeliarum nisi Romane, dicamus: hoc solo, id est Romanorum nomine, quicquid ignobilitatis, quicquid timiditatis, quicquid avaritiæ, quicquid luxuriæ, quicquid mendacii, immo quicquid vitiorum est comprehendentes (Liutprand, in Legat. Script. Ital. tom. ii. pars i. p. 481.). For the sins of Cato or Tully, Minos might have imposed, as a fit penance, the daily perusal of this barbarous passage.

[45] Pipino regi Francorum, omnis senatus, atque universa populi generalitas a Deo servatæ Romanæ urbis. Codex Carolin. epist. 36. in Script. Ital. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 160 The names of senatus and senator were never totally extinct (Dissert. Chorograph. p. 216, 217.); but in

the middle ages they ſignified little more than nobiles optimates, etc. (Ducange, Gloſſ. Latin.).

[46] See Muratori, Antiquit. Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. ii. diſſertat. xxvii. p. 548. On one of theſe coins we read Hadrianus Papa (*A. D.* 772); on the reverſe, Vict. DDNN. with the word *CONOB*, which the Père Joubert (Science des Médailles, tom. ii. p. 42.) explains by *CON*ſtantinopoli Officina *B* (*ſecunda*).

[47] See Weſt's Diſſertation on the Olympic Games (Pindar, vol. ii. p. 32—36. edition in 12mo), and the judicious reflections of Polybius (tom. i. l. iv. p. 466. edit. Gronov.).

[48] The ſpeech of Gregory to the Lombard is finely compoſed by Sigonius (de Regno Italiæ, l. iii. Opera, tom. ii. p. 173.), who imitates the licence and the ſpirit of Salluſt or Livy.

[49] The Venetian hiſtorians, John Sagorninus (Chron. Venet. p. 13.) and the doge Andrew Dandolo (Scriptores Rer. Ital. tom. xii. p. 136.), have preſerved this epiſtle of Gregory. The loſs and recovery of Ravenna are mentioned by Paulus Diaconus (de Geſt. Langobard. l. vi. c. 49. 54. in Script. Ital. tom. i. pars i. p. 506. 508.); but our chronologiſts, Pagi, Muratori, etc. cannot aſcertain the date or circumſtances.

[50] The option will depend on the various readings of the MSS. of Anaſtaſius—*deceperat*, or *decerpſerat* (Script. Ital. tom. iii. pars i. p. 167.).

[51] The Codex Carolinus is a collection of the Epiſtles of the Popes to Charles Martel (whom they ſtyle *Subregulus*), Pepin, and Charlemagne, as far as the year 791, when it was formed by the laſt of theſe princes. His original and authentic MS. (Bibliothecæ Cubicularis) is now in the Imperial library of Vienna, and has been published by Lambecius and Muratori (Script. Rerum Ital. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 75, etc.).

[52] See this moſt extraordinary letter in the Codex Carolinus, epiſt. iii. p. 92. The enemies of the popes have charged them with fraud and blaſphemy; yet they ſurely meant to perſuade rather than deceive. This introduction of the dead, or of immortals, was familiar to the ancient orators, though it is executed on this occaſion in the rude faſhion of the age.

[53] Except in the divorce of the daughter of Deſiderius, whom Charlemagne repudiated ſine aliquo crimine. Pope Stephen IV. had moſt furiouſly oppoſed the alliance of a noble Frank—cum perfidâ, horridâ, nec dicendâ, fœtentiſſimâ natione Longobardorum—to whom he imputes the firſt ſtain of leproſy (Cod. Carolin. epiſt. 45. p. 178, 179.). Another reaſon againſt the marriage was the exiſtence of a firſt wife (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 232, 233. 236, 237.). But Charlemagne indulged himſelf in the freedom of polygamy or concubinage.

[54] See the Annali d'Italia of Muratori, tom. vi. and the three firſt diſſertations of his Antiquitates Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. i.

[55] Beſides the common hiſtorians, three French critics, Launoy (Opera, tom. v. pars ii. l. vii. epiſt. 9. p. 477—487.), Pagi (Critica, A. D. 751, N° 1—6. A. D. 752, N° 1—10.), and Natalis Alexander (Hiſt. Novi Teſtamenti, diſſertat. ii. p. 96—107.), have treated this ſubject of the depoſition of Childeric with learning and attention, but with a ſtrong bias to ſave the independence of the crown. Yet they are hard preſſed by the texts which they produce of Eginhard, Theophanes, and the old annals, Laureshamenſes, Fuldenſes, Loiſielani.

[56] Not abſolutely for the firſt time. On a leſs conſpicuous theatre, it had been uſed, in the vith and viith centuries, by the provincial biſhops of Britain and Spain. The royal unction of Conſtantinople was borrowed from the Latins in the laſt age of the empire. Conſtantine Manaſſes mentions that of Charlemagne as a foreign, Jewiſh, incomprehenſible ceremony. See Selden's Titles of Honour, in his Works, vol. iii. part i. p. 234—249.

[57] See Eginhard, in Vitâ Caroli Magni, c. i. p. 9, etc. c. iii. p. 24. Childeric was depoſed—*juſſû*, the Carlovingians were eſtabliſhed—*auctoritate*, Pontificis Romani. Launoy, etc. pretend that theſe ſtrong words are ſuſceptible of a very ſoft interpretation. Be it ſo; yet Eginhard underſtood the world, the court, and the Latin language.

[58] For the title and powers of patrician of Rome, ſee Ducange (Gloſſ. Latin tom. v. p. 149—151.), Pagi (Critica, A. D. 740, N° 6—11.), Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 308—329.), and St. Marc (Abrégé Chronologique de l'Italie, tom. i. p. 379—382.). Of theſe, the Franciſcan Pagi is the moſt diſpoſed to make the patrician a lieutenant of the church, rather than of the empire.

[59] The papal advocates can ſoften the ſymbolic meaning of the banner and the keys; but the ſtyle of ad *regnum* dimiſimus, or direximus (Codex. Carolin. epiſt. i. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 76.), ſeems to allow of no palliation or eſcape. In the MS. of the Vienna library, they read, inſtead of *regnum*, *rogum*, prayer or requeſt (ſee Ducange); and the royalty of Charles Martel is ſubverted by this important correction (Catalani, in his Critical Prefaces Annali d'Italia, tom. xvii. p. 95—99.).

[60] In the authentic narrative of this reception, the Liber Pontificalis obſerves—obviam illi ejus ſanctitas dirigens venerabiles cruces, id eſt ſigna; ſicut mos eſt ad exarchum, aut patricium ſuſcipiendum, eum cum ingenti honore ſuſcipi fecit (tom. iii. pars i. p. 185.).

[61] Paulus Diaconus, who wrote before the *empire* of Charlemagne, deſcribes Rome as his ſubject city—veſtræ civitates (ad Pompeium

Feſtum), ſuis addidit ſceptris (de Metenſis Eccleſiæ Epiſcopis). Some Carlovingian medals, ſtruck at Rome, have engaged Le Blanc to write an elaborate, though partial, diſſertation on their authority at Rome, both as patricians and emperors (Amſterdam, 1692, in 4to).

[62] Mosheim (Inſtitution Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 263.) weighs this donation with fair and deliberate prudence. The original act has never been produced; but the Liber Pontificalis repreſents (p. 171.), and the Codex Carolinus ſuppoſes, this ample gift. Both are contemporary records; and the latter is the more authentic, ſince it has been preſerved, not in the papal, but the Imperial, library.

[63] Between the exorbitant claims, and narrow conceſſions, of intereſt and prejudice, from which even Muratori (Antiquitat. tom. i. p. 63—68.) is not exempt, I have been guided, in the limits of the Exarchate and Pentapolis, by the Diſſertatio Chorographica Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. x. p. 160—180.

[64] Spoletini deprecati ſunt, ut eos in ſervitio B. Petri reciperet et more Romanorum tonſurari faceret (Anaſtaſius, p. 185.). Yet it may be a queſtion whether they gave their own perſons or their country.

[65] The policy and donations of Charlemagne are carefully examined by St. Marc (Abrégé, tom. i. p. 390—408.), who has well ſtudied the Codex Carolinus. I believe, with him, that they were only verbal. The moſt ancient act of donation that pretends to be extant, is that of the emperor Lewis the Pious (Sigonius, de Regno Italiæ, l. iv. Opera, tom. ii. p. 267—270.). Its authenticity, or at leaſt its integrity, are much queſtioned (Pagi, A. D. 817, N° 7, etc. Muratori, Annali, tom. vi. p. 432, etc. Diſſertat. Chorographica, p. 33, 34.); but I ſee no reaſonable objection to theſe princes ſo freely diſpoſing of what was not their own.

[66] Charlemagne ſolicited and obtained from the proprietor, Hadrian I. the moſaics of the palace of Ravenna, for the decoration of Aix-la-Chapelle (Cod. Carolin. epiſt. 67. p. 223.).

[67] The popes often complain of the uſurpations of Leo of Ravenna (Codex Carolin. epiſt. 51, 52, 53. p. 200—205.). Si corpus St. Andreæ fratris germani St. Petri hic humaſſet, nequaquam nos Romani pontifices ſic ſubjugaſſent (Agnellus, Liber Pontificalis, in Scriptores Rerum Ital. tom. ii. pars i. p. 107,).

[68] Piiſſimo Conſtantino magno, per ejus largitatem S. R. Eccleſia elevata et exaltata eſt, et poteſtatem in his Heſperiæ partibus largiri dignatus eſt.... Quia ecce novus Conſtantinus his temporibus, etc. (Codex Carolin. epiſt. 49. in tom. iii. part ii. p. 195.). Pagi (Critica, A. D. 324, N° 16.) aſcribes them to an impoſtor of the viiith century, who borrowed the name of St. Iſidore: his humble title of *Peccator*

was ignorantly, but aptly, turned into *Mercator*; his merchandiſe was indeed profitable, and a few sheets of paper were ſold for much wealth and power.

[69] Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 4—7.) has enumerated the ſeveral editions of this Act, in Greek and Latin. The copy which Laurentius Valla recites and refutes, appears to be taken either from the ſpurious Acts of St. Silveſter or from Gratian's Decree, to which, according to him and others, it has been ſurreptitiouſly tacked.

[70] In the year 1059, it was believed (was it believed?) by pope Leo IX. cardinal Peter Damianus, etc. Muratori places (Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 23, 24.) the fictitious donations of Lewis the Pious, the Othos, etc. de Donatione Conſtantini. See a Diſſertation of Natalis Alexander, ſeculum iv. diſſ. 25. p. 335—350.

[71] See a large account of the controverſy (A. D. 1105.), which aroſe from a private law-ſuit, in the Chronicon Farſenſe (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. ii. pars ii. p. 637, etc.), a copious extract from the archives of that Benedictine abbey. They were formerly acceſſible to curious foreigners (Le Blanc and Mabillon), and would have enriched the firſt volume of the Hiſtoria Monaſtica Italiæ of Quirini. But they are now impriſoned (Muratori, Scriptores R. I. tom. ii. pars ii. p. 269.) by the timid policy of the court of Rome; and the future cardinal yielded to the voice of authority and the whiſpers of ambition (Quirini, Comment. pars ii. p. 123—136.).

[72] I have read in the collection of Schardius (de Poteſtate Imperiali Eccleſiaſticâ, p. 734—780.), this animated diſcourſe, which was compoſed by the author, A. D. 1440, ſix years after the flight of pope Eugenius IV. It is a moſt vehement party pamphlet: Valla juſtifies and animates the revolt of the Romans, and would even approve the uſe of a dagger againſt their ſacerdotal tyrant. Such a critic might expect the perſecution of the clergy; yet he made his peace, and is buried in the Lateran (Bayle, Dictionnaire Critique, VALLA; Voſſius, de Hiſtoricis Latinis, p. 580.

[73] See Guicciardini, a ſervant of the popes, in that long and valuable digreſſion, which has reſumed its place in the laſt edition, correctly published from the author's MS. and printed in four volumes in quarto, under the name of Friburgo, 1775. (Iſtoria d'Italia, tom. i. p. 385—395.).

[74] The Paladin Aſtolpho found it in the moon, among the things that were loſt upon earth (Orlando Furioſo, xxxiv. 80.).

Di vari fiori ad un grand monte paſſa,
Ch'ebbe già buono odore, or puzza forte

Queſto era il dono (ſe però dir lece)
Che Coſtantino al buon Silveſtro fece.

Yet this incomparable poem has been approved by a bull of Leo X.

[75] See Baronius, A. D. 324, N° 117—123. A. D. 1191, N° 51, etc. The cardinal wishes to ſuppoſe that Rome was offered Conſtantine, and *refuſed* by Silveſter. The act of donation he conſiders, ſtrangely enough, as a forgery of the Greeks.

[76] Baronius n'en dit guères contre: encore en a-t-il trop dit, et l'on voulait ſans moi (*Cardinal du Perron*), qui l'empêchait de cenſurer cette partie de ſon hiſtoire. J'en déviſais un jour avec le Pape, et il ne me répondit autre choſe "che volete? i Canonici la leggono," il le diſait *en riant* (Perroniana, p. 77.).

[77] The remaining hiſtory of images, from Irene to Theodora, is collected, for the Catholics, by Baronius and Pagi (A. D. 780—840), Natalis Alexander (Hiſt. N. T. ſeculum viii. Panoplia adverſus Hæreticos, p. 118—178.), and Dupin (Bibliot. Eccléſ. tom. vi. p. 136—154.); for the proteſtants, by Spanheim (Hiſt. Imag. p. 305—639.), Baſnage (Hiſt. de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 556—572. tom. ii. p. 1362—1385.), and Mosheim (Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. ſecul. viii et ix.). The proteſtants, except Mosheim, are ſoured with controverſy; but the Catholics, except Dupin, are inflamed by the fury and ſuperſtition of the monks; and even Le Beau (Hiſt. du Bas Empire), a gentleman and a ſcholar, is infected by the odious contagion.

[78] See the Acts, in Greek and Latin, of the ſecond Council of Nice, with a number of relative pieces, in the viiith volume of the Councils, p. 645—1600. A faithful verſion, with ſome critical notes, would provoke, in different readers, a ſigh or a ſmile.

[79] The pope's legates were caſual meſſengers, to prieſts without any ſpecial commiſſion, and who were diſavowed on their return. Some vagabond monks were perſuaded by the Catholics to repreſent the Oriental patriarchs. This curious anecdote is revealed by Theodore Studites (epiſt. i. 38. in Sirmond. Opp. tom. v. p. 1319.), one of the warmeſt Iconoclaſts of the age.

[80] Συμφερει δε σοι μη καταλιπειν εν τη πολει ταυτη πορνειον εις ὁ μη εισελθης, η ινα αρνηση το προσκυνειν τον κυριον ἡμων και θεον Ιησουν Χριστον μετα της ιδιας αυτου μητρος εν εικονι. Theſe viſits could not be innocent, ſince the Δαιμων πορνειας (the dæmon of fornication) επολεμει δε αυτον . . . εν μια ων ὡς επεκειτο αυτῳ ἀΦοδρα, etc. Actio iv. p. 109. Actio v. p. 1031.

[81] See an account of this controverſy in the Alexius of Anna Comnena (l. v. p. 129.) and Mosheim (Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 371, 372.).

[82] The Libri Carolini (Spanheim, p. 443—529.), compoſed in the palace or winterquarters of Charlemagne, at Worms, A. D. 790; and ſent by Engebert to pope Hadrian I. who anſwered them by a grandis et verboſa epiſtola (Concil. tom. viii. p. 1553.). The Carolines propoſe 120 objections againſt the Nicene ſynod, and ſuch words as theſe are the flowers of their rhetoric—dementiam priſcæ Gentilitatis obſoletum errorem argumenta inſaniſſima et abſurdiſſima deriſione dignas nænias, etc. etc.

[83] The aſſemblies of Charlemagne were political, as well as eccleſiaſtical; and the three hundred members (Nat. Alexander, ſec. viii. p. 53.) who ſat and voted at Franckfort muſt include not only the biſhops, but the abbots, and even the principal laymen.

[84] Qui ſupra ſanctiſſima patres noſtri (epiſcopi et ſacerdotes) *omnimodis* ſervitium et adorationem imaginum renuentes contempſerunt, atque conſentientes condemnaverunt (Concil. tom. ix. p. 101. Canon ii. Franckfort). A polemic muſt be hard hearted indeed, who does not pity the efforts of Baronius, Pagi, Alexander, Maimbourg, etc. to elude this unlucky ſentence.

[85] Theophanes (p. 343.) ſpecifies thoſe of Sicily and Calabria, which yielded an annual rent of three talents and a half of gold (perhaps 7000 l. ſterling). Liutprand more pompouſly enumerates the patrimonies of the Roman church in Greece, Judæa, Perſia, Meſopotamia, Babylonia, Egypt, and Libya, which were detained by the injuſtice of the Greek emperor (Legat. ad Nicephorum, in Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. ii. pars i. p. 481.).

[86] The great dioceſe of the Eaſtern Illyricum, with Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily (Thomaſſin, Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 145.): by the confeſſion of the Greeks, the patriarch of Conſtantinople had detached from Rome the metropolitans of Theſſalonica, Athens, Corinth, Nicopolis, and Patræ (Luc. Holſten. Geograph. Sacra, p. 22.); and his ſpiritual conqueſts extended to Naples and Amalphi (Giannone, Iſtoria Civile di Napoli, tom. i. p. 517—524. Pagi, A. D. 730, N° 11.).

[87] In hoc oſtenditur, quia ex unò capitulo ab errore reverſis, in aliis duobus, in *eodem* (was it the ſame?) permaneant errore de dioceſi S. R. E. ſeu de patrimoniis iterum increpantes commonemus, ut ſi ea reſtituere noluerit hereticum eum pro hujuſmodi errore perſevantiâ decernemus (Epiſt. Hadrian. Papæ ad Carolum Magnum, in Concil. tom. viii. p. 1598.); to which he adds a reaſon, moſt directly oppoſite to his conduct, that he preferred the ſalvation of ſouls and rule of faith to the goods of this tranſitory world.

[88] Fontanini conſiders the emperors as no more than the advocates of the church (advocatus et defenſor S. R. E. See Ducange, Gloſſ. Lat.

tom. i. p. 97.). His antagoniſt Muratori reduces the popes to be no more than the exarchs of the emperor. In the more equitable view of Mosheim (Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 264, 265.), they held Rome under the empire as the moſt honourable ſpecies of fief or benefice—premuntur nocte caliginoſâ!

[89] His merits and hopes are ſummed up in an epitaph of thirty-eight verſes, of which Charlemagne declares himſelf the author (Concil. tom. viii. p. 520.).

Poſt patrem lacrymans Carolus hæc carmina ſcripſi.
Tu mihi dulcis amor, te modo plango pater . . .
Nomina jungo ſimul titulis, clariſſime, noſtra
Adrianus, Carolus, rex ego, tuque pater.

The poetry might be ſupplied by Alcuin; but the tears, the moſt glorious tribute, can only belong to Charlemagne.

[90] Every new pope is admoniſhed—"Sancte Pater, non videbis "annos Petri," twenty-five years. On the whole ſeries the average is about eight years—a ſhort hope for an ambitious cardinal.

[91] The aſſurance of Anaſtaſius (tom. iii. pars i. p. 197, 198.) is ſupported by the credulity of ſome French annaliſts; but Eginhard, and other writers of the ſame age, are more natural and ſincere. "Unus ei occulus paullulum eſt læſus," ſays John the deacon of Naples (Vit. Epiſcop. Napol. in Scriptores Muratori, tom. i. pars ii. p. 312.). Theodulphus, a contemporary biſhop of Orleans, obſerves with prudence (l. iii. carm. 3.),

Reddita ſunt? mirum eſt: mirum eſt auferre nequiſſe.
Eſt tamen in dubio, hinc mirer aut inde magis.

[92] Twice, at the requeſt of Hadrian and Leo, he appeared at Rome —longâ tunicâ et chlamyde amictus, et calceamentis quoque Romano more formatis. Eginhard (c. xxiii. p. 109—113.) deſcribes, like Suetonius, the ſimplicity of his dreſs, ſo popular in the nation, that when Charles the Bald returned to France in a foreign habit, the patriotic dogs barked at the apoſtate (Gaillard, Vie de Charlemagne, tom. iv. p. 109.).

[93] See Anaſtaſius (p. 199.) and Eginhard (c. xxviii. p. 124—128.). The unction is mentioned by Theophanes (p. 399.), the oath by Sigonius (from the Ordo Romanus), and the pope's adoration, more antiquorum principum, by the Annales Bertiniani (Script. Murator. tom. ii. pars ii. p. 505.).

[94] This great event of the tranſlation or reſtoration of the empire, is related and diſcuſſed by Natalis Alexander, ſecul. ix. (diſſert. i. p. 390—397.), Pagi (tom. iii. p. 418.), Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 339—352.), Sigonius (de Regno Italiæ, l. iv. Opp. tom. ii.

Adminiſtration des Finances, tom. i. p. 278, 279.); more people, perhaps, and doubtleſs more money, than the march of Charlemagne.

[109] Schmidt, Hiſt. des Allemands, tom. ii. p. 200, etc.

[110] See Giannone, tom. i. p. 374, 375. and the Annals of Muratori.

[111] Quot prælia in eo geſta! quantum ſanguinis effuſum ſit! Teſtatur vacua omni habitatione Pannonia, et locus in quo regia Cagani fuit ita deſertus, ut ne veſtigium quidem humanæ habitationis appareat. Tota in hoc bello Hunnorum nobilitas periit, tota gloria decidit, omnis pecunia et congeſti ex longo tempore theſauri direpti ſunt.

[112] The junction of the Rhine and Danube was undertaken only for the ſervice of the Pannonian war (Gaillard, Vie de Charlemagne, tom. ii. p. 312—315.). The canal, which would have been only two leagues in length, and of which ſome traces are ſtill extant in Swabia, was interrupted by exceſſive rains, military avocations, and ſuperſtitious fears (Schœpflin, Hiſt. de l'Académie des Inſcriptions, tom. xviii. p. 256. Molimina fluviorum, etc. jungendorum, p. 59—62.).

[113] See Eginhard, c. 16. and Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 361—385. who mentions, with a looſe reference, the intercourſe of Charlemagne and Egbert, the emperor's gift of his own ſword, and the modeſt anſwer of his Saxon diſciple. The anecdote, if genuine, would have adorned our Engliſh hiſtories.

[114] The correſpondence is mentioned only in the French annals, and the Orientals are ignorant of the caliph's friendſhip for the *Chriſtian dog*—a polite appellation, which Harun beſtows on the emperor of the Greeks.

[115] Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 361—365. 471—476. 492. I have borrowed his judicious remarks on Charlemagne's plan of conqueſt, and the judicious diſtinction of his enemies of the firſt and the ſecond *enceinte* (tom. ii. p. 184. 509, etc.).

[116] Thegan, the biographer of Lewis, relates this coronation; and Baronius has honeſtly tranſcribed it (A. D. 813, N° 13, etc. See Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 506, 507, 508.), howſoever adverſe to the claims of the popes. For the ſeries of the Carlovingians, ſee the hiſtorians of France, Italy, and Germany; Pfeffel, Schmidt, Velly, Muratori, and even Voltaire, whoſe pictures are ſometimes juſt, and always pleaſing.

[117] He was the ſon of Otho, the ſon of Ludolph, in whoſe favour the dutchy of Saxony had been inſtituted, A. D. 848. Ruotgerus, the biographer of a St. Bruno (Bibliot. Bunavianæ Catalog. tom. iii. vol. ii, p. 679.), gives a ſplendid character of his family. Atavorum atavi uſque ad hominum memoriam omnes nobiliſſimi; nullus in eorum ſtirpe ignotus nullus degener facile reperitur (apud Struvium, Corp. Hiſt. Germaii.

German. p. 216.). Yet Gundling (in Henrico Aucupe) is not ſatisfied of his deſcent from Witikind.

[118] See the treatiſe of Conringius (de Finibus Imperii Germanici, Francofurt. 1680, in 4to): he rejects the extravagant and improper ſcale of the Roman and Carlovingian empires, and diſcuſſes with moderation the rights of Germany, her vaſſals, and her neighbours.

[119] The power of cuſtom forces me to number Conrad I. and Henry I. the Fowler, in the liſt of emperors, a title which was never aſſumed by thoſe kings of Germany. The Italians, Muratori for inſtance, are more ſcrupulous and correct, and only reckon the princes who have been crowned at Rome.

[120] Invidiam tamen ſuſcepti nominis, C. P. imperatoribus ſuper hoc indignantibus, magnâ tulit patientiâ, vicitque eorum contumaciam . . . mittendo ad eos crebras legationes, et in epiſtolis fratres eos appellando. (Eginhard, c. 28. p. 128.). Perhaps it was on their account that, like Auguſtus, he affected ſome reluctance to receive the empire.

[121] Theophanes ſpeaks of the coronation and unction of Charles, Καρολλος (Chronograph. p. 399.), and of his treaty of marriage with Irene (p. 402.), which is unknown to the Latins. Gaillard relates his tranſactions with the Greek empire (tom. ii. p. 446—468.).

[122] Gaillard very properly obſerves, that this pageant was a farce ſuitable to children only; but that it was indeed repreſented in the preſence, and for the benefit, of children of a larger growth.

[123] Compare, in the original texts collected by Pagi (tom. iii. A. D. 812, N° 7. A. D. 824, N° 10, etc.), the contraſt of Charlemagne and his ſon: to the former the ambaſſadors of Michael (who were indeed diſavowed) more ſuo, id eſt linguâ Græcâ laudes dixerunt, imperatorem eum et Βασιλεα appellantes; to the latter, *Vocato* imperatori *Francorum*, etc.

[124] See the epiſtle, in Paralipomena, of the anonymous writer of Salerno (Script. Ital. tom. ii. pars ii. p. 243—254. c. 93—107.), whom Baronius (A. D. 871, N° 71—71.) miſtook for Erchempert, when he tranſcribed it in his Annals.

[125] Ipſe enim vos, non *imperatorem*, id eſt Βασιλεα ſuâ linguâ, ſed ob indignationem Ρηγα, id eſt *regem* noſtrâ vocabat (Liutprand, in Legat. in Script. Ital. tom. ii. pars i. p. 479.). The pope had exhorted Nicephorus, emperor of the *Greeks*, to make peace with Otho, the auguſt emperor of the *Romans*—quæ inſcriptio ſecundum Græcos peccatrix et temeraria. . . . imperatorem inquiunt, *univerſalem*, *Romanorum*, *Auguſtum*, *magnum*, *ſolum*, Nicephorum (p. 486.).

[126] The origin and progreſs of the title of cardinal may be found in

Thomaſſin (Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 1261—1298), Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. vi. diſſert. lxi. p. 159—182.), and Mosheim (Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 345—347.), who accurately remarks the forms and changes of the election. The cardinal-bishops, ſo highly exalted by Peter Damianus, are ſunk to a level with the reſt of the ſacred college.

[127] Firmiter jurantes, nunquam ſe papam electuros aut ordinaturos, præter conſenſum et electionem Othonis et filii ſui (Liutprand, l. vi. c. 6. p. 472.). This important conceſſion may either ſupply or confirm the decree of the clergy and people of Rome, ſo fiercely rejected by Baronius, Pagi, and Muratori (A. D. 964.), and ſo well defended and explained by St. Marc (Abrégé, tom. ii. p. 808—816. tom. iv. p. 1167—1185.). Conſult that hiſtorical critic, and the Annals of Muratori, for the election and confirmation of each pope.

[128] The oppreſſion and vices of the Roman church in the xth century are ſtrongly painted in the hiſtory and legation of Liutprand (ſee p. 440. 450. 471—476. 479, etc.); and it is whimſical enough to obſerve Muratori tempering the invectives of Baronius againſt the popes. But theſe popes had been choſen, not by the cardinals, but by lay-patrons.

[129] The time of pope Joan (*papiſſa Joanna*) is placed ſomewhat earlier than Theodora or Marozia; and the two years of her imaginary reign are forcibly inſerted between Leo IV. and Benedict III. But the contemporary Anaſtaſius indiſſolubly links the death of Leo and the elevation of Benedict (illico, mox, p. 247.); and the accurate chronology of Pagi, Muratori, and Leibnitz, fixes both events to the year 857.

[130] The advocates for pope Joan produce one hundred and fifty witneſſes, or rather echoes, of the xivth, xvth, and xvith centuries. They bear teſtimony againſt themſelves and the legend, by multiplying the proof that ſo curious a ſtory *muſt* have been repeated by writers of every deſcription to whom it was known. On thoſe of the ixth and xth centuries, the recent event would have flaſhed with a double force. Would Photius have ſpared ſuch a reproach? Could Liutprand have miſſed ſuch ſcandal? It is ſcarcely worth while to diſcuſs the various readings of Martinus Polonus, Sigebert of Gemblours, or even Marianus Scotus; but a moſt palpable forgery is the paſſage of pope Joan, which has been foiſted into ſome MSS. and editions of the Roman Anaſtaſius.

[131] As *falſe*, it deſerves that name; but I would not pronounce it incredible. Suppoſe a famous French chevalier of our own times to have been born in Italy, and educated in the church, inſtead of the army: *her* merit or fortune *might* have raiſed her to St. Peter's chair; her amours would have been natural; her delivery in the ſtreets unlucky, but not improbable.

[132] Till the reformation, the tale was repeated and believed without offence; and Joan's female ſtatue long occupied her place among the popes in the cathedral of Sienna (Pagi, Critica, tom. iii. p. 624—626.). She has been annihilated by two learned proteſtants, Blondel and Bayle (Dictionnaire Critique, PAPESSE, POLONUS, BLONDEL); but their brethren were ſcandaliſed by this equitable and generous criticiſm. Spanheim and Lenfant attempt to ſave this poor engine of controverſy; and even Mosheim condeſcends to cherish ſome doubt and ſuſpicion (p. 289.).

[133] Lateranenſe palatium proſtibulum meretricum. . . . Teſtis omnium gentium, præterquam Romanorum, abſentia mulierum, quæ ſanctorum apoſtolorum limina orandi gratiâ timent viſere, cum nonnullas ante dies paucos, hunc audierint conjugatas viduas, virgines vi oppreſſiſſe (Liutprand, Hiſt. l. vi. c. 6. p. 471. See the whole affair of John XII. p. 471—476.).

[134] A new example of the miſchief of equivocation is the *beneficium* (Ducange, tom. i. p. 617, etc.) which the pope conferred on the emperor Frederic I. ſince the Latin word may ſignify either a legal fief, or a ſimple favour, an obligation (we want the word *bienfait*). See Schmidt, Hiſt. des Allemands, tom. iii. p. 393—408. Pfeffel, Abrégé Chronologique, tom. i. p. 229. 296. 317. 324. 420. 430. 500. 505. 509, etc.).

[135] For the hiſtory of the emperors in Rome and Italy, ſee Sigonius, de Regno Italiæ; Opp. tom. ii. with the Notes of Saxius, and the Annals of Muratori, who might refer more diſtinctly to the authors of his great collection.

[136] See the Diſſertation of Le Blanc at the end of his Treatiſe des Monnoyes de France, in which he produces ſome Roman coins of the French emperors.

[137] Romanorum aliquando ſervi, ſcilicet Burgundiones, Romanis imperent? Romanæ urbis dignitas ad tantam eſt ſtultitiam ducta, ut meretricum etiam imperio pareat? (Liutprand, l. iii. c. 12. p. 450.). Sigonius (l. vi. p. 400.) poſitively affirms the renovation of the conſulship; but in the old writers Albericus is more frequently ſtyled princeps Romanorum.

[138] Ditmar, p. 394. apud Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 439.

[139] This bloody feaſt is deſcribed in Leonine verſe, in the Pantheon of Godfrey of Viterbo (Script. Ital. tom. vii. p. 436, 437.), who flouriſhed towards the end of the xiith century (Fabricius, Bibliot. Latin. med. et infimi Ævi, tom. iii. p. 69. edit. Manſi); but his evidence, which impoſed on Sigonius, is reaſonably ſuſpected by Muratori (Annali, tom. viii. p. 177.).

Greeks and *Latins*, whoſe progreſſive knowledge may be traced in Agatharcides (de Mari Rubro. in Hudſon, Geograph. Minor. tom. i.), Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. ii. p. 159—167. l. iii. p. 211—216. edit. Weſſeling), Strabo (l. xvi. p. 1112—1114. from Eratoſthenes, p. 1122—1132. from Artemidorus), Dionyſius (Periegeſis, 927—969.), Pliny (Hiſt. Natur. v. 12. vi. 32.), and Ptolemy (Deſcript. et Tabulæ Urbium, in Hudſon, tom. iii.). 2. The *Arabic writers*, who have treated the ſubject with the zeal of patriotiſm or devotion: the extracts of Pocock (Specimen Hiſt. Arabum, p. 125—128.) from the Geography of the Sherif al Edriſſi, render us ſtill more diſſatisfied with the verſion or abridgment (p. 24—27. 44—56. 108. etc. 119, etc.) which the Maronites have published under the abſurd title of Geographia Nubienſis (Paris, 1619.); but the Latin and French tranſlators, Greaves (in Hudſon, tom. iii.) and Galland (Voyage de la Paleſtine par La Roque, p. 265—346.), have opened to us the Arabia of Abulfeda, the moſt copious and correct account of the peninſula, which may be enriched, however, from the Bibliothéque Orientale of d'Herbelot, p. 120. et alibi paſſim. 3. The *European Travellers*; among whom Shaw (p. 438—455.) and Niebuhr (Deſcription, 1773. Voyages, tom. i. 1776.) deſerve an honourable diſtinction: Buſching (Géographie par Berenger, tom. viii. p. 416—510.) has compiled with judgment; and d'Anville's Maps (Orbis Veteribus Notus, and 1re Partie de l'Aſie) ſhould lie before the reader, with his Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 208—231.

[3] Abulfed. Deſcript. Arabiæ, p. 1. D'Anville, l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 19, 20. It was in this place, the paradiſe or garden of a ſatrap, that Xenophon and the Greeks firſt paſſed the Euphrates (Anabaſis. l. i. c. 10. p. 29. edit. Wells).

[4] Reland has proved, with much ſuperfluous learning. 1. That our Red Sea (the Arabian Gulf) is no more than a part of the *Mare Rubrum*, the Ερυθρα θαλασσα of the ancients, which was extended to the indefinite ſpace of the Indian ocean. 2. That the ſynonymous words ερυθρος, αιθιοψ, allude to the colour of the blacks or negroes (Differt. Miſcell. tom. i. p. 59—117.).

[5] In the thirty days, or ſtations, between Cairo and Mecca, there are fifteen deſtitute of good water. See the route of the Hadjees, in Shaw's Travels, p. 477.

[6] The aromatics, eſpecially the *thus* or frankincenſe, of Arabia, occupy the xiith book of Pliny. Our great poet (Paradiſe Loſt, l. iv.) introduces, in a ſimile, the ſpicy odours that are blown by the north-eaſt wind from the Sabæan coaſt:

—Many a league,
Pleas'd with the grateful ſcent, old Ocean ſmiles.
(Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xii. 42.)

[7] Agatharcides affirms, that lumps of pure gold were found, from the ſize of an olive to that of a nut; that iron was twice, and ſilver ten times, the value of gold (de Mari Rubro, p. 60.). Theſe real or imaginary treaſures are vaniſhed; and no gold mines are at preſent known in Arabia (Niebuhr, Deſcription, p. 124.).

[8] Conſult, peruſe, and ſtudy, the Specimen Hiſtoriæ Arabum of Pocock! (Oxon. 1650, in 4to). The thirty pages of text and verſion are extracted from the Dynaſties of Gregory Abulpharagius, which Pocock afterwards tranſlated (Oxon. 1663, in 4to): the three hundred and fifty-eight notes form a claſſic and original work on the Arabian antiquities.

[9] Arrian remarks the Ichthyophagi of the coaſt of Hejaz (Periplus Maris Erythræi, p. 12.) and beyond Aden (p. 15.). It ſeems probable that the ſhores of the Red Sea (in the largeſt ſenſe) were occupied by theſe ſavages in the time, perhaps, of Cyrus; but I can hardly believe that any cannibals were left among the ſavages in the reign of Juſtinian (Procop. de Bell. Perſic. l. i. c. 19.).

[10] See the Specimen Hiſtoriæ Arabum of Pocock, p. 2. 5. 86, etc. The journey of M. d'Arvieux, in 1664, to the camp of the emir of Mount Carmel (Voyage de la Paleſtine, Amſterdam, 1718.), exhibits a pleaſing and original picture of the life of the Bedoweens, which may be illuſtrated from Niebuhr (Deſcription de l'Arabie, p. 327—344.) and Volney (tom. i. p. 343—385.), the laſt and moſt judicious of our Syrian travellers.

[11] Read (it is no unpleaſing task) the incomparable articles of the *Horſe* and the *Camel*, in the Natural Hiſtory of M. de Buffon.

[12] For the Arabian horſes, ſee d'Arvieux (p. 159—173.) and Niebuhr (p. 142—144.). At the end of the xiiith century, the horſes of Neged were eſteemed ſure-footed, thoſe of Yemen ſtrong and ſerviceable, thoſe of Hejaz moſt noble. The horſes of Europe, the tenth and laſt claſs, were generally deſpiſed, as having too much body and too little ſpirit (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 339.): their ſtrength was requiſite to bear the weight of the knight and his armour.

[13] Qui carnibus camelorum veſci ſolent odii tenaces ſunt, was the opinion of an Arabian phyſician (Pocock, Specimen, p. 88.). Mahomet himſelf, who was fond of milk, prefers the cow, and does not even mention the camel; but the diet of Mecca and Medina was already more luxurious (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 404.).

[14] Yet Marcian of Heraclea (in Periplo, p. 16. in tom. i. Hudſon,

Minor Geograph.) reckons one hundred and ſixty-four towns in Arabia Fœlix. The ſize of the towns might be ſmall—the faith of the writer might be large.

[15] It is compared by Abulfeda (in Hudſon, tom. iii. p. 54.) to Damaſcus, and is ſtill the reſidence of the Imam of Yemen (Voyages de Niebuhr, tom. i. p. 331—342.). Saana is twenty-four paraſangs from Dafar (Abulfeda, p. 51.), and ſixty-eight from Aden (p. 53.).

[16] Pocock, Specimen, p. 57. Geograph. Nubienſis, p. 52. Meriaba, or Merab, ſix miles in circumference, was deſtroyed by the legions of Auguſtus (Plin. Hiſt. Nat. vi. 32.), and had not revived in the xivth century (Abulfed. Deſcript. Arab. p. 58.).

[17] The name of *city*, *Medina*, was appropriated, κατ' ἐξοχην, to Yatreb (the Iatrippa of the Greeks), the ſeat of the prophet. The diſtances from Medina are reckoned by Abulfeda in ſtations, or day's journey of a caravan (p. 15.): to Bahrein, xv; to Baſſora, xviii; to Cufah, xx; to Damaſcus or Paleſtine, xx; to Cairo, xxv; to Mecca, x; from Mecca to Saana (p. 52.) or Aden, xxx; to Cairo, xxxi days, or 412 hours (Shaw's Travels, p. 477.); which, according to the eſtimate of d'Anville (Meſures Itineraires, p. 99.), allows about twenty five Engliſh miles for a day's journey. From the land of frankincenſe (Hadramaut, in Yemen, between Aden and Cape Fartaſch) to Gaza, in Syria, Pliny (Hiſt. Nat. xii. 32.) computes lxv manſions of camels. Theſe meaſures may aſſiſt fancy and elucidate facts.

[18] Our notions of Mecca muſt be drawn from the Arabians (d'Herbelot, Bibliothéque Orientale, p. 368—371. Pocock, Specimen, p. 125—128. Abulfeda, p. 11—40.). As no unbeliever is permitted to enter the city, our travellers are ſilent; and the ſhort hints of Thevenot (Voyages du Levant, part. i. p. 490.) are taken from the ſuſpicious mouth of an African renegado. Some Perſians counted 6000 houſes (Chardin, tom. iv. p. 167.).

[19] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1110. See one of theſe ſalt houſes near Baſſora, in d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 6.

[20] Mirum dictû ex innumeris populis pars æqua in *commercils* aut in latrociniis degit (Plin. Hiſt. Nat. vi. 32.). See Sale's Koran. Sural cvi. p. 503. Pocock, Specimen, p. 2. D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 361. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 5. Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 72. 120. 126, etc.

[21] A nameleſs doctor (Univerſal Hiſt. vol. xx. octavo edition) has formally *demonſtrated* the truth of Chriſtianity by the independence of the Arabs. A critic, beſides the exceptions of fact, might diſpute the meaning of the text (Geneſ. xvi. 12.), the extent of the application, and the foundation of the pedigree.

[22] It was ſubdued, A. D. 1173, by a brother of the great Saladin, who founded a dynaſty of Curds or Ayoubites (Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 425. D'Herbelot, p. 477.).

[23] By the lieutenant of Soliman I. (A. D. 1538.) and Selim II. (1568). See Cantemir's Hiſt. of the Othman empire, p. 201. 221. The Pasha, who reſided at Saana, commanded twenty-one Beys, but no revenue was ever remitted to the Porte (Marſigli, State Militare dell' Imperio Ottomanno, p. 124.), and the Turks were expelled about the year 1630 (Niebuhr, p. 167, 168.).

[24] Of the Roman province, under the name of Arabia and the third Paleſtine, the principal cities were Boſtra and Petra, which dated their æra from the year 105; when they were ſubdued by Palma a lieutenant of Trajan (Dion Caſſius, l. lxviii.). Petra was the capital of the Nabathæans; whoſe name is derived from the eldeſt of the ſons of Iſmael (Geneſ. xxv. 12, etc. with the Commentaries of Jerom, Le Clerc, and Calmet). Juſtinian relinquished a palm country of ten days journey to the ſouth of Ælah (Procop. de Bell. Perſic. l. i. c. 19.), and the Romans maintained a centurion and a cuſtom-houſe (Arrian in Periplo Maris Erythræi, p. 11. in Hudſon, tom. i.), at a place (λευκη κωμη, Pagus Albus Hawara) in the territory of Medina (d'Anville Mémoire ſur l'Egypte, p. 243.). Theſe real poſſeſſions, and ſome naval inroads of Trajan (Peripl. p. 14, 15.), are magnified by hiſtory and medals into the Roman conqueſt of Arabia.

[25] Niebuhr (Deſcription de l'Arabie, p. 302, 303. 329—331.) affords the moſt recent and authentic intelligence of the Turkish empire in Arabia.

[26] Diodorus Siculus (tom. ii. l. xix. p. 390—393. edit. Weſſeling) has clearly expoſed the freedom of the Nabathæan Arabs, who reſiſted the arms of Antigonus and his ſon.

[27] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1127—1129. Plin. Hiſt. Natur. vi. 32. Ælius Gallus landed near Medina, and marched near a thouſand miles into the part of Yemen between Mareb and the Ocean. The non ante devictis Sabæ regibus (Od. i. 29.), and the intacti Arabum theſauri (Od. iii. 24.) of Horace, atteſt the virgin purity of Arabia.

[28] See the imperfect hiſtory of Yemen in Pocock, Specimen, p. 55—66. of Hira, p. 66—74. of Gaſſan, p. 75—78. as far as it could be known or preſerved in the time of ignorance.

[29] The Σαρακηνικα Φυλα, μυριαδες ταυτα, και το πλειστον αυτων ερημονομοι, και αδεσποτοι, are deſcribed by Menander (Excerpt. Legation. p. 149.), Procopius (de Bell. Perſic. l. i. c. 17. 19. l. ii. c. 10.); and, in the moſt lively colours, by Ammianus Marcellinus (l. xiv. c. 4.), who had ſpoken of them as early as the reign of Marcus.

[30] The name which, uſed by Ptolemy and Pliny in a more confined, by Ammianus and Procopius in a larger, ſenſe, has been derived, ridiculouſly, from *Sarah*, the wife of Abraham, obſcurely from the village of *Saraka*, (μετα Ναβαταιας. Stephan. de Urbibus), more plauſibly from the Arabic words, which ſignify a *thievish* character, or *Oriental* ſituation, (Hottinger, Hiſt. Oriental. l. i. c. i. p. 7, 8. Pocock, Specimen, p. 33—35. Aſſeman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 567.). Yet the laſt and moſt popular of theſe etymologies, is refuted by Ptolemy (Arabia, p. 2. 18. in Hudſon, tom. iv.), who expreſsly remarks the weſtern and ſouthern poſition of the Saracens, then an obſcure tribe on the borders of Egypt. The appellation cannot therefore allude to any *national* character; and, ſince it was impoſed by ſtrangers, it muſt be found, not in the Arabic, but in a foreign language.

[31] Saraceni mulieres aiunt in eos regnare (Expoſitio totius Mundi, p. 3. in Hudſon, tom. iii.). The reign of Mavia is famous in eccleſiaſtical ſtory. Pocock, Specimen, p. 69. 83.

[32] Μη εξεινας εκ των βασιλειων, is the report of Agatharades de Mari Rubro, p. 63, 64. in Hudſon, tom. i.), Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. iii. c. 47. p. 215.), and Strabo (l. xvi. p. 1124.). But I much ſuſpect that this is one of the popular tales, or extraordinary accidents, which the credulity of travellers ſo often transforms into a fact, a cuſtom, and a law.

[33] Non gloriabantur antiquitus Arabes, niſi gladio, hoſpite, et *eloquentiâ* (Sephadius, apud Pocock, Specimen, p. 161, 162.). This gift of ſpeech they ſhared only with the Perſians; and the ſententious Arabs would probably have diſdained the ſimple and ſublime logic of Demoſthenes.

[34] I muſt remind the reader that d'Arvieux, d'Herbelot, and Niebuhr, repreſent, in the moſt lively colours, the manners and government of the Arabs, which are illuſtrated by many incidental paſſages in the life of Mahomet.

[35] Obſerve the firſt chapter of Job, and the long wall of 1500 ſtadia, which Seſoſtris built from Peluſium to Heliopolis (Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. i. p. 67.). Under the name of *Hycſos*, the shepherd-kings, they had formerly ſubdued Egypt (Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 98—163, etc.

[36] Or, according to another account, 1200 (d'Herbelot, Bibliothéque Orientale, p. 75.): the two hiſtorians who wrote of the *Ayam al Arab*, the battles of the Arabs, lived in the ixth and xth century. The famous war of Dahes and Gabrah was occaſioned by two horſes, laſted forty years, and ended in a proverb (Pocock, Specimen, p. 48.).

[37] The modern theory and practice of the Arabs in the revenge of murder, are deſcribed by Niebuhr (Deſcription, p. 26—31.). The

harsher features of antiquity may be traced in the Koran, c. 2. p. 20. c. 17. p. 230. with Sale's Observations.

[38] Procopius (de Bell. Persic. l. i. c. 16.) places the *two* holy months about the summer solstice. The Arabians consecrate *four* months of the year—the first, seventh, eleventh, and twelfth; and pretend, that in a long series of ages the truce was infringed only four or six times (Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 147—150. and Notes on the ixth chapter of the Koran, p. 154, etc. Casiri, Bibliot. Hispano-Arabica, tom. ii. p. 20, 21.).

[39] Arrian, in the second century, remarks (in Periplo Maris Erythræi, p. 12.) the partial or total difference of the dialects of the Arabs. Their language and letters are copiously treated by Pocock (Specimen, p. 150—154.), Casiri (Bibliot. Hispano-Arabica, tom. i. p. 1. 83. 292. tom. ii. p. 25, etc.), and Niebuhr (Description de l'Arabie, p. 72—86.). I pass slightly; I am not fond of repeating words like a parrot.

[40] A familiar tale in Voltaire's Zadig (le Chien et le Cheval) is related, to prove the natural sagacity of the Arabs (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 120, 121. Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 37—46.); but d'Arvieux, or rather La Roque (Voyage de Palestine, p. 92.), denies the boasted superiority of the Bedowcens. The one hundred and sixty-nine sentences of Ali (translated by Ockley, London, 1718.) afford a just and favourable specimen of Arabian wit.

[41] Pocock (Specimen, p. 158—161.) and Casiri (Bibliot. Hispano-Arabica, tom. i. p. 48. 84, etc. 119. tom. ii. p. 17, etc.) speak of the Arabian poets before Mahomet: the seven poems of the Caaba have been published in English by Sir William Jones; but his honourable mission to India has deprived us of his own notes, far more interesting than the obscure and obsolete text.

[42] Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 29, 30.

[43] D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 458. Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 118. Caab and Hesinus (Pocock, Specimen, p. 43. 46. 48.) were likewise conspicuous for their liberality; and the latter is elegantly praised by an Arabian poet: "Videbis eum cum accesseris exultantem, ac si dares illi quod ab illo petis."

[44] Whatever can now be known of the idolatry of the ancient Arabians, may be found in Pocock (Specimen, p. 89—136. 163, 164.). His profound erudition is more clearly and concisely interpreted by Sale (Preliminary Discourse, p. 14—24.); and Assemanni (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 580—590.) has added some valuable remarks.

[45] Ιερον ἁγιωτατον ἱδρυται τιμωμενον ὑπο παντων Αραβων περισποτερον (Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. iii. p. 211.). The character and position are so correctly appositc, that I am surprised how this curious passage

should have been read without notice or application. Yet this famous temple had been overlooked by Agatharcides (de Mari Rubro, p. 58. in Hudson, tom. i.); whom Diodorus copies in the reſt of the deſcription. Was the Sicilian more knowing than the Egyptian? Or was the Caaba built between the years of Rome 650 and 746, the dates of their reſpective hiſtories? (Dodwell, in Differt. ad tom. i. Hudſon, p. 72. Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. ii. p. 770.).

[46] Pocock, Specimen, p. 60, 61. From the death of Mahomet we aſcend to 68, from his birth to 129, years, before the Chriſtian æra. The veil or curtain, which is now of ſilk and gold, was no more than a piece of Egyptian linen (Abulfeda, in Vit. Mohammed, c. 6. p. 14.).

[47] The original plan of the Caaba (which is ſervilely copied in Sale, the Univerſal Hiſtory, etc.) was a Turkiſh draught, which Reland (de Religione Mohammedicâ, p. 113—123.) has corrected and explained from the beſt authorities. For the deſcription and legend of the Caaba, conſult Pocock (Specimen, p. 115—122.), the Bibliothèque Orientale of d'Herbelot (*Caaba*, *Hagier*, *Zemzem*, etc.), and Sale (Preliminary diſcourſe, p. 114—122.).

[48] Coſa, the fifth anceſtor of Mahomet, muſt have uſurped the Caaba A. D. 440; but the ſtory is differently told by Jannabi (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 65—69.) and by Abulfeda (in Vit. Moham. c. 6. p. 13.).

[49] In the ſecond century, Maximus of Tyre attributes to the Arabs the worſhip of a ſtone—Αραβιοι σεβουσι μεν, ὁντινα δε μη οιδα, το δε αγαλμα ειδον; λιθος ην τετραγωνος (differt. viii. tom. i. p. 142. edit. Reiske); and the reproach is furiouſly re-echoed by the Chriſtians (Clemens Alex. in Protreptico, p. 40. Arnobius contra Gentes, l. vi. p. 246.). Yet theſe ſtones were no other than the βαιτυλα of Syria and Greece, ſo renowned in ſacred and profane antiquity (Euſeb. Præp. Evangel. l. i. p. 37. Marſham, Canon. Chron. p. 54—56.).

[50] The two horrid ſubjects of Ανδροθυσια and Παιδοθυσια, are accurately diſcuſſed by the learned Sir John Marſham (Canon. Chron. p. 76—78. 301—304.). Sanchoniatho derives the Phœnician ſacrifices from the example of Chronus; but we are ignorant whether Chronus lived before or after Abraham, or indeed whether he lived at all.

[51] Κατ' ετος ἑκαστον παιδα εθυον, is the reproach of Porphyry; but he likewiſe imputes to the Roman the ſame barbarous cuſtom, which, A. U. C. 657, had been finally abolished. Dumætha, Daumat al Gendal, is noticed by Ptolemy (Tabul. p. 37. Arabia, p. 9—29.) and Abulfeda (p. 57); and may be found in d'Anville's maps, in the mid-deſert between Chaibar and Tadmor.

[52] Procopius (de Bell. Perſico, l. i. c. 28.), Evagrius (l. vi. c. 21.),

and Pocock (Specimen, p. 72. 86.), atteſt the human ſacrifices of the Arabs in the vith century. The danger and eſcape of Abdallah, is a tradition rather than a fact (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 82—84.).

[53] Suillis carnibus abſtinent, ſays Solinus (Polyhiſtor. c. 33.), who copies Pliny (l. viii. c. 68.) in the ſtrange ſuppoſition, that hogs cannot live in Arabia. The Egyptians were actuated by a natural and ſuperſtitious horror for that unclean beaſt (Marsham, Canon. p. 205.). The old Arabians likewiſe practiſed, *poſt coitum*, the rite of ablution (Herodot. l. i c. 80.), which is ſanctified by the Mahometan law (Reland, p. 75, etc. Chardin, or rather the *Mollah* of Shaw Abbas, tom. iv. p. 71, etc.).

[54] The Mahometan doctors are not fond of the ſubject; yet they hold circumciſion neceſſary to ſalvation, and even pretend that Mahomet was miraculouſly born without a foreskin (Pocock, Specimen, p. 319, 320. Sale's Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 106, 107.).

[55] Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. ii. p. 142—145.) has caſt on their religion the curious but ſuperficial glance of a Greek. Their aſtronomy would be far more valuable: they had looked through the teleſcope of reaſon, ſince they could doubt whether the ſun were in the number of the planets or of the fixed ſtars.

[56] Simplicius (who quotes Porphyry), de Cœlo, l. ii. com. xlvi. p. 123. lin. 18. apud Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 474. who doubts the fact, becauſe it is adverſe to his ſyſtems. The earlieſt date of the Chaldean obſervations is the year 2234 before Chriſt. After the conqueſt of Babylon by Alexander, they were communicated, at the requeſt of Ariſtotle, to the aſtronomer Hipparchus. What a moment in the annals of ſcience!

[57] Pocock (Specimen, p. 138—146.), Hottinger (Hiſt. Oriental. p. 162—203.), Hyde (de Religione Vet. Perſarum, p. 124. 128, etc.), d'Herbelot (*Sabi*, p. 725, 726.), and Sale (Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 14, 15.), rather excite than gratify our curioſity; and the laſt of theſe writers confounds Sabianiſm with the primitive religion of the Arabs.

[58] D'Anville (l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 130—147) will fix the poſition of theſe ambiguous Chriſtians; Aſſemannus (Bibliot. Oriental. tom. iv. p. 607—614.) may explain their tenets. But it is a ſlippery task to aſcertain the creed of an ignorant people, afraid and aſhamed to diſcloſe their ſecret traditions.

[59] The Magi were fixed in the province of Bahrein (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 114.), and mingled with the old Arabians (Pocock, Specimen, p. 146—150.).

[60] The ſtate of the Jews and Chriſtians in Arabia, is deſcribed by

Pocock from Shareſtani, etc. (Specimen, p. 60. 134, etc.), Hottinger (Hiſt. Orient. p. 212—238), d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 474—476.), Baſnage (Hiſt. des Juifs, tom. vii. p. 185. tom. viii. p. 280.); and Sale (Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 22, etc. 33, etc.).

[61] In their offerings it was a maxim to defraud God for the profit of the idol, not a more potent, but a more irritable patron (Pocock, Specimen, p. 108, 109.).

[62] Our verſions now extant, whether Jewiſh or Chriſtian, appear more recent than the Koran; but the exiſtence of a prior tranſlation may be fairly inferred, 1. From the perpetual practice of the ſynagogue, of expounding the Hebrew leſſon by a paraphraſe in the vulgar tongue of the country. 2. From the analogy of the Armenian, Perſian, Æthiopic verſions, expreſsly quoted by the fathers of the fifth century, who aſſert that the Scriptures were tranſlated into *all* the Barbaric languages (Walton, Prolegomena ad Biblia Polyglot. p. 34. 93—97. Simon, Hiſt. Critique du V. et du N. Teſtament, tom. i. p. 180, 181, 282—286. 293. 305, 306. tom. iv. p. 206.).

[63] In eo conveniunt omnes, ut plebeio ylique genere ortum, etc. (Hottinger, Hiſt. Orient. p. 136.). Yet Theophanes, the moſt ancient of the Greeks, and the father of many a lie, confeſſes that Mahomet was of the race of Iſmael, εκ μιας γενικωτατης Φυλης (Chronograph. p. 277.).

[64] Abulfeda (in Vit. Mohammed. c. 1, 2.) and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, p. 25—97.) deſcribe the popular and approved genealogy of the prophet. At Mecca, I would not diſpute its authenticity; at Lauſanne, I will venture to obſerve, 1. *That* from Iſmael to Mahomet, a period of 2500 years, they reckon thirty, inſtead of ſeventy-five, generations. 2. *That* the modern Bedoweens are ignorant of their hiſtory and careleſs of their pedigree (Voyage de d'Arvieux, p. 100. 103.).

[65] The ſeed of this hiſtory, or fable, is contained in the cvth chapter of the Koran; and Gagnier (in Præfat. ad Vit. Moham. p. 18, etc.) has tranſlated the hiſtorical narrative of Abulfeda, which may be illuſtrated from d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 12.), and Pocock (Specimen, p. 64.). Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 48.) calls it a lie of the coinage of Mahomet; but Sale (Koran, p. 501—503.), who is half a Muſulman, attacks the inconſiſtent faith of the Doctor for believing the miracles of the Delphic Apollo. Maracci (Alcoran, tom. i. part. ii. p. 14. tom. ii. p. 823.) aſcribes the miracle to the devil, and extorts from the Mahometans the confeſſion, that God would not have defended againſt the Chriſtians the idols of the Caaba.

[66] The ſafeſt æras of Abulfeda (in Vit. c. 1. p. 2.), of Alexander,

or the Greeks, 882, of Eocht Naſer, or Nabonaſſer, 1316, equally lead us to the year 569. The old Arabian calendar is too dark and uncertain to ſupport the Benedictines (Art de vérifier les Dates, p. 15.), who from the day of the month and week deduce a new mode of calculation, and remove the birth of Mahomet to the year of Chriſt 570, the 10th of November. Yet this date would agree with the year 882 of the Greeks, which is aſſigned by Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 5.) and Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 101. and Errata Pocock's verſion). While we refine our chronology, it is poſſible that the illiterate prophet was ignorant of his own age.

[67] I copy the honourable teſtimony of Abu Taled to his family and nephew. Laus Dei, qui nos a ſtirpe Abrahami et ſemine Iſmaelis conſtituit, et nobis regionem ſacram dedit, et nos judices hominibus ſtatuit. Porro Mohammed filius Abdollahi nepotis mei (*nepos meus*) quo cum ex æquo librabitur e Koraishidis quiſpiam cui non præponderaturus eſt, bonitate et excellentiâ, et intellectû et gloriâ et acumine etſi opum inops fuerit (et certe opes umbra tranſiens ſunt et depoſitum quod reddi debet), deſiderio Chadijæ filiæ Chowailedi tenetur, et illa viciſſim ipſius, quidquid autem dotis vice petieritis, ego in me ſuſcipiam (Pocock, Specimen, e ſeptimâ parte libri Ebn Hamduni).

[68] The private life of Mahomet, from his birth to his miſſion, is preſerved by Abulfeda (in Vit. c. 3—7.), and the Arabian writers of genuine or apocryphal note, who are alleged by Hottinger (Hiſt. Orient. p. 204—211.), Maracci (tom. i. p. 10—14.), and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 97—134.).

[69] Abulfeda, in Vit. c. lxv, lxvi. Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 272—289.; the beſt traditions of the perſon and converſation of the prophet are derived from Ayesha, Ali and Abu Horaira (Gagnier, tom. ii. p. Ockley's Hiſt. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 149.), ſurnamed the father of a cat, who died in the year 59 of the Hegira.

[70] Thoſe who believe that Mahomet could read or write, are incapable of reading what is written, with another pen, in the Surats, or chapters of the Koran vii. xxix. xcvi. Theſe texts, and the tradition of the Sonna, are admitted, without doubt, by Abulfeda (in Vit. c. vii.), Gagnier (Not. ad Abulfed. p. 15.), Pocock (Specimen, p. 151.), Reland (de Religione Mohammedicâ, p. 236.), and Sale (Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 42.). Mr. White, almoſt alone, denies the ignorance, to accuſe the impoſture, of the prophet. His arguments are far from ſatisfactory. Two short trading journies to the fairs of Syria, were ſurely not ſufficient to infuſe a ſcience ſo rare among the citizens of Mecca: it was not in the cool deliberate act of a treaty, that Mahomet would have dropt the mask; nor can any concluſion be

drawn from the words of diſeaſe and delirium. The *lettered* youth, before he aſpired to the prophetic character, muſt have often exerciſed in private life, the arts of reading and writing; and his firſt converts, of his own family, would have been the firſt to detect and upbraid his ſcandalous hypocriſy (White's Sermons, p. 203. 204. Notes, p. xxxvi—xxxviii.).

[71] The Count de Boulainvilliers (Vie de Mahomed, p. 201—228.) leads his Arabian pupil, like the Telemachus of Fenelon, or the Cyrus of Ramſay. His journey to the court of Perſia is probably a fiction, nor can I trace the origin of his exclamation, "Les Grecs "ſont pourtant des hommes." The two Syrian journies are expreſſed by almoſt all the Arabian writers, both Mahometans and Chriſtians (Gagnier ad Abulfed. p. 10.).

[72] I am not at leiſure to purſue the fables or conjectures which name the ſtrangers accuſed or ſuſpected by the infidels of Mecca (Koran, c. 16. p. 213. c. 35. p. 297. with Sale's Remarks. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 22—27. Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p. 11. 74. Maracci, tom. ii. p. 400.). Even Prideaux has obſerved, that the tranſaction muſt have been ſecret, and that the ſcene lay in the heart of Arabia.

[73] Abulfeda in Vit. c. 7. p. 15. Gagnier, tom. i. p. 133. 135. The ſituation of mount Hera is remarked by Abulfeda (Geograph. Arab. p. 4.). Yet Mahomet had never read of the cave of Egeria, ubi nocturnæ Numa conſtituebat amicæ, of the Idæan mount, where Minos converſed with Jove, etc.

[74] Koran, c. 9. p. 153. Al Beidawi, and the other commentators quoted by Sale, adhere to the charge; but I do not underſtand that it is coloured by the moſt obſcure or abſurd tradition of the Talmudiſts.

[75] Hottinger, Hiſt. Orient. p. 225—228. The Collyridian hereſy was carried from Thrace to Arabia by ſome women, and the name was borrowed from the κολλυρις, or cake, which they offered to the goddeſs. This example, that of Beryllus biſhop of Boſtra (Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. vi. c. 33.), and ſeveral others, may excuſe the reproach, Arabia hæreſeωn ferax.

[76] The three gods in the Koran, c. 4. p. 81. c. 5, p. 92.) are obviouſly directed againſt our Catholic myſtery: but the Arabic commentators underſtand them of the Father, the Son, and the Virgin Mary, an heretical Trinity, maintained, as it is ſaid, by ſome Barbarians at the council of Nice (Eutych. Annal. tom. i. p. 440.). But the exiſtence of the *Marianites* is denied by the candid Beauſobre (Hiſt. du Manicheiſme, tom. i. p. 532.): and he derives the miſtake from the word *Rouah*, the Holy Ghoſt, which in ſome Oriental tongues is of

of the feminine gender; and is figuratively ſtyled the mother of Chriſt in the goſpel of the Nazarenes.

77 This train of thought is philoſophically exemplified in the character of Abraham, who oppoſed in Chaldæa the firſt introduction of idolatry (Koran, c. 6. p. 106. d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 13.).

78 See the Koran, particularly the ſecond (p. 30.), the fifty-ſeventh (p. 437.), the fifty-eighth (p. 441.) chapter, which proclaim the omnipotence of the Creator.

79 The moſt orthodox creeds are translated by Pocock (Specimen, p. 274. 284—292.), Ockley (Hiſt. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. lxxxii—xcv.), Reland (de Religion. Moham. l. i. p. 7—13.), and Chardin (Voyages en Perſe, tom. iv. p. 4—28.). The great truth, that God is without ſimilitude, is foolishly criticiſed by Maracci (Alcoran, tom. i. part iii. p. 87—94.), becauſe he made man after his own image.

80 Reland, de Relig. Moham. l. i. p. 17—47. Sale's Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 73—76. Voyage de Chardin, tom. iv. p. 28—37. and 37—47. for the Perſian addition, "Ali is the vicar of God!" Yet the preciſe number of prophets is not an article of faith.

81 For the apocryphal books of Adam, ſee Fabricius, Codex Pſeud. epigraphus V. T. p. 27—29.; of Seth, p. 154—157.; of Enoch, p. 160—219. But the book of Enoch is conſecrated, in ſome meaſure, by the quotation of the apoſtle St. Jude; and a long legendary fragment is alleged by Syncellus and Scaliger.

82 The ſeven precepts of Noah are explained by Marsham (Canon. Chronicus, p. 154—180.), who adopts, on this occaſion, the learning and credulity of Selden.

83 The articles of *Adam*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Moſes*, etc. in the Bibliothéque of d'Herbelot, are gaily bedecked with the fanciful legends of the Mahometans, who have built on the ground-work of Scripture and the Talmud.

84 Koran, c. 7. p. 128, etc. c. 10. p. 173, etc. D'Herbelot, p. 647, etc.

85 Koran, c. 3. p. 40. c. 4. p. 80. D'Herbelot, p. 390, etc.

86 See the goſpel of St. Thomas, or of the Infancy, in the Codex Apocryphus N. T. of Fabricius, who collects the various teſtimonies concerning it (p. 128—158.). It was published in Greek by Cotelier, and in Arabic by Sike, who thinks our preſent copy more recent than Mahomet. Yet his quotations agree with the original about the ſpeech of Chriſt in his cradle, his living birds of clay, etc. *Sike*, c. 1. p. 168, 169. c. 36. p. 198, 199. c. 46. p. 206. *Cotelier*, c. 2. p. 160, 161.).

[87] It is darkly hinted in the Koran (c. 3. p. 39.), and more clearly explained by the tradition of the Sonnites (Sale's Note, and Maracci, tom. ii. p. 112.). In the xiith century, the immaculate conception was condemned by St. Bernard as a preſumtuous novelty (Fra Paolo, Iſtoria del Concilio di Trento, l. ii.).

[88] See the Koran, c. 3. v. 53. and c. 4. v. 156. of Maracci's edition. Deus eſt præſtantiſſimus doloſe agentium (an odd praiſe) nec crucifixerunt eum, ſed objecta eſt eis ſimilitudo: an expreſſion that may ſuit with the ſyſtem of the Docetes; but the commentators believe (Maracci, tom. ii. p. 113—115. 173. Sale, p. 42, 43. 79.), that another man, a friend or an enemy, was crucified in the likeneſs of Jeſus; a fable which they had read in the goſpel of St. Barnabas, and which had been ſtarted as early as the time of Irenæus, by ſome Ebionite heretics (Beauſobre, Hiſt. du Manicheiſme, tom. ii. p. 25. Mosheim de Reb. Chriſt. p. 353.).

[89] This charge is obſcurely urged in the Koran (c. 3. p. 45.): but neither Mahomet, nor his followers, are ſufficiently verſed in languages and criticiſm to give any weight or colour to their ſuſpicions. Yet the Arians and Neſtorians could relate ſome ſtories, and the illiterate prophet might liſten to the bold aſſertions of the Manichæans. See Beauſobre, tom. i. p. 291—305.

[90] Among the prophecies of the Old and New Teſtament, which are perverted by the fraud or ignorance of the Muſulmans, they apply to the prophet the promiſe of the *Paraclete*, or Comforter, which had been already uſurped by the Montaniſts and Manichæans (Beauſobre, Hiſt. Critique du Manicheiſme, tom. i. p. 263, etc.); and the eaſy change of letters, παρικλυτος for παρακλυτος, affords the etymology of the name of Mohammed (Maracci, tom. i. part. i. p. 15—28.),

[91] For the Koran, ſee d'Herbelot, p. 85—88. Maracci, tom. i. in Vit. Mohammed. p. 32—45. Sale, Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 56—70.

[92] Koran, c. 17. v. 89. In Sale, p. 235, 236. In Maracci, p. 410.

[93] Yet a ſect of Arabians was perſuaded, that it might be equalled or ſurpaſſed by an human pen (Pocock, Specimen, p. 221, etc.); and Maracci (the polemic is too hard for the tranſlator) derides the rhyming affectation of the moſt applauded paſſage (tom. i. part. ii. p. 69—75.).

[94] Colloquia (whether real or fabulous) in mediâ Arabiâ atque ab Arabibus habita (Lowth, de Poeſi Hebræorum Prælect. xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv. with his German editor Michaelis, Epimetron iv.). Yet Michaelis (p. 671—673.) has detected many Egyptian images, the elephantiaſis, papyrus, Nile, crocodile, etc. The language is ambiguouſly ſtyled,

Arabico-Hebræa. The reſſemblance of the ſiſter dialects was much more viſible in their childhood than in their mature age (Michaelis, p. 682. Schultens, in Præfat. Job).

[95] Al Bochari died A. H. 224. See d'Herbelot, p. 208. 416. 827. Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. c. 19. p. 33.

[96] See more remarkably, Koran, c. 2. 6. 12. 13. 17. Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 18, 19.) has confounded the impoſtor. Maracci, with a more learned apparatus, has ſhewn that the paſſages which deny his miracles are clear and poſitive (Alcoran, tom. i. part. ii. p. 7—12.), and thoſe which ſeem to aſſert them, are ambiguous and inſufficient (p. 12—22.).

[97] See the Specimen Hiſt. Arabum, the text of Abulpharagius, p. 17. the notes of Pocock, p. 187—190. D'Herbelot Bibliothéque Orientale, p. 76, 77. Voyages de Chardin, tom. iv. p. 200—203. Maracci (Alcoran, tom. i. p. 22—64) has moſt laboriouſly collected and confuted the miracles and prophecies of Mahomet, which, according to ſome writers, amount to three thouſand.

[98] The nocturnal journey is circumſtantially related by Abulfeda (in Vit. Mohammed, c. 19. p. 33.), who wiſhes to think it a viſion; by Prideaux (p. 31—40.), who aggravates the abſurdities; and by Gagnier (tom. i. p. 252—343.), who declares, from the zealous Al Jannabi, that to deny this journey, is to diſbelieve the Koran. Yet the Koran, without naming either heaven, or Jeruſalem, or Mecca, has only dropt a myſterious hint: Laus illi qui tranſtulit ſervum ſuum ab oratorio Haram ad oratorium remotiſſimum (Koran, c. 17. v. 1. in Maracci, tom. ii. p. 407.; for Sale's verſion is more licentious). A ſlender baſis for the aërial ſtructure of tradition.

[99] In the prophetic ſtyle, which uſes the preſent or paſt for the future, Mahomet had ſaid: Appropinquavit hora et ſciſſa eſt luna (Koran, c. 54. v. 1. in Maracci, tom. ii. p. 688.). This figure of rhetoric has been converted into a fact, which is ſaid to be atteſted by the moſt reſpectable eye-witneſſes (Maracci, tom. ii. p. 690.). The feſtival is ſtill celebrated by the Perſians (Chardin, tom. iv. p. 201.); and the legend is tediouſly ſpun out by Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 183—234.) on the faith, as it ſhould ſeem, of the credulous Al Jannabi. Yet a Mahometan doctor has arraigned the credit of the principal witneſs (apud Pocock, Specimen, p. 187.); the beſt interpreters are content with the ſimple ſenſe of the Koran (Al Beidawi, apud Hottinger, Hiſt. Orient. l. ii. p. 302.); and the ſilence of Abulfeda is worthy of a prince and a philoſopher.

[100] Abulpharagius, in Specimen Hiſt. Arab. p. 17.; and his ſcepticiſm is juſtified in the notes of Pocock, p. 190—194. from the pureſt authorities.

[101] The moſt authentic account of theſe precepts, pilgrimage, prayer, faſting, alms, and ablutions, is extracted from the Perſian and Arabian theologians by Maracci (Prodrom. part. iv. p. 9—24.). Reland (in his excellent treatiſe de Religione Mohammedicâ, Utrecht, 1717, p. 67—123.); and Chardin (Voyages en Perſe, tom. iv. p. 47—195.). Maracci is a partial accuſer; but the jeweller, Chardin, had the eyes of a philoſopher; and Reland, a judicious ſtudent, had travelled over the Eaſt in his cloſet at Utrecht. The xivth letter of Tournefort (Voyage du Levant, tom. ii. p. 325—360. in octavo) deſcribes what he had ſeen of the religion of the Turks.

[102] Mahomet (Sale's Koran, c. 9. p. 153.) reproaches the Chriſtians with taking their prieſts and monks for their lords, beſides God. Yet Maracci (Prodromus, part iii. p. 69, 70.) excuſes the worship, eſpecially of the pope, and quotes, from the Koran itſelf, the caſe of Eblis, or Satan, who was caſt from heaven for refuſing to adore Adam.

[103] Koran, c. 5. p. 94. and Sale's note, which refers to the authority of Jallaloddin and Al Beidawi. D'Herbelot declares, that Mahomet condemned *la vie religieuſe*; and that the firſt ſwarms of fakirs, derviſes, etc. did not appear till after the year 300 of the Hegira (Bibliot. Orient. p. 292. 718.).

[104] See the double prohibition (Koran, c. 2. p. 25. c. 5. p. 94.); the one in the ſtyle of a legislator, the other in that of a fanatic. The public and private motives of Mahomet are inveſtigated by Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 62—64.); and Sale (Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 124.).

[105] The jealouſy of Maracci (Prodromus, part. iv. p. 33.) prompts him to enumerate the more liberal alms of the Catholics of Rome. Fifteen great hoſpitals are open to many thouſand patients and pilgrims, fifteen hundred maidens are annually portioned, fifty-ſix charity ſchools are founded for both ſexes, one hundred and twenty confraternities relieve the wants of their brethren, etc. The benevolence of London is ſtill more extenſive; but I am afraid that much more is to be aſcribed to the humanity, than to the religion, of the people.

[106] See Herodotus (l. ii. c. 123.) and our learned countryman Sir John Marſham (Canon. Chronicus, p. 46.). The Ἅιδης of the ſame writer (p. 254—274.) is an elaborate ſketch of the infernal regions, as they were painted by the fancy of the Egyptians and Greeks, of the poets and philoſophers of antiquity.

[107] The Koran (c. 2. p. 259, etc.; of Sale, p. 32.; of Maracci, p. 97.) relates an ingenious miracle, which ſatisfied the curioſity, and confirmed the faith, of Abraham.

[108] The candid Reland has demonſtrated, that Mahomet damns all

unbelievers (de Religion. Moham. p. 128—142.), that devils will not be finally ſaved (p. 196—199.); that paradiſe will not *ſolely* conſiſt of corporeal delights (p. 199—205.); and that women's ſouls are immortal (p. 205—209.).

[109] Al Beidawi, apud Sale, Koran, c. 9. p. 154. The refuſal to pray for an unbelieving kindred, is juſtified, according to Mahomet, by the duty of a prophet, and the example of Abraham, who reprobated his own father as an enemy of God. Yet Abraham (he adds, c. 9. v. 116. Maracci, tom. ii. p. 317.) fuit ſane pius, mitis.

[110] For the day of judgment, hell, paradiſe, etc. conſult the Koran c. 2. v. 25. c. 56. 78, etc.); with Maracci's virulent, but learned, refutation (in his notes, and in the Prodromus, part. iv. p. 78. 120. 122, etc.); d'Herbelot, Bibliothéque Orientale, p. 368. 375. Reland, p. 47—61.); and Sale (p. 76—103.). The original ideas of the Magi are darkly and doubtfully explored by their apologiſt Dr. Hyde (Hiſt. Religionis Perſarum, c. 33. p. 402—412. Oxon 1760.). In the article of Mahomet, Bayle has ſhewn how indifferently wit and philoſophy ſupply the abſence of genuine information.

[111] Before I enter on the hiſtory of the prophet, it is incumbent on me to produce my evidence. The Latin, French, and English verſions of the Koran, are preceded by hiſtorical diſcourſes, and the three tranſlators, Maracci (tom. i. p. 10—32.), Savary (tom. i. p. 1—248.), and Sale (Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 33—56.), had accurately ſtudied the language and character of their author. Two profeſſed lives of Mahomet have been compoſed by Dr. Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, ſeventh edition, London, 1718, in octavo) and the count de Boulainvilliers (Vie de Mahomet, Londres, 1730, in octavo); but the adverſe wish of finding an impoſtor or an hero, has too often corrupted the learning of the doctor and the ingenuity of the count. The article in d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 598—603.), is chiefly drawn from Novairi and Mircond; but the beſt and moſt authentic of our guides is M. Gagnier, a Frenchman by birth, and profeſſor at Oxford of the Oriental tongues. In two elaborate works (Iſmael Abulfeda de Vitâ et Rebus geſtis Mohammedis, etc. Latine vertit, Præfatione et Notis illuſtravit Johannes Gagnier, Oxon. 1 23, in folio. La Vie de Mahomet traduite et compilée de l'Alcoran, des Traditions authentiques de la Sonna et des meilleurs Auteurs Arabes; Amſterdam, 1748, 3 vols. in 12mo) he has interpreted, illuſtrated, and ſupplied the Arabic text of Abulfeda and Al Jannabi; the firſt, an enlightened prince, who reigned at Hamah, in Syria, A. D. 1310—1332. (ſee Gagnier Præfat. ad Abulfed.); the ſecond, a credulous doctor, who viſited Mecca A. D. 1556. d'Herbelot, p. 397. Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 209, 210.). Theſe are

my general vouchers, and the inquiſitive reader may follow the order of time, and the diviſion of chapters. Yet I muſt obſerve, that both Abulfeda and Al Jannabi are modern hiſtorians, and that they cannot appeal to any writers of the firſt century of the Hegira.

[112] After the Greeks, Prideaux (p. 8.) diſcloſes the ſecret doubts of the wife of Mahomet. As if he had been a privy counſellor of the prophet, Boulainvilliers (p. 272, etc.) unfolds the ſublime and patriotic views of Cadijah and the firſt diſciples.

[113] *Vezirus*, *portitor*, *bajulus*, *onus ferens*; and this plebeian name was transferred by an apt metaphor to the pillars of the ſtate (Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p. 19.). I endeavour to preſerve the Arabian idiom, as far as I can feel it myſelf, in a Latin or French tranſlation.

[114] The paſſages of the Koran in behalf of toleration, are ſtrong and numerous: c. 2. v. 257. c. 16. 129. c. 17. 54. c. 45. 15. c. 50. 39. c. 88. 21, etc. with the notes of Maracci and Sale. This character alone may generally decide the doubts of the learned, whether a chapter was revealed at Mecca or Medina.

[115] See the Koran (paſſim, and eſpecially c. 7. p. 123, 124, etc.), and the tradition of the Arabs (Pocock, Specimen, p. 35—37.). The caverns of the tribe of Thamud, fit for men of the ordinary ſtature, were ſhewn in the midway between Medina and Damaſcus (Abulfed. Arabiæ Deſcript. p. 43, 44.), and may be probably aſcribed to the Troglodytes of the primitive world (Michaelis, ad Lowth de Poeſi Hebræor. p. 131—134. Recherches ſur les Egyptiens, tom. ii. p. 48, etc.).

[116] In the time of Job, the crime of impiety was punished by the Arabian magiſtrate (c. 31. v. 26, 27, 28.). I bluſh for a reſpectable prelate (de Poeſi Hebræorum, p. 650, 651. edit. Michaelis; and letter of a late profeſſor in the univerſity of Oxford, p. 15—53.), who juſtifies and applauds this patriarchal inquiſition.

[117] D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 445. He quotes a particular hiſtory of the flight of Mahomet.

[118] The *Hegira* was inſtituted by Omar, the ſecond caliph, in imitation of the æra of the martyrs of the Chriſtians (d'Herbelot, p. 444.); and properly commenced ſixty-eight days before the flight of Mahomet, with the firſt of Moharren, or firſt day of that Arabian year, which coincides with Friday July 16th, A. D. 622 (Abulfeda, Vit. Moham. c. 22, 23. p. 45—50.; and Greaves's edition of Ulug Beig's Epochæ Arabum, etc. c. 1. p. 8. 10, etc.).

[119] Mahomet's life, from his miſſion to the Hegira, may be found in Abulfeda (p. 14—45.) and Gagnier (tom. i. p. 134—251. 342—383.). The legend from p. 187—234. is vouched by Al Jannaby, and diſdained by Abulfeda.

[120] The triple inauguration of Mahomet is deſcribed by Abulfeda (p. 30. 33. 40. 86.) and Gagnier (tom. i. p. 342, etc. 349, etc. tom. ii. p. 223, etc.).

[121] Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 44.) reviles the wickedneſs of the impoſtor, who deſpoiled two poor orphans, the ſons of a carpenter; a reproach which he drew from the diſputatio contra Saracenos, compoſed in Arabic before the year 1130; but the honeſt Gagnier (ad Abulfed. p. 53.) has ſhewn that they were deceived by the word *Al Nagjar*, which ſignifies, in this place, not an obſcure trade, but a noble tribe of Arabs. The deſolate ſtate of the ground is deſcribed by Abulfeda; and his worthy interpreter has proved, from Al Bochari, the offer of a price; from Al Jannabi, the fair purchaſe; and from Ahmed Ben Joſeph, the payment of the money by the generous Abubeker. On theſe grounds the prophet muſt be honourably acquitted.

[122] Al Jannabi (apud Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 246. 324.) deſcribes the ſeal and pulpit, as two venerable relics of the apoſtle of God: and the portrait of his court is taken from Abulfeda (c. 44. p. 85.).

[123] The viiith and ixth chapters of the Koran are the loudeſt and moſt vehement; and Maracci (Prodromus, part iv. p. 59—64.) has inveighed with more juſtice than diſcretion againſt the double-dealing of the impoſtor.

[124] The xth and xxth chapters of Deuteronomy, with the practical comments of Joshua, David, etc. are read with more awe than ſatisfaction by the pious Chriſtians of the preſent age. But the biſhops, as well as the rabbis of former times, have beat the drum ecclesiaſtic with pleaſure and ſucceſs (Sale's Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 142, 143.).

[125] Abulfeda, in Vit. Moham. p. 156. The private arſenal of the apoſtle conſiſted of nine ſwords, three lances, ſeven pikes or halfpikes, a quiver and three bows, ſeven cuiraſſes, three ſhields, and two helmets (Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 328—334.), with a large white ſtandard, a black banner (p. 335.), twenty horſes (p. 322.), etc. Two of his martial ſayings are recorded by tradition (Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 88. 337.).

[126] The whole ſubject de jure belli Mohammedanorum, is exhauſted in a ſeparate diſſertation by the learned Reland (Diſſertationes Miſcellaneæ, tom. iii. Diſſert. x. p. 3—53.).

[127] The doctrine of abſolute predeſtination, on which few religions can reproach each other, is ſternly expoſed in the Koran (c. 3. p. 52, 53. c. 4. p. 70, etc. with the notes of Sale, and c. 17. p. 413. with thoſe of Maracci). Reland. (de Relig. Mohamm. p. 61—64.) and Sale (Prelim. Diſcourſe, p. 103.) repreſent the opinions of the doctors, and our modern travellers the confidence, the fading confidence, of the Turks.

[128] Al Jannabi (apud Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 9.) allows him ſeventy or eighty horſe; and on two other occaſions prior to the battle of Ohud, he enliſts a body of thirty (p. 10.), and of 500 (p. 66.) troopers. Yet the Muſulmans, in the field of Ohud, had no more than two horſes, according to the better ſenſe of Abulfeda (in Vit. Mohamm. p. xxxi. p. 65.) In the *ſtony* province, the camels were numerous; but the horſe appears to have been leſs common than in the *Happy* or the *Deſert* Arabia.

[129] Bedder Houneene, twenty miles from Medina, and forty from Mecca, is on the high road of the caravan of Egypt; and the pilgrims annually commemorate the prophet's victory by illuminations, rockets, etc. Shaw's Travels, p. 477.

[130] The place to which Mahomet retired during the action is ſtyled by Gagnier (in Abulfeda, c. 27. p. 58. Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 30. 33.), *Umbraculum, une loge de bois avec une porte.* The ſame Arabic word is rendered by Reiske (Annales Moſlemici Abulfedæ, p. 23.) by *Solium, Suggeſtus editior;* and the difference is of the utmoſt moment for the honour both of the interpreter and of the hero. I am ſorry to obſerve the pride and acrimony with which Reiske chaſtiſes his fellow-labourer. Sæpe ſic vertit, ut integræ paginæ nequeant niſi unâ liturâ corrigi: Arabice non ſatis callebat et carebat judicio critico. J. J. Reiske, Prodidagmata ad Hagii Charlifæ Tabulas, p. 228. ad calcem Abulfedæ Syriæ Tabulæ; Lipſiæ, 1766, in 4to.

[131] The looſe expreſſions of the Koran (c. 3. p. 124, 125. c. 8. p. 9.) allow the commentators to fluctuate between the numbers of 1000, 3000, or 9000 angels; and the ſmalleſt of theſe might ſuffice for the ſlaughter of ſeventy of the Koreiſh (Maracci, Alcoran, tom. ii. p. 131.). Yet the ſame ſcholiaſts confeſs, that this angelic band was not viſible to any mortal eye (Maracci, p. 297.). They refine on the words (c. 8. 16.), "not thou, but God, etc." (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orientale, p. 600, 601.).

[132] Geograph. Nubienſis, p. 47.

[133] In the iiid chapter of the Koran (p. 50—53. with Sale's notes), the prophet alleges ſome poor excuſes for the defeat of Ohud.

[134] For the detail of the three Koreiſh wars, of Beder, of Ohud, and of the ditch, peruſe Abulfeda (p. 56—61. 64—69. 73—77.), Gagnier (tom. ii. p. 23—45. 70—96. 120—139.), with the proper articles of d'Herbelot, and the abridgments of Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 6, 7.) and Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 102.).

[135] The wars of Mahomet againſt the Jewish tribes, of Kainoka, the Nadhirites, Koraidha, and Chaibar, are related by Abulfeda (p. 61.

71. 77. 87, etc.) and Gagnier (tom. ii. p. 61—65. 107—112. 139—148, 268—294.).

[136] Abu Rafe, the ſervant of Mahomet, is ſaid to affirm, that he himſelf, and ſeven other men, afterwards tried, without ſucceſs, to move the ſame gate from the ground (Abulfeda, p. 90.). Abu Rafe was an eye witneſs, but who will witneſs for Abu Rafe?]

[137] The banishment of the Jews is atteſted by Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 9.) and the great Al Zabari (Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 285.). Yet Niebuhr (Deſcription de l'Arabie, p. 324.) believes, that the Jewiſh religion, and Kareite ſect, are ſtill profeſſed by the tribe of Chaibar; and that in the plunder of the caravans, the diſciples of Moſes are the confederates of thoſe of Mahomet.

[138] The ſucceſſive ſteps of the reduction of Mecca are related by Abulfeda (p. 84—87. 97—100. 102—111.) and Gagnier (tom. ii. p. 209—245. 309—322. tom. iii. p. 1—58.), Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 8, 9, 10.), Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 103.).

[139] After the conqueſt of Mecca, the Mahomet of Voltaire imagines and perpetrates the moſt horrid crimes. The poet confeſſes, that he is not ſupported by the truth of hiſtory, and can only allege, que celui qui fait la guerre à ſa patrie au nom de Dieu, eſt capable de tout (Oeuvres de Voltaire, tom. xv. p. 282.). The maxim is neither charitable nor philoſophic; and ſome reverence is ſurely due to the fame of heroes and the religion of nations. I am informed that a Turkiſh ambaſſador at Paris was much ſcandalized at the repreſentation of this tragedy.

[140] The Mahometan doctors ſtill diſpute, whether Mecca was reduced by force or conſent (Abulfeda, p. 107, et Gagnier ad locum); and this verbal controverſy is of as much moment, as our own about William the *Conqueror*.

[141] In excluding the Chriſtians from the peninſula of Arabia, the province of Hejaz, or the navigation of the Red Sea, Chardin (Voyages en Perſe, tom. iv. p. 166.) and Reland (Diſſert. Miſcell. tom. iii. p. 51.) are more rigid than the Muſulmans themſelves. The Chriſtians are received without ſcruple into the ports of Mocha, and even of Gedda, and it is only the city and precincts of Mecca that are inacceſſible to the profane (Niebuhr, Deſcription de l'Arabie, p. 308, 309. Voyage en Arabie, tom. i. p. 205. 248, etc.).

[142] Abulfeda, p. 112—115. Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 67—88. D'Herbelot, MAHOMED.

[143] The ſiege of Tayef, diviſion of the ſpoil, etc. are related [by Abulfeda (p. 117—123.); and Gagnier, (tom. iii. p. 88—111.). It is Al Jannabi who mentions the engines and engineers of the tribe of

Daws. The fertile ſpot of Tayef was ſuppoſed to be a piece of the land of Syria detached and dropped in the general deluge.

[144] The laſt conqueſts and pilgrimage of Mahomet are contained in Abulfeda (p. 121—133.), Gagnier (tom. iii. p. 119—219.), Elmacin (p. 10, 11.), Abulpharagius (p. 103.). The ixth of the Hegira was ſtyled the Year of Embaſſies (Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p. 121.).

[145] Compare the bigotted Al Jannabi (apud Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 232—255.) with the no leſs bigotted Greeks, Theophanes (p. 276—278.), Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 86.), and Cedrenus (p. 421.).

[146] For the battle of Muta, and its conſequences, ſee Abulfeda (p. 100—102.) and Gagnier (tom. ii. p. 327—343.). Καλεδος (ſays Theophanes) ὃν λεγουσι μαχαιραν του Θεου.

[147] The expedition of Tabuc is recorded by our ordinary hiſtorians, Abulfeda (Vit. Mohamm. p. 123—127.) and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 147—163.); but we have the advantage of appealing to the original evidence of the Koran (c. 9. p. 154. 165.), with Sale's learned and rational notes,

[148] The *Diploma ſecuritatis Ailenſibus*, is atteſted by Ahmed Ben Joſeph, and the author *Libri Splendorum* (Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfedam, p. 125.); but Abulfeda himſelf, as well as Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 11.), though he owns Mahomet's regard for the Chriſtians (p. 13.), only mention peace and tribute. In the year 1630, Sionita published at Paris the text and verſion of Mahomet's patent in favour of the Chriſtians; which was admitted and reprobated by the oppoſite taſte of Salmaſius and Grotius (Bayle, MAHOMET. Rem. AA) Hottinger doubts of its authenticity (Hiſt. Orient. p. 237.); Renaudot urges the conſent of the Mahometans (Hiſt. Patriarch. Alex. p. 169.); but Mosheim (Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 244.) ſhews the futility of their opinion, and inclines to believe it ſpurious. Yet Abulpharagius quotes the impoſtor's treaty with the Neſtorian patriarch (Aſſeman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 418.); but Abulpharagius was primate of the Jacobites.

[149] The epilepſy, or falling-ſickneſs, of Mahomet, is aſſerted by Theophanes, Zonaras, and the reſt of the Greeks; and is greedily ſwallowed by the groſs bigotry of Hottinger (Hiſt. Orient. p. 10, 11.), Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 12.), and Maracci (tom. ii.), Alcoran (p. 762, 763.). The titles (*the wrapped-up, the covered*) of two chapters of the Koran (73, 74.), can hardly be ſtrained to ſuch an interpretation; the ſilence, the ignorance of the Mahometan commentators, is more concluſive than the moſt peremptory denial; and the charitable ſide is eſpouſed by Ockley (Hiſt. of the Saracens, tom. i. p. 301.), Gagnier (ad Abulfeda, p. 9. Vie de Mahomet. tom. i. p. 118.), and Sale (Koran. p 469—474.).

[150] This poiſon (more ignominious ſince it was offered as a teſt of his propetic knowledge) is frankly confeſſed by his zealous votaries, Abulfeda (p. 92.), and Al Jannabi (apud Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 286—288.).

[151] The Greeks and Latins have invented and propagated the vulgar and ridiculous ſtory, that Mahomet's iron tomb is ſuſpended in the air at *Mecca* (σημα μετεωριζομενον. Laonicus Chalcocondyles de Rebus Turcicis, l. iii. p. 66.), by the action of equal and potent loadſtones (Dictionnaire de Bayle, MAHOMET, Rem. EE. FF.). Without any philoſophical enquiries, it may ſuffice, that, 1. The prophet was not buried at Mecca; and, 2. That his tomb at Medina, which has been viſited by millions, is placed on the ground (Reland de Relig. Moham. l. ii. c. 19. p. 209—211.), Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 263—268.).

[152] Al Jannabi enumerates (Vie de Mahomet. tom. iii. p. 372—391.) the multitarious duties of a pilgrim who viſits the tombs of the prophet and his companions; and the learned caſuiſt decides, that this act of devotion is neareſt in obligation and merit to a divine precept. The doctors are divided which, of Mecca or Medina, be the moſt excellent (p. 391—394.).

[153] The laſt ſickneſs, death, and burial of Mahomet, are deſcribed by Abulfeda and Gagnier (Vit. Moham. p. 123—142. Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 220—271.). The moſt private and intereſting circumſtances were originally received from Ayesha, Ali, the ſons of Abbas, etc.; and as they dwelt at Medina, and ſurvived the prophet many years, they might repeat the pious tale to a ſecond or third generation of pilgrims.

[154] The Chriſtians, raſhly enough, have aſſigned to Mahomet a tame pigeon, that ſeemed to deſcend from heaven and whiſper in his ear. As this pretended miracle is urged by Grotius (de Veritate Religionis Chriſtianæ), his Arabic tranſlator, the learned Pocock, enquired of him the names of his authors; and Grotius confeſſed, that it is unknown to the Mahometans themſelves. Leſt it ſhould provoke their indignation and laughter, the pious *lie* is ſuppreſſed in the Arabic verſion; but it has maintained an edifying place in the numerous editions of the Latin text (Pocock, Specimen Hiſt. Arabum, p. 186, 187. Reland, de Religion. Moham. l. ii. c. 39. p. 259—262.).

[155] Εμοι δε τυτο εξιν εκ παιδος αρξαμενον, Φωνη τις γιγνομενη ἡ ὁταν γενηται αει αποτρεπει με τυτυ ὁ αν μελλω πραττειν, προτρεπει δε ποτε (Plato, in Apolog. Socrat. c. 19. p. 121, 122. edit. Fiſcher). The familiar examples, which Socrates urges in his Dialogue with

Theages (Platon. Opera, tom. i. p. 128, 129. edit. Hen. Stephan.), are beyond the reach of human foreſight; and the divine inſpiration (the Δαιμονιον) of the philoſopher, is clearly taught in the Memorabilia of Xenophon. The ideas of the moſt rational Platoniſts are expreſſed by Cicero (de Divinat. i. 54.) and in the xivth and xvth Diſſertation of Maximus of Tyre (p. 153—172. edit. Davis).

[156] In ſome paſſage of his voluminous writings, Voltaire compares the prophet, in his old age, to a fakir: "qui detache la chaine de ſon "cou pour en donner ſur les oreilles à ſes confrères."

[157] Gagnier relates, with the ſame impartial pen, this humane law of the prophet, and the murders of Caab, and Sophian, which he prompted and approved (Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 69. 97. 208.).

[158] For the domeſtic life of Mahomet, conſult Gagnier, and the correſponding chapters of Abulfeda; for his diet (tom. iii. p. 285—288.); his children (p. 189. 289.); his wives (p. 290—303.); his marriage with Zeineb (tom. ii. p. 152—160.); his amour with Mary (p. 303—309.); the falſe accuſation of Ayesha (p. 186—199.). The moſt original evidence of the three laſt tranſactions, is contained in the xxivth, xxxiiid, and lxvith chapters of the Koran, with Sale's Commentary. Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 80—90.) and Maracci (Prodrom. Alcoran, part iv. p. 49—59.) have malicioufly exaggerated the frailties of Mahomet.

[159] Incredibile eſt quo ardore apud eos in Venerem uterque ſolvitur ſexus (Ammian. Marcellin. l. xiv. c. 4.).

[160] Sale (Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 133—137.) has recapitulated the laws of marriage, divorce, etc.; and the curious reader of Selden's Uxor Hebraica will recognize many Jewiſh ordinances.

[161] In a memorable caſe, the caliph Omar decided that all preſumptive evidence was of no avail; and that all the four witneſſes muſt have actually ſeen ſtylum in pyxide (Abulfedæ Annales Moſlemici, p. 71. verſ. Reiske).

[162] Sibi robur ad generationem, quantum triginta viri habent, ineſſe jactaret: ita ut unicâ horâ poſſet undecim fœminis *ſatisfacere*, ut ex Arabum libris refert Stus Petrus Paſchaſius, c. 2. (Maracci, Prodromus Alcoran, p. iv. p. 55. See likewiſe Obſervations de Belon, l. iii. c. 10. fol. 179. recto). Al Jannabi (Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 287.) records his own teſtimony, that he ſurpaſſed all men in conjugal vigour; and Abulfeda mentions the exclamation of Ali, who washed his body after his death, "O propheta, certe pœnis tuus cœlum verſus erectus eſt" (in Vit. Mohammed. p. 140.).

[163] I borrow the ſtyle of a father of the church, ενχθλευων Ἡρακλης τρισκαιδεκατον αθλον (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 108.).

[164] The common and moſt glorious legend includes, in a ſingle night, the fifty victories of Hercules over the virgin daughters of Theſtius (Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. iv. p. 274. Pauſanias, l. ix. p. 763. Statius Sylv. l. i. eleg. iii. v. 42.). But Athenæus allows ſeven nights (Deipnoſophiſt. l. xiii. p. 556.), and Apollodorus fifty, for this arduous atchievement of Hercules, who was then no more than eighteen years of age (Bibliot. l. ii. c. 4. p. 111. cum notis Heyne, part i. p. 332.).

[165] Abulfeda in Vit. Moham. p. 12, 13, 16, 17. cum notis Gagnier.

[166] This outline of the Arabian hiſtory is drawn from the Bibliothéque Orientale of d'Herbelot (under the names of *Aboubecre*, *Omar*, *Othman*, *Ali*, etc.); from the Annals of Abulfeda, Abulpharagius, and Elmacin (under the proper years of the *Hegira*), and eſpecially from Ockley's Hiſtory of the Saracens (vol. i. p. 1—10. 115—122. 229. 249. 363—372. 378—391. and almoſt the whole of the ſecond volume). Yet we ſhould weigh with caution the traditions of the hoſtile ſects; a ſtream which becomes ſtill more muddy as it flows farther from the ſource. Sir John Chardin has too faithfully copied the fables and errors of the modern Perſians, (Voyages, tom. ii. p. 235—250, etc.).

[167] Ockley (at the end of his ſecond volume) has given an Engliſh verſion of 169 ſentences, which he aſcribes, with ſome heſitation, to Ali, the ſon of Abu Taleb. His preface is coloured by the enthuſiaſm of a tranſlator: yet theſe ſentences delineate a characteriſtic, though dark, picture of human life.

[168] Ockley (Hiſt. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 5, 6.) from an Arabian MS. repreſents Ayesha as adverſe to the ſubſtitution of her father in the place of the apoſtle. This fact, ſo improbable in itſelf, is unnoticed by Abulfeda, Al Jannabi, and Al Bochari, the laſt of whom quotes the tradition of Ayesha herſelf (Vit. Mohammed, p. 136. Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 236.).

[169] Particularly by his friend and couſin Abdallah, the ſon of Abbas, who died A. D. 687, with the title of grand doctor of the Moſlems. In Abulfeda he recapitulates the important occaſions in which Ali had neglected his ſalutary advice (p. 76. verſ. Reiske); and concludes (p. 85.), O princeps fidelium, abſque controverſiâ tu quidem vere fortis es, at inops boni conſilii, et rerum gerendarum parum callens.

[170] I ſuſpect that the two ſeniors (Abulpharagius, p. 115. Ockley, tom. i. p. 371.) may ſignify not two actual counſellors, but his two predeceſſors, Abubeker and Omar.

[171] The ſchiſm of the Perſians is explained by all our travellers of the laſt century, eſpecially in the iid and ivth volumes of their maſter,

Chardin. Niebuhr, though of inferior merit, has the advantage of writing ſo late as the year 1764 (Voyages en Arabie, etc. tom. ii. p. 208—233.), ſince the ineffectual attempt of Nadir Shah to change the religion of the nation (ſee his Perſian Hiſtory tranſlated into French by Sir William Jones, tom. ii. p. 5. 6. 47, 48. 144—155.).

[172] Omar is the name of the devil; his murderer is a ſaint. When the Perſians ſhoot with the bow, they frequently cry, "May this arrow "go to the heart of Omar!" (Voyages de Chardin, tom. ii. p. 239, 240. 259, etc.)

[173] This gradation of merit is diſtinctly marked in a creed illuſtrated by Reland (de Relig. Mohamm. l. i. p. 37.); and a Sonnite argument inſerted by Ockley (Hiſt. of the Saracens, tom. ii. p. 230.). The practice of curſing the memory of Ali was abolished, after forty years by the Ommiades themſelves (d'Herbelot, p. 690.); and there are few among the Turks who preſume to revile him as an infidel (Voyages de Chardin, tom. iv. p. 46.).

[174] The plain of Siffin is determined by d'Anville (l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 29) to be the Campus Barbaricus of Procopius.

[175] Abulfeda, a moderate Sonnite, relates the different opinions concerning the burial of Ali, but adopts the ſepulchre of Cufa, hodie famâ numeroque religioſe frequentantium celebratum. This number is reckoned by Niebuhr to amount annually to 2000 of the dead, and 5000 of the living (tom. ii. p. 208, 209.)

[176] All the tyrants of Perſia, from Adhad el Dowlat (A. D. 977, d'Herbelot, p. 58, 59. 95.) to Nadir Shah (A. D. 1743, Hiſt. de Nadir Shah, tom. ii. p. 155.) have enriched the tomb of Ali with the ſpoils of the people. The dome is copper, with a bright and maſſy gilding, which glitters to the ſun at the diſtance of many a mile.

[177] The city of Meshed Ali, five or ſix miles from the ruins of Cufa and one hundred and twenty to the ſouth of Bagdad, is of the ſize and form of the modern Jeruſalem. Meshed Hoſein, larger and more populous, is at the diſtance of thirty miles.

[178] I borrow, on this occaſion, the ſtrong ſenſe and expreſſion of Tacitus (Hiſt. i. 4.): Evulgato imperii arcano, poſſe imperatorem alibi quam Romæ fieri.

[179] I have abridged the intereſting narrative of Ockley (tom. ii. p. 170—231.). It is long and minute; but the pathetic, almoſt always, conſiſts in the detail of little circumſtances.

[180] Niebuhr the Dane (Voyages en Arabie, etc. tom. ii. p. 208, etc.) is perhaps the only European traveller who has dared to viſit Meshed Ali and Meshed Hoſein. The two ſepulchres are in the hands of the Turks, who tolerate and tax the devotion of the Perſian heretics. The feſtival of

the death of Hoſein is amply deſcribed by Sir John Chardin, a traveller whom I have often praiſed.

[181] The general article of *Imam*, in d'Herbelot's Bibliothéque, will indicate the ſucceſſion; and the lives of the *twelve* are given under their reſpective names.

[182] The name of *Antichriſt* may ſeem ridiculous, but the Mahometans have liberally borrowed the fables of every religion (Sale's Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 80. 82.) In the royal ſtable of Iſpahan, two horſes were always kept ſaddled, one for the Mahadi himſelf, the other for his lieutenant, Jeſus the ſon of Mary.

[183] In the year of the Hegira 200 (A. D. 815). See d'Herbelot, p. 546.

[184] D'Herbelot, p. 342. The enemies of the Fatimites diſgraced them by a Jewiſh origin. Yet they accurately deduced their genealogy from Jaafar, the ſixth Imam; and the impartial Abulfeda allows (Annal. Moslem. p. 230.) that they were owned by many, qui abſque controverſiâ genuini ſunt Alidarum, homine propaginum ſuæ gentis exacte callentes. He quotes ſome lines from the celebrated *Scherif or Rahdi*, Egône humilitatem induam in terris hoſtium? (I ſuſpect him to be an Edriſſite of Sicily) cum in Ægypto ſit Chalifa de gente Alii, quocum ego communem habeo patrem et vindicem.

[185] The kings of Perſia of the laſt dynaſty are deſcended from Sheik Sefi, a ſaint of the xivth century, and through him from Mouſſa Caſſem, the ſon of Hoſein, the ſon of Ali (Olearius, p. 957. Chardin, tom. iii. p. 288.). But I cannot trace the intermediate degrees in any genuine or fabulous pedigree. If they were truly Fatimites, they might draw their origin from the princes of Mazanderan, who reigned in the ixth century (d'Herbelot, p. 96.).

[186] The preſent ſtate of the family of Mahomet and Ali is moſt accurately deſcribed by Demetrius Cantemir (Hiſt. of the Othman Empire, p. 94.); and Niebuhr (Deſcription de l'Arabie, p. 9—16. 317, etc.). It is much to be lamented, that the Daniſh traveller was unable to purchaſe the chronicles of Arabia.

[187] The writers of the Modern Univerſal Hiſtory (vol. i. and ii.) have compiled, in 850 folio pages, the life of Mahomet and the annals of the caliphs. They enjoyed the advantage of reading, and ſometimes correcting, the Arabic texts; yet, notwithſtanding their high-ſounding boaſts, I cannot find, after the concluſion of my work, that they have afforded me much (if any) additional information. The dull maſs is not quickened by a ſpark of philoſophy or taſte: and the compilers indulge the criticiſm of acrimonious bigotry againſt Boulainvilliers, Sale, Gagnier, and all who have treated Mahomet with favour, or even juſtice.

CHAP. LI.

[2] See the deſcription of the city and country of Al Yamanah, in Abulfeda, Deſcript. Arabiæ, p. 60, 61. In the xiiith century, there were ſome ruins, and a few palms; but in the preſent century, the ſame ground is occupied by the viſions and arms of a modern prophet, whoſe tenets are imperfectly known (Niebuhr, Deſcription de l'Arabie, p. 296—302.).

[3] Their firſt ſalutation may be tranſcribed, but cannot be tranſlated. It was thus that Moſeilama ſaid or ſung:

Surge tandem itaque ſtrenue permolenda; nam ſtratus tibi thorus eſt.
Aut in propatulo tentorio ſi velis, aut in abditiore cubiculo ſi malis;
Aut ſupinam te humi exporrectam fuſtigabo, ſi velis, aut ſi malis manibus pedibuſque nixam;
Aut ſi velis ejus (*Priapi*) gemino triente, aut ſi malis totus veniam.
Imo, totus venito, O Apoſtole Dei clamabat fœmina. Id ipſum, dicebat Moſeilama mihi quoque ſuggeſſit Deus.

The propheteſs Segjah, after the fall of her lover, returned to idolatry; but, under the reign of Moawiyah, ſhe became a Muſulman, and died at Baſſora (Abulfeda, Annal. verſ. Reiske, p. 63.).

[3] See this text, which demonſtrates a God from the work of generation, in Abulpharagius (Specimen, Hiſt. Arabum, p. 13. and Dynaſt. p. 103.) and Abulfeda (Annal. p. 63.).

[4] His reign in Eutychius, tom. ii. p. 251. Elmacin, p. 18. Abulpharagius, p. 108. Abulfeda, p. 60. D'Herbelot, p. 58.

[5] His reign in Eutychius, p. 264. Elmacin, p. 24. Abulpharagius, p. 110. Abulfeda, p. 66. D'Herbelot, p. 686.

[6] His reign in Eutychius, p. 323. Elmacin, p. 36. Abulpharagius, p. 115. Abulfeda, p. 75. D'Herbelot, p. 695.

[7] His reign in Eutychius, p. 343. Elmacin, p. 51. Abulpharagius, p. 117. Abulfeda, p. 83. D'Herbelot, p. 89.

[8] His reign in Eutychius, p. 344. Elmacin, p. 54. Abulpharagius, p. 123. Abulfeda, p. 101. D'Herbelot, p. 586.

[9] Their reigns in Eutychius, tom. ii. p. 360—395. Elmacin, p. 59—108. Abulpharagius, Dynaſt. ix. p. 124—139. Abulfeda, p. 111—141. D'Herbelot, Bibliothéque Orientale, p. 691. and the particular articles of the Ommiades.

[10] For the viith and viiith century, we have ſcarcely any original evidence of the Byzantine hiſtorians, except the Chronicles of Theophanes (Theophanis Confeſſoris Chronographia, Gr. et Lat. cum notis Jacobi Goar. Paris, 1655, in folio); and the Abridgement of Nicepho-

rus

rus (Nicephori Patriarchæ, C. P. Breviarium Hiſtoricum, Gr. et Lat. Paris, 1648, in folio), who both lived in the beginning of the ixth century (ſee Hanckius de Scriptor. Byzant. p. 200—246.). Their contemporary Photius does not ſeem to be more opulent. After praiſing the ſtyle of Nicephorus, he adds, Και ὅλως πολλῳ ἐστι των πρὸ αυτου ἀποκρυπτομενος τὴν τῆς ἱστορίας τῇ συγγραφῇ, and only complains of his extreme brevity (Phot. Bibliot. cod. lxvi. p. 100.). Some additions may be gleaned from the more recent hiſtories of Cedrenus and Zonaras of the xiith century.

[11] Tabari, or Al Tabari, a native of Taboreſtan, a famous Imam of Bagdad, and the Livy of the Arabians, finiſhed his general hiſtory in the year of the Hegira 302 (A. D. 914.). At the requeſt of his friends, he reduced a work of 30,000 ſheets to a more reaſonable ſize. But his Arabic original is known only by the Perſian and Turkiſh verſions. The Saracenic hiſtory of Ebn Amid, or Elmacin, is ſaid to be an abridgment of the great Tabari (Ockley's Hiſt. of the Saracens, vol. ii. preface p. xxxix. and, liſt of authors, d'Herbelot, p. 866. 870. 1014.).

[12] Beſides the liſts of authors framed by Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 179—189.), Ockley (at the end of his ſecond volume), and Petit de la Croix (Hiſt. de Gengiſcan. p. 525—550.), we find in the Bibliothéque Orientale *Tarikh*, a catalogue of two or three hundred hiſtories or chronicles of the Eaſt, of which not more than three or four are older than Tabari. A lively ſketch of Oriental literature is given by Reiske (in his Prodidagmata ad Hagij Chalifæ librum memorialem ad calcem Abulfedæ Tabulæ Syriæ, Lipſiæ, 1766.); but his project and the French verſion of Petit de la Croix (Hiſt. de Timur Bec. tom. i. préface, p. xlv.) have fallen to the ground.

[13] The particular hiſtorians and geographers will be occaſionally introduced. The four following titles repreſent the annals, which have guided me in this general narrative. 1. *Annales Eutychii, Patriarchæ Alexandrini, ab Edwardo Pocockio, Oxon.* 1656, 2 *vols.* in 4to. A pompous edition of an indifferent author, tranſlated by Pocock to gratify the presbyterian prejudices of his friend Selden. 2. *Hiſtoria Saracenica Georgii Elmacini, operâ et ſtudio Thomæ Erpenii, in* 4to, *Lugd. Batavorum*, 1625. He is ſaid to have haſtily tranſlated a corrupt MS. and his verſion is often deficient in ſtyle and ſenſe. 3. *Hiſtoria compendioſa Dynaſtiarum a Gregorio Abulpharagio, interprete Edwardo Pocockio, in* 4to, *Oxon.* 1663. More uſeful for the literary than the civil hiſtory of the Eaſt. 4. *Abulfedæ Annales Moslemici ad Ann. Hegiræ*, ccccvi. *a Jo. Jac. Reiske, in* 4to, *Lipſiæ*, 1754. The beſt of our Chronicles, both for the original and verſion, yet how far below the name

of Abulfeda. We know that he wrote at Hamah, in the xivth century. The three former were Chriſtians of the xth, xiith, and xiiith centuries; the two firſt, natives of Egypt, a Melchite patriarch, and a Jacobite ſcribe.

[14] M. de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. pref. p. xix, xx.) has characteriſed, with truth and knowledge, the two ſorts of Arabian hiſtorians, the dry annaliſt, and the tumid and flowery orator.

[15] Bibliothéque Orientale, par M. d'Herbelot, in folio, Paris, 1697. For the character of the reſpectable author, conſult his friend Thevenot (Voyages du Levant, part. i. ch. i.). His work is an agreeable miſcellany, which muſt gratify every taſte; but I never can digeſt the alphabetical order, and I find him more ſatisfactory in the Perſian than the Arabic hiſtory. The recent ſupplement from the papers of M. M. Visdelou and Galland (in folio, La Haye, 1779) is of a different caſt, a medley of tales, proverbs, and Chineſe antiquities.

[16] Pocock will explain the chronology (Specimen Hiſt. Arabum, p. 66—74.), and d'Anville the Geography (l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 125.), of the Dynaſty of the Almondars. The Engliſh ſcholar underſtood more Arabic than the Mufti of Aleppo (Ockley, vol. ii. p. 34.): the French geographer is equally at home in every age and every climate of the world.

[17] Fecit et Chaled plurima in hoc anno prœlia, in quibus vicerunt Muſlimi, et *infidelium* immensâ multitudine occisâ ſpolia infinita et innumera ſunt nacti (Hiſt. Saracenica, p. 20.). The Chriſtian annaliſt ſlides into the national and compendious term of *infidels*, and I often adopt (I hope without ſcandal) this characteriſtic mode of expreſſion.

[18] A cycle of 120 years, the end of which an intercalary month of 30 days ſupplied the uſe of our Biſſextile, and reſtored the integrity of the ſolar year. In a great revolution of 1440 years, this intercalation was ſucceſſively removed from the firſt to the twelfth month; but Hyde and Freret are involved in a profound controverſy, whether the twelve, or only eight of theſe changes were accomplished before the æra of Yezdegerd, which is unanimouſly fixed to the 16th of June A. D. 632. How laboriouſly does the curious ſpirit of Europe explore the darkeſt and moſt diſtant antiquities (Hyde, de Religione Perſarum, c. 14—18. p. 181—211. Freret in the Mém. de l'Académie des Inſcriptions, tom. xvi. p. 233—267.).

[19] Nine days after the death of Mahomet (7th June A. D. 632), we find the æra of Yezdegerd 16th June A. D. 632), and his acceſſion cannot be poſtponed beyond the end of the firſt year. His predeceſſors could not therefore reſiſt the arms of the caliph Omar, and theſe unqueſtionable dates overthrow the thoughtleſs chronology of Abulpharagius. See Ockley's Hiſt. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 130.

[20] Cadeſia, ſays the Nubian geographer (p. 121.), is in margine ſolitudinis, 61 leagues from Bagdad, and two ſtations from Cufa. Otter (Voyage, tom. i. p. 163.) reckons 15 leagues, and obſerves, that the place is ſupplied with dates and water.

[21] Atrox, contumax, plus ſemel renovatum, are the well-choſen expreſſions of the tranſlator of Abulfeda (Reiske, p. 69.).

[22] D'Herbelot, Bibliothéque Orientale, p. 297. 348.

[23] The reader may ſatisfy himſelf on the ſubject of Baſſora, by conſulting the following writers: Geograph. Nubienſ. p. 121. D'Herbelot, Bibliothéque Orientale, p. 192. D'Anville, l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 130. 133. 145. Raynal, Hiſt. Philoſophique des deux Indes, tom. ii. p. 92—100. Voyages di Pietro della Valle, tom. iv. p. 370—391. De Tavernier, tom. i. p. 240—247. De Thevenot, tom. ii. p. 545—584. D'Otter, tom. ii. p. 45—78. De Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 172—199.

[24] Mente vix poteſt numerove comprehendi quanta ſpolia.... noſtris ceſſerint. Abulfeda, p. 69. Yet I ſtill ſuſpect, that the extravagant numbers of Elmacin may be the error, not of the text, but of the verſion. The beſt tranſlators from the Greek, for inſtance, I find to be very poor arithmeticians.

[25] The Camphire tree grows in China and Japan; but many hundred weight of thoſe meaner ſorts are exchanged for a ſingle pound of the more precious gum of Borneo and Sumatra (Raynal, Hiſt. Philoſoph. tom. i. p. 362—365. Dictionnaire d'Hiſt. Naturelle par Bomare. Miller's Gardener's Dictionary). Theſe may be the iſlands of the firſt climate from whence the Arabians imported their camphire (Geograph. Nub. p. 34, 35. d'Herbelot, p. 232.).

[26] See Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 376, 377. I may credit the fact, without believing the prophecy.

[27] The moſt conſiderable ruins of Aſſyria are the tower of Belus, at Babylon, and the hall of Choſroes, at Cteſiphon: they have been viſited by that vain and curious traveller Pietro della Valle (tom. i. p. 713—718. 731—735.).

[28] Conſult the article of *Couſah* in the Bibliothéque of d'Herbelot (p. 277, 278.), and the ſecond volume of Ockley's hiſtory, particularly p. 40. and 153.

[29] See the article of *Nehavend*, in d'Herbelot, p. 667, 668.; and Voyages en Turquie et en Perſe, par Otter, tom. i. p. 191.

[30] It is in ſuch a ſtyle of ignorance and wonder that the Athenian orator deſcribes the Arctic conqueſts of Alexander, who never advanced beyond the ſhores of the Caſpian. Αλεξανδρος εξω της αρκτου και της ομιχλης, ολιγου δειν, πασης μεθεστηκει. Eſchines contra Cteſiphontem,

tom. iii. p. 554, edit. Græc. Orator. Reiske. This memorable cauſe was pleaded at Athens, Olymp. cxii 3. (before Chriſt 330.), in the autumn (Tayler, præfat. p. 370, etc.), about a year after the battle of Arbela; and Alexander, in the purſuit of Darius, was marching towards Hyrcania and Bactriana.

[31] We are indebted for this curious particular to the Dynaſties of Abulpharagius, p. 116; but it is needleſs to prove the identity of Iſtachar and Perſepolis (d'Herbelot, p. 327.); and ſtill more needleſs to copy the drawings and deſcriptions of Sir John Chardin, or Corneille le Bruyn.

[32] After the conqueſt of Perſia, Theophanes adds, αυτῳ δε τῳ χρονῳ εκελευσεν Ουμαρος αναγραφηναι πασαν την ὑπ' αυτον οικουμενην: εγενετο δε ἡ αναγραφη και ανδρωπων και κτηνων και φυτων (Chronograph. p. 283.).

[33] Amidſt our meagre relations, I muſt regret, that d'Herbelot has not found and uſed a Perſian tranſlation of Tabari, enriched, as he ſays, with many extracts from the native hiſtorians of the Ghebers or Magi (Bibliothéque Orientale, p. 1014.).

[34] The moſt authentic accounts of the two rivers, the Sihon (Jaxartes), and the Gihon (Oxus), may be found in Sherif al Edriſi (Geograph. Nubienſ. p. 138.). Abulfeda (Deſcript. Choraſan. in Hudſon, tom. iii. p. 23.). Abulghazi Khan, who reigned on their banks (Hiſt. Genealogique des Tatars, p. 32. 57. 766.), and the Turkish Geographer, a MS. in the king of France's library (Examen Critique des Hiſtoriens d'Alexandre, p. 194—360.).

[35] The territory of Fergana is deſcribed by Abulfeda, p. 76, 77.

[36] Eo redegit anguſtiarum eundem regem exſulem, ut Turcici regis, et Sogdiani, et Sinenſis, auxilia miſſis literis imploraret (Abulfed. Annal. p. 74.). The connection of the Perſian and Chineſe hiſtory is illuſtrated by Freret ((Mém. de l'Academie, tom. xvi. p. 245—255.), and de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 54—59.), and for the geography of the borders, tom. ii. p. 1—43.).

[37] Hiſt. Sinica, p. 41—46. in the iiid part of the Relations Curieuſes of Thevenot.

[38] I have endeavoured to harmonize the various harratives of Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 37.), Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 116.), Abulfeda (Annal. p. 74. 79.), and d'Herbelot (p. 485.). The end of Yezdegerd was not only unfortunate but obſcure.

[39] The two daughters of Yezdegerd married Haſſan, the ſon of Alī, and Mohammed, the ſon of Abubeker; and the firſt of theſe was the father of a numerous progeny. The daughter of Phirouz became the wife of the caliph Walid, and their ſon Yezid derived his genuine or

fabulous deſcent from the Choſroes of Perſia, the Cæſars of Rome, and the Chagans of the Turks or Avars (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orientale, p. 96. 487.).

[40] It was valued at 2000 pieces of gold, and was the prize of Obeidollah, the ſon of Ziyad, a name afterwards infamous by the murder of Hoſein (Ockley's Hiſtory of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 142, 143.). His brother Salem was accompanied by his wife, the firſt Arabian woman (A. D 680.) who paſſed the Oxus: she borrowed, or rather ſtole, the crown and jewels of the princeſs of the Sogdians (p. 231, 232.).

[41] A part of Abulfeda's geography is tranſlated by Greaves, inſerted in Hudſon's collection of the minor geographers (tom. iii.), and entitled, *Deſcriptio Choraſmiæ et Mawaralnahræ*, id eſt, regionum extra fluvium Oxum, p. 80. The name of *Transoxiana*, ſofter in ſound, equivalent in ſenſe, is aptly uſed by Petit de la Croix (Hiſt. de Gengiſcan, etc.), and ſome modern Orientaliſts, but they are miſtaken in aſcribing it to the writers of antiquity.

[42] The conqueſts of Catibah are faintly marked by Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 84., d'Herbelot (Bibliot Orient. *Catbah*, *Samarcand Valid.*), and de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 58, 59).

[43] A curious deſcription of Samarcand is inſerted in the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hiſpana, tom. i. p. 208, etc. The librarian Caſiri (tom. ii. 9.) relates, from credible teſtimony, that paper was firſt imported from China to Samarcand, A. H. 30. and *invented*, or rather introduced, at Mecca, A. H. 88. The Eſcurial library contains paper MSS. as old as the ivth or vth century of the Hegira.

[44] A ſeparate hiſtory of the conqueſt of Syria has been compoſed by Al Wakidi, cadi of Bagdad, who was born A. D. 748, and died A. D. 822: he likewiſe wrote the conqueſt of Egypt, of Diarbekir, etc. Above the meagre and recent chronicles of the Arabians, Al Wakidi has the double merit of antiquity and copiouſneſs. His tales and traditions afford an artleſs picture of the men and the times. Yet his narrative is too often defective, trifling, and improbable. Till ſomething better ſhall be found, his learned and ſpirited interpreter (Ockley, in his hiſtory of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 21—342.) will not deſerve the petulant animadverſion of Reiske (Prodidagmata ad Hagij Chalifæ Tabulas, p. 236.). I am ſorry to think that the labours of Ockley were conſummated in a jail (ſee his two prefaces to the 1ſt vol. A. D. 1708, to the 2d, 1718, with the liſt of authors at the end.

[45] The inſtructions, etc. of the Syrian war, are deſcribed by Al Wakidi and Ockley, tom. i. p. 22—27, etc. In the ſequel it is

neceſſary to contract, and needleſs to quote their circumſtantial narrative. My obligations to others ſhall be noticed.

[46] Notwithſtanding this precept, M. Paw (Recherches ſur les Egyptiens, tom. ii. p. 192. edit. Lauſanne) repreſents the Bedoweens as the implacable enemies of the Chriſtian monks. For my own part I am more inclined to ſuſpect the avarice of the Arabian robbers, and the prejudices of the German philoſopher.

[47] Even in the ſeventh century, the monks were generally laymen; they wore their hair long and deshevelled and ſhaved their heads when they were ordained prieſts. The circular tonſure was ſacred and myſterious; it was the crown of thorns; but it was likewiſe a royal diadem, and every prieſt was a king, etc. (Thomaſſin, Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 721—758. eſpecially p. 737, 738.).

[48] Huic Arabia eſt conſerta, ex alio latere Nabathæis contigua; opima varietate commerciorum, caſtriſque oppleta validis et caſtellis, quæ ad repellendos gentium vicinarum excurſus, ſolicitudo perviget veterum per opportunos ſaltos erexit et Cautos. Ammian Marcellin. xiv. 8. Reland, Paleſtin. tom. i. p. 85, 86.

[49] With Geraſa and Philadelphia, Ammianus praiſes the fortifications of Boſra firmitate cautiſſimas. They deſerved the ſame praiſe in the time of Abulfeda (Tabul. Syriæ, p. 99.), who deſcribes this city, the metropolis of Hawran (Auranitis), four days journey from Damaſcus. The Hebrew etymology I learn from Reland, Paleſtin. tom. ii. p. 666.

[50] The apoſtle of a deſert and an army was obliged to allow this ready ſuccedaneum for water (Koran, c. iii. p. 66. c. v. p. 83.); but the Arabian and Perſian caſuiſts have embarraſſed his free permiſſion with many niceties and diſtinctions (Reland de Relig. Mohammed, l. i. p. 82, 83. Chardin, Voyages en Perſe, tom. iv.).

[51] *The bells rung!* Ockley, vol. i. p. 38. Yet I much doubt whether this expreſſion can be juſtified by the text of Al Wakidi, or the practice of the times. Ad Græcos, ſays the learned Ducange (Gloſſar. med. et infim. Græcitat. tom. i. p. 774.) campanarum uſus ſerius tranſit et etiamnum rariſſimus eſt. The oldeſt example which he can find in the Byzantine writers is of the year 1040; but the Venetians pretend, that they introduced bells at Conſtantinople in the ixth century.

[52] Damaſcus is amply deſcribed by the Sherif al Edriſi (Geograph. Nub. p. 116, 117.); and his tranſlator, Sionita (Appendix, c. 4.); Abulfeda (Tabula Syriæ, p. 100.); Schultens (Index Geograph. ad Vit. Saladin); d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 291.); Thevenot, Voyage du Levant (part. i. p. 688—698.); Maundrell (Journey from

Aleppo to Jeruſalem, p. 122——130.); and Pocock (Deſcription of the Eaſt, vol. ii. p. 117——127.).

[53] Nobiliſſima civitas, ſays Juſtin. According to the Oriental traditions, it was older than Abraham or Semiramis. Joſeph. Antiq. Jud l. i. c. 6. 7. p. 24. 29. edit. Havercamp. Juſtin. xxxvi, 2.

[54] Εδει γαρ οιμαι την Διος πολιν αληθως, και της Εωας ὁπασης οφθαλμων, την ἱερον και μεγιστην Δαμασκον λεγω, τοις τε αλλοις συμπασιν, ὁσον ἱερων καλλει, και νεων μεγεθει, και ὡρων ευκαιριᾳ και πηγων αγλαΐᾳ και ποταμων πληθει, και γης ευφοριᾳ νικωσαν, etc. Julian, epiſt. xxiv. p. 392. Theſe ſplendid epithets are occaſioned by the figs of Damaſcus, of which the author ſends an hundred to his friend Serapion, and this rhetorical theme is inſerted by Petavius, Spanheim, etc. (p. 390——396.) among the genuine epiſtles of Julian. How could they overlook that the writer is an inhabitant of Damaſcus (he thrice affirms, that this peculiar fig grows only παρ' ἡμιν), a city which Julian never entered or approached?

[55] Voltaire, who caſts a keen and lively glance over the ſurface of hiſtory, has been ſtruck with the reſemblance of the firſt Moſlems and the heroes of the Iliad; the ſiege of Troy and that of Damaſcus (Hiſt. Générale, tom. i. p. 348.).

[56] Theſe words are a text of the Koran, c. ix. 32. lxi. 8. Like our fanatics of the laſt century, the Moſlems, on every familiar or important occaſion, ſpoke the language of *their* ſcriptures; a ſtyle more natural in their mouths, than the Hebrew idiom tranſplanted into the climate and dialect of Britain.

[57] The name of Werdan is unknown to Theophanes, and, though, it might belong to an Armenian chief, has very little of a Greek aſpect or ſound If the Byzantine hiſtorians have mangled the Oriental names the Arabs, in this inſtance, likewiſe have taken ample revenge on their enemies. In tranſpoſing the Greek character from right to left, might they not produce, from the familiar appellation of *Andrew*, ſomething like the anagram *Werdan*?

[58] Vanity prompted the Arabs to believe, that Thomas was the ſon-in-law of the emperor. We know the children of Heraclius by his two wives; and his *auguſt* daughter would not have married in exile at Damaſcus (ſee Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 118, 119.) Had he been leſs religious, I might only ſuſpect the legitimacy of the damſel.

[59] Al Wakidi (Ockley, p. 10.) ſays, "with poiſoned arrows; "but this ſavage invention is ſo repugnant to the practice of the Greeks and Romans, that I muſt ſuſpect, on this occaſion, the malevolent credulity of the Saracens.

[60] Abulfeda allows only ſeventy days for the ſiege of Damaſcus (Annal. Moſlem. p. 67. verſ. Reiske); but Elmacin, who mentions this opinion, prolongs the term to ſix months, and notices the uſe of *baliſtæ* by the Saracens (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 25. 32.) Even this longer period is inſufficient to fill the interval between the battle of Aiznadin (July, A. D. 633.) and the acceſſion of Omar (24 July, A. D. 634), to whoſe reign the conqueſt of Damaſcus is unanimously adſcribed (Al Wakidi, apud Ockley, vol. i. p. 115. Abulpharagius, Dynaſt. p. 112, verſ. Pocock). Perhaps, as in the Trojan war, the operations were interrupted by excurſions and detachments, till the laſt ſeventy days of the ſiege.

[61] It appears from Abulfeda (p. 125.) and Elmacin (p. 32.) that this diſtinction of the two parts of Damaſcus was long remembered, though not always reſpected, by the Mahometan ſovereigns. See likewiſe Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 379, 380. 383.)

[62] On the fate of theſe lovers, whom he names Phocyas and Eudocia, Mr. Hughes has built the Siege of Damaſcus, one of our moſt popular tragedies, and which poſſeſſes the rare merit of blending nature and hiſtory, the manners of the times and the feelings of the heart. The foolish delicacy of the players compelled him to ſoften the guilt of the hero and the deſpair of the heroine. Inſtead of a baſe renegado, Phocyas ſerves the Arabs as an honourable ally; inſtead of prompting their purſuit, he flies to the ſuccour of his countrymen, and after killing Caled and Derar, is himſelf mortally wounded, and expires in the preſence of Eudocia, who profeſſes her reſolution to take the veil at Conſtantinople. A frigid cataſtrophe!

[63] The towns of Gabala and Laodicea, which the Arabs paſſed, ſtill exiſt in a ſtate of decay (Maundrell, p. 11, 12. Pocock, vol. ii. p. 13.). Had not the Chriſtians been overtaken, they muſt have croſſed the Orontes on ſome bridge in the ſixteen miles between Antioch and the ſea, and might have rejoined the high road of Conſtantinople at Alexandria. The itineraries will repreſent the directions and diſtances (p. 146. 148. 581, 582. edit. Weſſeling).

[64] *Dair Abil Kodos.* After retrenching the laſt word, the epithet, *holy*, I diſcover the Abila of Lyſanias between Damaſcus and Heliopolis: the name (*Abil* ſignifies a vineyard) concurs with the ſituation to juſtify my conjecture (Reland, Paleſtin. tom. i. p. 317. tom. ii. p. 525. 527.)

[65] I am bolder than Mr. Ockley (vol. i. p. 164.) who dares not inſert this figurative expreſſion in the text, though he obſerves in a marginal note, that the Arabians often borrow their ſimilies from that uſeful and

familiar animal. The rein-deer may be equally famous in the ſongs of the Laplanders.

"We heard the *tecbir*; ſo the Arabs call
Their ſhout of onſet, when with loud appeal
They challenge heaven, as if demanding conqueſt."

This word, ſo formidable in their holy wars, is a verb active (ſays Ockley in his index) of the ſecond conjugation, from *Kabbara*, which ſignifies ſaying *Alla Acbar*, God is moſt mighty.

[67] In the geography of Abulfeda, the deſcription of Syria, his native country, is the moſt intereſting and authentic portion. It was publiſhed in Arabic and Latin, Lipſiæ, 1766, in quarto, with the learned notes of Kochler and Reiske, and ſome extracts of geography and natural hiſtory from Ibn Ol Wardii. Among the modern travels, Pocock's Deſcription of the Eaſt (of Syria and Meſopotamia, vol. ii. p. 88.—209.) is a work of ſuperior learning and dignity; but the author too often confounds what he had ſeen and what he had read.

[68] The praiſes of Dionyſius are juſt and lively. Και την μεν (Syria) πολλαι τε και ολβιοι ανδρες εχουσιν (in Periegeſi, v. 902. in tom. iv. Geograph. Minor. Hudſon). In another place, he ſtyles the country πολυπολιν αιαν (v. 898.) He proceeds to ſay,

Πασα δε τοι λιπαρη τε και ευβοτος επλετο χωρη
Μηλα τε Φερβεμεναι και δενδρεσι καρπον αειξειν.

v. 921, 922.

This poetical geographer lived in the age of Auguſtus, and his deſcription of the world is illuſtrated by the Greek commentary of Euſtathius, who paid the ſame compliment to Homer and Dionyſius (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. l. iv. c. 2. tom. iii p. 21, etc.).

[69] The topography of the Libanus and Anti-Libanus is excellently deſcribed by the learning and ſenſe of Reland (Paleſtin. tom. i. p. 311.—326.).

[70] —Emeſæ faſtigia celſa renident
Nam diffuſa ſolo latus explicat; ac ſubit auras
Turribus in cœlum nitentibus: incola claris
Cor ſtudiis acuit.
Denique flammicomo devoti pectora ſoli
Vitam agitant. Libanus frondoſa cacumina turget,
Et tamen his certant celſi faſtigia templi.

Theſe verſes of the Latin verſion of Rufus Avienus are wanting in the Greek original of Dionyſius; and ſince they are likewiſe unnoticed by Euſtathius, I muſt, with Fabricius (Bibliot. latin. tom. iii. p. 153. edit. Erneſti), and againſt Salmaſius (ad Vopiſcum, p. 366, 367. in Hiſt. Auguſt.) aſcribe them to the fancy rather than the MSS. of Avienus.

[71] I am much better ſatisfied with Maundrell's ſlight octavo Journey, p. 134—139. than with the pompous folio of Doctor Pocock (Deſcription of the Eaſt, vol. ii. p. 106—113.); but every preceding account is eclipſed by the magnificent deſcription and drawings of M. M. Dawkins and Wood, who have tranſported into England the ruins of Palmyra and Baalbeck.

[72] The Orientals explain the prodigy by a never-failing expedient. The edifices of Baalbeck were conſtructed by the fairies or the genii (Hiſt. de Timour Bec, tom. iii. l. v. c. 23. p. 311, 312. Voyage d'Otter, tom. i. p. 83.) With leſs abſurdity, but with equal ignorance, Abulfeda and Ibn Chaukel adſcribe them to the Sabæans or Aadites. Non ſunt in omni Syriâ ædificia magnificentiora his (Tabula Syriæ, p. 103.).

[73] I have read ſomewhere in Tacitus, or Grotius, Subjectos habent tanquam ſuos, viles tanquam alienos. Some Greek officers ravished the wife, and murdered the child, of their Syrian landlord; and Manuel ſmiled at his undutiful complaint.

[74] See Reland, Paleſtin. tom. i. p. 272. 283. tom. ii. p. 773. 775. This learned profeſſor was equal to the task of deſcribing the Holy Land, ſince he was alike converſant with Greek and Latin, with Hebrew and Arabian literature. The Yermuk, or Hieromax, is noticed by Cellarius (Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 392.) and d'Anville (Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 185.). The Arabs, and even Abulfeda himſelf, do not ſeem to recognize the ſcene of their victory.

[75] Theſe women were of the tribe of the Hamiarites, who derived their origin from the ancient Amalekites. Their females were accuſtomed to ride on horſeback, and to fight like the Amazons of old (Ockley, vol. i. p. 67.).

[76] We killed of them, ſays Abu Obeidah to the caliph, one hundred and fifty thouſand, and made priſoners forty thouſand (Ockley, vol. i. p. 241.). As I cannot doubt his veracity, nor believe his computation, I muſt ſuſpect that the Arabic hiſtorians indulged themſelves in the practice of compoſing ſpeeches and letters for their heroes.

[77] After deploring the ſins of the Chriſtians, Theophanes adds (Chronograph. p. 276.), ανεςη ὁ ερημικος Αμαλην τυπτων ἡμας τον λαον τυ Χριςυ, και γινεται πρωτη Φοςὰ πτωτις τυ Ρωμαικυ ςρατυ ἡ κατα το Γαβιθαν λεγω (does he mean Aiznadin?) και Ιερμυκὰν, και την αθετιμον ἀ̓ματοχυσιαν. His account is brief and obſcure, but he accuſes the numbers of the enemy, the adverſe wind, and the cloud of duſt: μη δυνηθεντες (the Romans) αντιπροσωπησαι εχθροις δια τον κονιορτον ἠττωνται, και ἑαυτυς βαλλοντες εις τας ςενοδους τυ Ιερμοχθ ποταμυ εκει απωλοντο αρδην (Chronograph. p. 280.).

[78] See Abulfeda (Annal. Moſlem. p. 70, 71.), who tranſcribes the poetical complaint of Jabalah himſelf, and ſome panegyrical ſtrains of an Arabian poet, to whom the chief of Gaſſan ſent from Conſtantinople a gift of five hundred pieces of gold by the hands of the ambaſſador of Omar.

[79] In the name of the city, the profane prevailed over the ſacred; *Jeruſalem* was known to the devout Chriſtians (Euſeb. de Martyr. Paleſt. c. xi.); but the legal and popular appellation of *Ælia* (the colony of Ælius Hadrianus) has paſſed from the Romans to the Arabs (Reland, Paleſtin. tom. i. p. 207. tom. ii. p. 835. d'Herbelot, Bibliothéque Orientale, *Cods*, p. 269. *Ilia*, p. 420.) The epithet of *Al Cods*, the Holy, is uſed as the proper name of Jeruſalem.

[80] The ſingular journey and equipage of Omar are deſcribed (beſides Ockley, vol. i. p. 250.) by Murtadi (Merveilles de l'Egypte, p. 200—202.).

[81] The Arabs boaſt of an old prophecy preſerved at Jeruſalem, and deſcribing the name, the religion, and the perſon of Omar, the future conqueror. By ſuch arts the Jews are ſaid to have ſoothed the pride of their foreign maſters, Cyrus and Alexander (Joſeph Ant. Jud. l. xi. c. 1. 8. p. 547. 579—582.)

[82] Το βδελυγμα της ερημωσεως το ῥηθεν δια Δανιηλ τω προφητη ἑστως εν τοπῳ ἁγιῳ. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 281. This prediction, which had already ſerved for Antiochus and the Romans, was again refitted for the preſent occaſion, by the œconomy of Sophronius, one of the deepeſt theologians of the Monothelite controverſy.

[83] According to the accurate ſurvey of d'Anville (Diſſertation ſur l'ancienne Jéruſalem, p. 42—54.). the moſch of Omar, enlarged and embellished by ſucceeding caliphs, covered the ground of the ancient temple (παλαιον τω μεγαλω νεω δαπεδον, ſays Phocas), a length of 215, a breadth of 172, *toiſes*. The Nubian geographer declares, that this magnificent ſtructure was ſecond only in ſize and beauty to the great moſch of Cordova (p. 113.) whoſe preſent ſtate Mr. Swinburne has ſo elegantly repreſented (Travels into Spain, p. 296—302.).

[84] Of the many Arabic tarikhs or chronicles of Jeruſalem (d'Herbelot, p. 867.), Ockley found one among the Pocock MSS. of Oxford (vol. i. p. 257.), which he has uſed to ſupply the defective narrative of Al Wakidi.

[85] The Perſian hiſtorian of Timur (tom. iii. l. v. c. 21. p. 300.) deſcribes the caſtle of Aleppo as founded on a rock one hundred cubits in height, a proof, ſays the French tranſlator, that he had never viſited the place. It is now in the midſt of the city, of no ſtrength, with a ſingle gate, the circuit is about 5 or 600 paces, and the ditch

half full of ſtagnant water (Voyages de Tavernier, tom. i. p. 149. Pocock, vol. ii. part. i. p. 150.) The fortreſſes of the Eaſt are contemptible to an European eye.

[86] The date of the conqueſt of Antioch by the Arabs is of ſome importance. By comparing the years of the world in the chronography of Theophanes with the years of the Hegira in the hiſtory of Elmacin, we ſhall determine, that it was taken between January 23d and September 1ſt of the year of Chriſt 638 (Pagi Critica, in Baron. Annal. tom. ii. p. 812, 813.). Al Wakidi (Ockley, vol. i. p. 314.) aſſigns that event to Tueſday, Auguſt 21ſt, an inconſiſtent date; ſince Eaſter fell that year on April 5th, the 21ſt of Auguſt muſt have been a Friday (ſee the Tables of the Art de Verifier les Dates).

[87] His bounteous edict, which tempted the grateful city to aſſume the victory of Pharſalia for a perpetual æra, is given εν Αντιοχειᾳ τῃ μητροπολει, ἱερᾳ και ασυλῳ και αυτονομῳ και αρχουσῃ και πρωτευουσῃ της ανατολης. Joh. Malala, in Chron. p. 91. edit. Venet. We may diſtinguiſh his authentic information of domeſtic facts from his groſs ignorance of general hiſtory.

[88] See Ockley (vol. i. p. 308. 312.), who laughs at the credulity of his author. When Heraclius bade farewel to Syria, Vale Syria et ultimum vale, he prophecied that the Romans ſhould never re-enter the province till the birth of an inauſpicious child, the future ſcourge of the empire. Abulfeda, p. 68. I am perfectly ignorant of the myſtic ſenſe, or nonſenſe, of this prediction.

[89] In the looſe and obſcure chronology of the times, I am guided by an authentic record (in the book of ceremonies of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus), which certifies that, June 4, A. D. 638, the emperor crowned his younger ſon Heraclius in the preſence of his eldeſt Conſtantine, and in the palace of Conſtantinople; that January 1, A. D. 639, the royal proceſſion viſited the great church, and on the 4th of the ſame month, the hippodrome.

[90] Sixty-five years before Chriſt, *Syria* Pontuſque monumenta ſunt Cn. Pompeii virtutis (Vell. Patercul. ii. 38.), rather of his fortune and power: he adjudged Syria to be a Roman province, and the laſt of the Seleucides were incapable of drawing a ſword in the defence of their patrimony (ſee the original texts collected by Uſher, Annal. p. 420.).

[91] Abulfeda, Annal. Moſlem. p. 73. Mahomet could artfully vary the praiſes of his diſciples. Of Omar he was accuſtomed to ſay, that if a prophet could ariſe after himſelf, it would be Omar; and that in a general calamity, Omar would be excepted by the divine juſtice (Ockley, vol. i. p. 221.).

[92] Al Wakidi had likewiſe written an hiſtory of the conqueſt of Diarbekir, or Meſopotamia (Ockley, at the end of the iid vol.), which our interpreters do not appear to have ſeen. The Chronicle of Dionyſius of Telmar, the Jacobite patriarch, records the taking of Edeſſa A. D. 637, and of Dara A. D. 641. (Aſſeman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 103.); and the attentive may glean ſome doubtful information from the Chronography of Theophanes (p. 285—287). Moſt of the towns of Meſopotamia yielded by ſurrender (Abulpharag. p. 112.).

[93] He dreamt that he was at Theſſalonica, an harmleſs and unmeaning viſion; but his ſoothſayer, or his cowardice, underſtood the ſure omen of a defeat concealed in that inauſpicious word δὸς ἀλλῳ νικην, Give to another the victory (Theophan. p. 286. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 88.).

[94] Every paſſage and every fact that relates to the iſle, the city, and the coloſſus of Rhodes, are compiled in the laborious treatiſe of Meurſius, who has beſtowed the ſame diligence on the two larger iſlands of Crete and Cyprus. See in the iiid vol. of his works, the *Rhodus* of Meurſius (l. i. c. 15. p. 715—719.). The Byzantine writers, Theophanes and Conſtantine, have ignorantly prolonged the term to 1360 years, and ridiculouſly divide the weight among 30,000 camels.

[95] Centum coloſſi alium nobilitaturi locum, ſays Pliny, with his uſual ſpirit. Hiſt. Natur. xxxiv. 18.

[96] We learn this anecdote from a ſpirited old woman, who reviled to their faces the caliph and his friend. She was encouraged by the ſilence of Amrou and the liberality of Moawiyah (Abulfeda, Annal. Moslem. p. 111.).

[97] Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 46, etc. who quotes the Abyſſinian hiſtory, or romance, of Abdel Balcides. Yet the fact of the embaſſy and ambaſſador may be allowed.

[98] This ſaying is preſerved by Pocock (Not. ad Carmen Tograi, p. 184.), and juſtly applauded by Mr. Harris (Philoſophical Arrangements, p. 350.).

[99] For the life and character of Amrou, ſee Ockley (Hiſt. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 28. 63. 94. 328. 342. 344 and to the end of the volume; vol. ii. p. 51. 55. 57. 74. 110—112. 162.) and Otter (Mém. de l'Académie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxi p. 131, 132.). The readers of Tacitus may aptly compare Veſpaſian and Mucianus, with Moawiyah and Amrou. Yet the reſemblance is ſtill more in the ſituation, than in the characters of the men.

[100] Al Wakidi had likewiſe compoſed a ſeparate hiſtory of the conqueſt of Egypt, which Mr. Ockley could never procure; and his own enquiries (vol. i. p. 344—362.) have added very little to the original text of Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 296—323. verſ. Pocock),

nearly in the ſame predicament. Moſes and Ariſtotle are the chief objects of his verboſe commentaries, one of which is dated as early as May 10th. A. D. 617 (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. ix. p. 458—468.). A modern (John Le Clerc), who ſometimes aſſumed the ſame name, was equal to old Philoponus in diligence, and far ſuperior in good ſenſe and real knowledge.

[116] Abulpharag. Dynaſt. p. 114. verſ. Pocock. Audi quid factum ſit et mirare. It would be endleſs to enumerate the moderns who have wondered and believed, but I may diſtinguish with honour the rational ſcepticiſm of Renaudot (Hiſt. Alex. Patriarch. p. 170.); hiſtoria. . . . habet aliquid *απιςον* ut Arabibus familiare eſt.

[117] This curious anecdote will be vainly ſought in the annals of Eutychius, and the Saracenic hiſtory of Elmacin. The ſilence of Abulfeda, Murtadi, and a crowd of Moſlems, is leſs concluſive from their ignorance of Chriſtian literature.

[118] See Reland, de Jure Militari Mohammedanorum, in his iiid volume of Diſſertations, p. 37. The reaſon for not burning the religious books of the Jews or Chriſtians, is derived from the reſpect that is due to the *name* of God.

[119] Conſult the collections of Freinsheim (Supplement. Livian. c. 12. 43.) and Uſher (Annal. p. 469.). Livy himſelf had ſtyled the Alexandrian library, elegantiæ regum curæque egregium opus; a liberal encomium, for which he is pertly criticiſed by the narrow ſtoicism of Seneca (De Tranquillitate Animi, c. 9.), whoſe wiſdom, on this occaſion, deviates into nonſenſe.

[120] See this Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 85. quarto edition.

[121] Aulus Gellius (Noctes Atticæ, vi. 17.), Ammianus Marcellinus (xxii. 16.), and Oroſius (l. vi. c. 15.). They all ſpeak in the *paſt* tenſe, and the words of Ammianus are remarkably ſtrong: fuerunt Bibliothecæ innumerabiles; et loquitur monumentorum veterum concinens fides, etc.

[122] Renaudot anſwers for verſions of the Bible, Hexapla, *Catenæ Patrum*, Commentaries, etc. (p. 170.). Our Alexandrian MS. if it came from Egypt, and not from Conſtantinople, or mount Athos (Wetſtein, Prolegom. ad N. T. p. 8, etc.), might *poſſibly* be among them.

[123] I have often peruſed with pleaſure a chapter of Quintilian (Inſtitut. Orator. x. 1.) in which that judicious critic enumerates and appreciates the ſeries of Greek and Latin claſſics.

[124] Such as Galen, Pliny, Ariſtotle, etc. On this ſubject Wotton (Reflections on ancient and modern Learning, p. 85—95.) argues, with ſolid ſenſe, againſt the lively exotic fancies of Sir William Temple

Temple. The contempt of the Greeks for *Barbaric* ſcience, would ſcarcely admit the Indian or Æthiopic books into the library of Alexandria; nor is it proved that philoſophy has ſuſtained any real loſs from their excluſion.

[125] This curious and authentic intelligence of Murtadi (p. 284—289.) has not been diſcovered either by Mr. Ockley, or by the ſelf-ſufficient compilers of the Modern Univerſal Hiſtory.

[126] Eutychius, Annal. tom. ii. p. 320. Elmacin, Hiſt. Saracen. p. 35.

[127] On theſe *obſcure* canals, the reader may try to ſatisfy himſelf from d'Anville (*Mém.* ſur l'Egypte, p. 108—110. 124. 232.), and a learned theſis maintained and printed at Strasburgh in the year 1770 (Jungendorum marium fluviorumque molimina, p. 39—47. 68—70.). Even the ſupine Turks have agitated the old project of joining the two ſeas (Mémoires du Baron de Tott, tom. iv.)

[128] A ſmall volume, des Merveilles, etc. de l'Egypte, compoſed in the xiiith century by Murtadi of Cairo, and tranſlated from an Arabic MS. of cardinal Mazarin, was published by Pierre Vatier, Paris, 1666. The antiquities of Egypt are wild and legendary: but the writer deſerves credit and eſteem for his account of the conqueſt and geography of his native country (See the correſpondence of Amron and Omar, p. 279—289.

[129] In a twenty years reſidence at Cairo, the conſul Maillet had contemplated that varying ſcene, the Nile (lettre ii. particularly p. 70. 75.); the fertility of the land (lettre ix.). From a college at Cambridge, the poetic eye of Gray had *ſeen* the ſame objects with a keener glance:

What wonder in the ſultry climes that ſpread,
Where Nile, redundant o'er his ſummer bed,
From his broad boſom life and verdure flings,
And broods o'er Egypt with his wat'ry wings;
If with advent'rous oar, and ready ſail,
The duſky people drive before the gale:
Or on frail floats to neighbouring cities ride,
That riſe and glitter o'er the ambient tide.

(Maſon's, Works and Memoirs of Gray, p. 199, 200.)

[130] Murtadi, p. 164—167. The reader will not eaſily credit an human ſacrifice under the Chriſtian emperors, or a miracle of the ſucceſſors of Mahomet.

[131] Maillet, Deſcription de l'Egypte, p. 22. He mentions this number as the *common* opinion; and adds, that the generality of theſe villages contain two or three thouſand perſons, and that many of them are more populous than our large cities.

[132] Eutych. Annal. tom. ii. p. 308. 311. The twenty millions are computed from the following *data*: one-twelfth of mankind above ſixty, one-third below ſixteen, the proportion of men to women as ſeventeen to ſixteen (Recherches ſur la Population de la France, p. 71, 72.). The preſident Goguet (Origine des Arts, etc. tom. iii. p. 26, etc.) beſtows twenty-ſeven millions on ancient Egypt, becauſe the ſeventeen hundred companions of Seſoſtris were born on the ſame day.

[133] Elmacin, Hiſt. Saracen. p. 218.; and this groſs lump is ſwallowed without ſcruple by d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 1031.), Arbuthnot (Tables of ancient Coins, p. 262.), and de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 135.). They might allege the not leſs extravagant liberality of Appian in favour of the Ptolemies (in præfat.) of ſeventy-four myriads, 740,000 talents, an annual income of 185, or near 300, millions of pounds ſterling, according as we reckon by the Egyptian or the Alexandrian talent (Bernard de Ponderibus Antiq. p. 186.).

[134] See the meaſurement of d'Anville (Mém. ſur l'Egypte, p. 23, etc.). After ſome peevish cavils, M. Paw (Recherches ſur les Egyptiens, tom. i. p. 118—121.) can only enlarge his reckoning to 2250 ſquare leagues.

[135] Renaudot, Hiſt. Patriarch. Alexand. p. 334. who calls the common reading or verſion of Elmacin, *error librarii*. His own emendation, of 4,300,000 pieces, in the ixth century, maintains a probable medium between the 3,000,000 which the Arabs acquired by the conqueſt of Egypt (idem, p. 168.), and the 2,400,000 which the ſultan of Conſtantinople levied in the laſt century (Pietro della Valle, tom. i. p. 352.; Thevenot, part. i. p. 824.). Paw (Recherches, tom. ii. p. 365—373.) gradually raiſes the revenue of the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies, and the Cæſars, from ſix to fifteen millions of German crowns.

[136] The liſt of Schultens (Index Geograph. ad calcem Vit. Saladin. p. 5.) contains 2396 places; that of d'Anville (Mém. ſur l'Egypte, p. 29.), from the divan of Cairo, enumerates 2696.

[137] See Maillet (Deſcription de l'Egypte, p. 28.), who ſeems to argue with candour and judgment. I am much better ſatisfied with the obſervations than with the reading of the French conſul. He was ignorant of Greek and Latin literature, and his fancy is too much delighted with the fictions of the Arabs. Their beſt knowledge is collected by Abulfeda (Deſcript. Ægypt. Arab. et Lat. à Joh. David Michaelis, Gottingæ, in 4to, 1776): and in two recent voyages into Egypt, we are amuſed by Savary, and inſtructed by Volney. I wish the latter could travel over the globe.

[138] My conqueſt of Africa is drawn from two French interpreters of

Arabic literature, Cardonne (Hiſt. de l'Afrique et de l'Eſpagne ſous la domination des Arabes, tom. i. p. 8—15.) and Otter (Hiſt. de l'Académie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxi. p. 111—125. and 136.). They derive their principal information from Novairi, who compoſed, A. D. 1331, an Encyclopædia in more than twenty volumes. The five general parts ſucceſſively treat of, 1. Phyſics, 2. Man, 3. Animals, 4. Plants, and, 5. Hiſtory; and the African affairs are diſcuſſed in the vith chapter of the vth ſection of this laſt part (Reiske, Prodidagmata ad Hagij Chalifæ Tabulas, p. 232—284.). Among the older hiſtorians who are quoted by Novairi we may diſtinguiſh the original narrative of a ſoldier who led the van of the Moſlems.

[139] See the hiſtory of Abdallah, in Abulfeda (Vit. Mohammed. p. 109.). and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 45—48.

[140] The province and city of Tripoli are deſcribed by Leo Africanus (in Navigatione et Viaggi di Ramuſio, tom. i. Venetia, 1550, fol. 76. *verſo*) and Marmol (Deſcription de l'Afrique, tom. ii. p. 562.). The firſt of theſe writers was a Moor; a ſcholar, and a traveller; who compoſed or tranſlated his African geography in a ſtate of captivity at Rome, where he had aſſumed the name and religion of pope Leo X. In a ſimilar captivity among the Moors, the Spaniard Marmol, a ſoldier of Charles V. compiled his Deſcription of Africa, tranſlated by d'Ablancourt into French (Paris, 1667, 3 vols. in 4to). Marmol had read and ſeen, but he is deſtitute of the curious and extenſive obſervation which abounds in the original work of Leo the African.

[141] Theophanes, who mentions the defeat, rather than the death, of Gregory. He brands the præfect with the name of Τυραννος; he had probably aſſumed the purple (Chronograph. p. 285.).

[142] See in Ockley (Hiſt. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 45.), the death of Zobeir, which was honoured with the tears of Ali, againſt whom he had rebelled. *His* valour at the ſiege of Babylon, if indeed it be the ſame perſon, is mentioned by Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 308.).

[143] Shaw's Travels, p. 118, 119.

[144] Mimica emptio, ſays Abulfeda, erat hæc, et mira donatio; quandoquidem Othman, ejus nomine nummos ex ærario prius ablatos ærario præſtabat (Annal. Moslem. p. 78.). Elmacin (in his cloudy verſion, p. 39.) ſeems to report the ſame job. When the Arabs beſieged the palace of Othman, it ſtood high in their catalogue of grievances.

[145] Επεξρατευσαν Σαρακηνοι την Αφρικην, και συμβαλοντες τῳ τυραννῳ Γρηγοριῳ τουτον τρεπουσι και τους συν αυτῳ κτεινουσι και σοιχη-

σαντες Φοῤῥες μετα των Αφρων ὑπεφρεψαν. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 285. edit. Paris. His chronology is looſe and inaccurate.

[146] Theophanes (in Chronograph. p. 293.) inſerts the vague rumours that might reach Conſtantinople, of the weſtern conqueſts of the Arabs; and I learn from Paul Warnefrid, deacon of Aquileia (de Geſtis Langobard. l. v. c. 13.), that at this time they ſent a fleet from Alexandria into the Sicilian and African ſeas.

[147] See Novairi (apud Otter, p. 118.), Leo Africanus (fol. 81. *verſo*), who reckons only cinque città ed infinite caſali, Marmol, (Deſcription de l'Afrique, tom. iii. p. 33.), and Shaw (Travels, p. 57. 65—68.).

[148] Leo African. fol. 58. verſo 59. recto. Marmol, tom. ii. p. 415. Shaw, p. 43.

[149] Leo African. fol. 52. Marmol, tom. ii. p. 228.

[150] Regio ignobilis, et vix quicquam illuſtre ſortita, parvis oppidis habitatur, parva flumina emittit, ſolo quam viris melior, et ſegnitie gentis obſcura. Pomponius Mela, i. 5. iii. 10. Mela deſerves the more credit, ſince his own Phœnician anceſtors had migrated from Tingitana to Spain (ſee, in ii. 6. a paſſage of that geographer ſo cruelly tortured by Salmaſius, Iſaac Voſſius, and the moſt virulent of critics, James Gronovius). He lived at the time of the final reduction of that country by the emperor Claudius: yet almoſt thirty years afterwards, Pliny (Hiſt. Nat. v. 1.) complains of his authors, too lazy to enquire, too proud to confeſs their ignorance of that wild and remote province.

[151] The foolish fashion of this citron wood prevailed at Rome among the men, as much as the taſte for pearls among the women. A round board or table, four or five feet in diameter, ſold for the price of an eſtate (latefundii taxatione), eight, ten, or twelve thouſand pounds ſterling (Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xiii. 29.). I conceive that I muſt not confound the tree *citrus*, with that of the fruit *citrum*. But I am not botaniſt enough to define the former (it is like the wild cypreſs) by the vulgar or Linnæan name; nor will I decide whether the *citrum* be the orange or the lemon. Salmaſius appears to exhauſt the ſubject, but he too often involves himſelf in the web of his diſorderly erudition (Plinian. Exercitat. tom. ii. p. 666, etc.).

[152] Leo African. fol. 16. verſo. Marmol, tom. ii. p. 28. This province, the firſt ſcene of the exploits and greatneſs of the *cherifs*, is often mentioned in the curious hiſtory of that dynaſty at the end of the iiid volume of Marmol, Deſcription de l'Afrique. The iiid vol. of the Recherches Hiſtoriques ſur les Maures (lately published at Paris) illuſtrates the hiſtory and geography of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco.

[153] Otter (p. 119.) has given the ſtrong tone of fanaticiſm to this exclamation, which Cardonne (p. 37.) has ſoftened to a pious wish of *preaching* the Koran. Yet they had both the ſame text of Novairi before their eyes.

[154] The foundation of Cairoan is mentioned by Ockley (Hiſt. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 129, 130.); and the ſituation, moſch, etc. of the city, are deſcribed by Leo Africanus (fol. 75.), Marmol (tom. ii. p. 532.), and Shaw (p. 115.).

[155] A portentous, though frequent miſtake, has been the confounding, from a slight ſimilitude of name, the *Cyrene* of the Greeks, and the *Cairoan* of the Arabs, two cities which are ſeparated by an interval of a thouſand miles along the ſea-coaſt. The great Thuanus has not eſcaped this fault, the leſs excuſable as it is connected with a formal and elaborate deſcription of Africa (Hiſtoriar. l. vii. c. 2. in tom. i. p. 240. edit. Buckley).

[156] Beſides the Arabic chronicles of Abulfeda, Elmacin, and Abulpharagius, under the lxxiiid year of the Hegira, we may conſult d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 7.) and Ockley (Hiſt. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 339—349.). The latter has given the laſt and pathetic dialogue between Abdallah and his mother, but he has forgot a phyſical effect of *her* grief for his death, the return, at the age of ninety, and fatal conſequences, of her *menſes*.

[157] Λεοντιος ἁπαντα τα Ρωμαϊκα ἐξωπλισε πλοῖμα, στρατηγον τε ἐπ' αυτοις Ιωαννην τον Πατρικιον εμπειρον των πολεμιων προχειρισαμενος προς Καρχηδονα κατα των Σαρακηνων ἐξεπεμψεν. Nicephori Conſtantinopolitani Breviar. p. 28. The patriarch of Conſtantinople, with Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 309.), have ſlightly mentioned this laſt attempt for the relief of Africa. Pagi (Critica, tom. iii. p. 129. 141.) has nicely aſcertained the chronology by a ſtrict compariſon of the Arabic and Byzantine hiſtorians, who often diſagree both in time and fact. See likewiſe a note of Otter (p. 121.).

[158] Dove s'erano ridotti i nobili Romani ed i *Gotti*; and afterwards, i Romani fuggirono ed i *Gotti*, laſciarono Carthagine (Leo African. fol. 72. recto) I know not from what Arabic writer the African derived his Goths, but the fact, though new, is ſo intereſting and ſo probable, that I will accept it on the ſlighteſt authority.

[159] This commander is ſtyled by Nicephorus Βασιλευς Σαρακηνων, a vague though not improper definition of the caliph. Theophanes introduces the ſtrange appellation of Πρωτοσυμβολος, which his interpreter Goar explains by *Vizir Azem*. They may approach the truth, in aſſigning the active part to the miniſter, rather than the prince; but they forget

that the Ommiades had only a *kateb*, or ſecretary, and that the office of vizir was not revived or inſtituted till the 132d year of the Hegira (d'Herbelot, p. 912.).

[160] According to Solinus (l. 27. p. 36. edit. Salmaſ.), the Carthage of Dido ſtood either 677 or 737 years; a various reading, which proceeds from the difference of MSS. or editions (Salmaſ. Plinian. Exercit. tom. i. p. 228). The former of theſe accounts, which gives 823 years before Chriſt, is more conſiſtent with the well-weighed teſtimony of Velleius Paterculus: but the latter is preferred by our chronologiſts (Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 398.), as more agreeable to the Hebrew and Tyrian annals.

[161] Leo African. fol. 71, verſo; 72, recto. Marmol, tom. ii. p. 445—447. Shaw, p. 80.

[162] The hiſtory of the word *Barbar* may be claſſed under four periods. 1. In the time of Homer, when the Greeks and Aſiatics might probably uſe a common idiom, the imitative ſound of Bar-bar was applied to the ruder tribes, whoſe pronunciation was moſt harſh, whoſe grammar was moſt defective. Καρες Βαρβαροφωνοι (Iliad ii. 867. with the Oxford ſcholiaſt, Clarke's Annotation, and Henry Stephens's Greek Theſaurus, tom. i. p. 720.). 2. From the time, at leaſt, of Herodotus, it was extended to *all* the nations who were ſtrangers to the language and manners of the Greeks. 3. In the age of Plautus, the Romans ſubmitted to the inſult (Pompeius Feſtus, l. ii. p. 48. edit. Dacier), and freely gave themſelves the name of Barbarians. They inſenſibly claimed an exemption for Italy, and her ſubject provinces; and at length removed the diſgraceful appellation to the ſavage or hoſtile nations beyond the pale of the empire. 4. In every ſenſe, it was due to the Moors; the familiar word was borrowed from the Latin provincials by the Arabian conquerors, and has juſtly ſettled as a local denomination (Barbary) along the northern coaſt of Africa.

[163] The firſt book of Leo Africanus, and the obſervations of Dr. Shaw p. 220. 223. 227. 247, etc.), will throw ſome light on the roving tribes of Barbary, of Arabian or Moorish deſcent. But Shaw had ſeen theſe ſavages with diſtant terror; and Leo, a captive in the Vatican, appears to have loſt more of his Arabic, than he could acquire of Greek or Roman, learning. Many of his groſs miſtakes might be detected in the firſt period of the Mahometan hiſtory.

[164] In a conference with a prince of the Greeks, Amrou obſerved that their religion was different; upon which ſcore it was lawful for brothers to quarrel. Ockley's Hiſtory of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 328.

[165] Abulfeda, Annal. Moſlem. p. 78. verſ. Reiske.

[166] The name of Andaluſia is applied by the Arabs not only to the

modern province, but to the whole peninſula of Spain (Geograph. Nub. p. 151. d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 114, 115.). The etymology has been moſt improbably deduced from Vandaluſia, country of the Vandals (d'Anville Etats de l'Europe, p. 146, 147, etc.). But the Handaluſia of Caſiri, which ſignifies in Arabic the region of the evening, of the Weſt, in a word, the Heſperia of the Greeks, is perfectly appoſite (Bibliot. Arabico-Hiſpana, tom. ii. p. 327, etc.).

[167] The fall and reſurrection of the Gothic monarchy are related by Mariana (tom. i. p. 238—260. l. vi. c. 19—26. l. vii. c. 1, 2.). That hiſtorian has infuſed into his noble work (Hiſtoriæ, de Rebus Hiſpaniæ, libri xxx. Hagæ Comitum 1733, in four volumes in folio, with the Continuation of Miniana), the ſtyle and ſpirit of a Roman claſſic; and after the xiith century, his knowledge and judgment may be ſafely truſted. But the Jeſuit is not exempt from the prejudices of his order; he adopts and adorns, like his rival Buchanan, the moſt abſurd of the national legends; he is too careleſs of criticiſm and chronology, and ſupplies, from a lively fancy, the chaſms of hiſtorical evidence. Theſe chaſms are large and frequent; Roderic archbiſhop of Toledo, the father of the Spaniſh hiſtory, lived five hundred years after the conqueſt of the Arabs; and the more early accounts are compriſed in ſome meagre lines of the blind chronicles of Iſidore of Badajoz (Pacenſis), and of Alphonſo III. king of Leon, which I have ſeen only in the Annals of Pagi.

[168] Le viol (ſays Voltaire) eſt auſſi difficile à faire qu'à prouver. Des Evêques ſe ſeraient-ils ligués pour une fille? (Hiſt. Générale, c. xxvi.) His argument is not logically concluſive.

[169] In the ſtory of Cava, Mariana (l. vi. c. 21. p. 241, 242.) ſeems to vie with the Lucretia of Livy. Like the ancients, he ſeldom quotes; and the oldeſt teſtimony of Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 713, N° 19.), that of Lucas Tudenſis, a Galician deacon of the xiiith century, only ſays, Cava quam pro concubinâ utebatur.

[170] The Orientals, Elmacin, Abulpharagius, Abulfeda, paſs over the conqueſt of Spain in ſilence, or with a ſingle word. The text of Novairi, and the other Arabian writers, is repreſented, though with ſome foreign alloy, by M. de Cardonne (Hiſt. de l'Afrique et de l'Eſpagne ſous la Domination des Arabes, Paris 1765, 3 vol. in 12mo. tom. i. p. 55—114.), and more conciſely by M. de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 347—350.). The librarian of the Eſcurial has not ſatisfied my hopes: yet he appears to have ſearched with diligence his broken materials; and the hiſtory of the conqueſt is illuſtrated by ſome valuable fragments of the *genuine* Razis (who wrote at Corduba, A. H. 300), of Ben Hazil, etc. See Bibliot. Arabico-Hiſpana, tom. ii. p. 32. 101.

106. 182. 252. 319—332. On this occaſion, the induſtry of Pagi has been aided by the Arabic learning of his friend the Abbé de Longuerue, and to their joint labours I am deeply indebted.

[171] A miſtake of Roderic of Toledo, in comparing the lunar years of the Hegira with the Julian years of the Æra, has determined Baronius, Mariana, and the crowd of Spaniſh hiſtorians, to place the firſt invaſion in the year 713, and the battle of Xeres in November 714. This anachroniſm of three years, has been detected by the more correct induſtry of modern chronologiſts, above all, of Pagi (Critica, tom. iii. p. 169. 171—174.), who have reſtored the genuine date of the revolution. At the preſent time, an Arabian ſcholar like Cardonne, who adopts the ancient error (tom. i. p. 75.), is inexcuſably ignorant or careleſs.

[172] The Æra of Cæſar, which in Spain was in legal and popular uſe till the xivth century, begins thirty-eight years before the birth of Chriſt. I would refer the origin to the general peace by ſea and land, which confirmed the power and *partition* of the Triumvirs (Dion Caſſius, l. xlviii. p. 547. 553. Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. v. p. 1034. edit. fol.). Spain was a province of Cæſar Octavian; and Tarragona, which raiſed the firſt temple to Auguſtus (Tacit. Annal. i. 78.), might borrow from the Orientals this mode of flattery.

[173] The road, the country, the old caſtle of count Julian, and the ſuperſtitious belief of the Spaniards of hidden treaſures, etc. are deſcribed by Pere Labat (Voyages en Eſpagne et en Italie, tom. i. p. 207—217.) with his uſual pleaſantry.

[174] The Nubian geographer (p. 154.) explains the topography of the war; but it is highly incredible that the lieutenant of Muſa ſhould execute the deſperate and uſeleſs meaſure of burning his ships.

[175] Xeres (the Roman colony of Aſta Regia) is only two leagues from Cadiz. In the xvith century it was a granary of corn; and the wine of Xeres is familiar to the nations of Europe (Lud. Nonii Hiſpania, c. 13. p. 54—56. a work of correct and conciſe knowledge; d'Anville, Etats de l'Europe, etc. p. 154.).

[176] Id ſane infortunii regibus pedem ex acie referentibus ſæpe contingit. Ben Hazil of Grenada, in Bibliot. Arabico-Hiſpana, tom. ii. p. 323. Some credulous Spaniards believe that king Roderic, or Rodrigo, eſcaped to an hermit's cell; and others, that he was caſt alive into a tub full of ſerpents, from whence he exclaimed, with a lamentable voice, "they devour the part with which I have ſo grievouſly ſinned" (Don Quixote, part. ii. l. iii. c. 1.).

[177] The direct road from Corduba to Toledo was meaſured by Mr. Swinburne's mules in 72½ hours; but a larger computation muſt be adopted for the ſlow and devious marches of an army. The Arabs

traverſed the province of La Mancha, which the pen of Cervantes has transformed into claſſic ground to the readers of every nation.

[178] The antiquities of Toledo, *Urbs Parva* in the Punic wars, *Urbs Regina* in the vith century, are briefly deſcribed by Nonius (Hiſpania, c. 59. p. 181—186.). He borrows from Roderic the *fatale palatium* of Moorish portraits; but modeſtly inſinuates, it was no more than a Roman amphitheatre.

[179] In the Hiſtoria Arabum (c. 9. p. 17. ad calcem Elmacin), Roderic of Toledo deſcribes the emerald tables, and inſerts the name of Medinat Almeyda in Arabic words and letters. He appears to be converſant with the Mahometan writers; but I cannot agree with M. de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 350.), that he had read and tranſcribed Novairi; becauſe he was dead an hundred years before Novairi compoſed his hiſtory. This miſtake is founded on a ſtill groſſer error. M. de Guignes confounds the hiſtorian Roderic Ximenes archbishop of Toledo in the xiiith century, with cardinal Ximenes who governed Spain in the beginning of the xvith, and was the ſubject, not the author of hiſtorical compoſitions.

[180] Tarik might have inſcribed on the laſt rock, the boaſt of Regnard and his companions in their Lapland journey, "Hic tandem ſtetimus, "nobis ubi defuit orbis."

[181] Such was the argument of the traitor Oppas, and every chief to whom it was addreſſed did not anſwer with the ſpirit of Pelagius: Omnis Hiſpania dudum ſub uno regimine Gothorum, omnis exercitus Hiſpaniæ in uno congregatus iſmaelitarum non valuit ſuſtinere impetum. Chron. Alphonſi Regis, apud Pagi, tom. iii. p. 177.

[182] The revival of the Gothic kingdom in the Aſturias is diſtinctly though conciſely noticed by d'Anville (Etats de l'Europe, p. 159.).

[183] The honourable relics of the Cantabrian war (Dion Caſſius, l. liii. p. 720.) were planted in this metropolis of Luſitania, perhaps of Spain (ſubmittit cui tota ſuos Hiſpania faſces). Nonius (Hiſpania, c. 31. p. 106—110.) enumerates the ancient ſtructures, but concludes with a ſigh: Urbs hæc olim nobiliſſima ad magnam incolarum infrequentiam delapſa eſt et præter priſcæ claritatis ruinas nihil oſtendit.

[184] Both the interpreters of Novairi, de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 349.) and Cardonne (Hiſt. de l'Afrique et de l'Eſpagne, tom. i. p. 93, 94. 104, 105.), lead Muſa into the Narbonneſe Gaul. But I find no mention of this enterpriſe either in Roderic of Toledo or the MSS. of the Eſcurial, and the invaſion of the Saracens is poſtponed by a French chronicle till the ixth year after the conqueſt of Spain, A. D. 721. (Pagi Critica, tom. iii. p. 177. 195. Hiſtorians of France, tom. iii.): I much queſtion whether Muſa ever paſſed the Pyrenees.

[185] Four hundred years after Theodemir, his territories of Murcia and Carthagena retain in the Nubian geographer Edriſi (p. 154. 161.) the name of Tadmir (d'Anville, Etats de l'Europe, p. 156. Pagi, tom. iii. p. 174.). In the preſent decay of Spaniſh agriculture, Mr. Swinburne (Travels into Spain, p. 119.) ſurveyed with pleaſure the delicious valley from Murcia to Orihuela, four leagues and a half of the fineſt corn, pulſe, lucern, oranges, etc.

[186] See the treaty in Arabic and Latin, in the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hiſpana, tom. ii. p. 105, 106. It is ſigned the 4th of the month of Regeb, A. H. 94. the 5th of April, A. D. 713, a date which ſeems to prolong the reſiſtance of Theodemir and the government of Muſa.

[187] From the hiſtory of Sandoval, p. 87. Fleury (Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. ix. p. 261.) has given the ſubſtance of another treaty concluded A. Æ. C. 782. A. D. 734, between an Arabian chief, and the Goths and Romans, of the territory of Coimbra in Portugal. The tax of the churches is fixed at twenty-five pounds of gold; of the monaſteries, fifty; of the cathedrals, one hundred: the Chriſtians are judged by their count, but in capital caſes he muſt conſult the alcaide. The church doors muſt be ſhut, and they muſt reſpect the name of Mahomet. I have not the original before me; it would confirm or deſtroy a dark ſuſpicion, that the piece has been forged to introduce the immunity of a neighbouring convent.

[188] This deſign, which is atteſted by *ſeveral* Arabian hiſtorians (Cardonne, tom. i. p. 95, 96.), may be compared with that of Mithridates, to march from the Crimæa to Rome; or with that of Cæſar, to conquer the Eaſt, and return home by the North: and all three are perhaps ſurpaſſed by the *real* and ſucceſsful enterpriſe of Hannibal.

[189] I much regret our loſs, or my ignorance, of two Arabic works of the viiith century, a Life of Muſa, and a Poem on the Exploits of Tarik. Of theſe authentic pieces, the former was compoſed by a grandſon of Muſa, who had eſcaped from the maſſacre of his kindred; the latter, by the Vizir of the firſt Abdalrahman caliph of Spain, who might have converſed with ſome of the veterans of the conqueror (Bibliot. Arabico-Hiſpana, tom. ii. p. 36. 139.).

[190] Bibliot. Arab. Hiſpana, tom. ii. p. 32. 252. The former of theſe quotations is taken from a *Biographia Hiſpanica*, by an Arabian of Valentia (ſee the copious Extracts of Caſiri, tom. ii. p. 30—121.); and the latter from a general Chronology of the Caliphs, and of the African and Spaniſh Dynaſties, with the particular Hiſtory of the Kingdom of Grenada, of which Caſiri has given almoſt an entire verſion (Bibliot. Arabico-Hiſpana, tom. ii. p. 177—319.). The author, Ebn Khateb, a native of Grenada, and a contemporary of Novairi and Abulfeda (born

A. D. 1313, died A. D. 1374), was an hiſtorian, geographer, phyſician, poet, etc. (tom. ii. p. 71—72.).

[191] Cardonne, Hiſt. de l'Afrique et de l'Eſpagne, tom. i. p. 116, 117.

[192] A copious treatiſe of husbandry, by an Arabian of Seville, in the xiith century, is in the Eſcurial library, and Caſiri had ſome thoughts of tranſlating it. He gives a liſt of the authors quoted, Arabs as well as Greeks, Latins, etc.; but it is much if the Andaluſian ſaw theſe ſtrangers through the medium of his countryman Columella (Caſiri, Bibliot. Arabico-Hiſpana, tom. i. p. 323—338.).

[193] Bibliot. Arabico-Hiſpana, tom. ii. p. 104. Caſiri tranſlates the original teſtimony of the hiſtorian Raſis, as it is alleged in the Arabic Biographia Hiſpanica, pars ix. But I am moſt exceedingly ſurpriſed at the addreſs, Principibus cæteriſque Chriſtianis Hiſpanis ſuis *Caſtellæ*. The name of Caſtellæ was unknown in the viiith century; the kingdom was not erected till the year 1022, an hundred years after the time of Raſis (Bibliot. tom. ii. p. 330.), and the appellation was always expreſſive, not of a tributary province, but of a line of *caſtles* independent of the Moorish yoke (d'Anville, Etats de l'Europe, p. 166—170.). Had Caſiri been a critic, he would have cleared a difficulty, perhaps of his own making.

[194] Cardonne, tom. i. p. 337, 338. He computes the revenue at 130,000,000 of French livres. The entire picture of peace and proſperity relieves the bloody uniformity of the Moorish annals.

[195] I am happy enough to poſſeſs a ſplendid and intereſting work, which has only been diſtributed in preſents by the court of Madrid: *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hiſpana Eſcurialenſis, operâ et ſtudio Michaelis Caſiri, Syro-Maronitæ, Matriti, in folio, tomus prior*, 1760. *tomus poſterior*, 1770. The execution of this work does honour to the Spaniſh preſs; the MSS. to the number of MDCCCLI, are judiciouſly claſſed by the editor, and his copious extracts throw *ſome* light on the Mahometan literature and hiſtory of Spain. Theſe relics are now ſecure, but the task has been ſupinely delayed, till in the year 1671 a fire conſumed the greateſt part of the Eſcurial library, rich in the ſpoils of Grenada and Morocco.

[196] The *Harbii*, as they are ſtyled, qui tolerari nequeunt, are, 1. Thoſe who, *beſides* God, worship the ſun, moon, or idols. 2. Atheiſts. Utrique, quamdiu princeps aliquis inter Mohammedanos ſupereſt, oppugnari debent donec religionem amplectantur, nec requies iis concedenda eſt, nec pretium acceptandum pro obtinendâ conſcientiæ libertate (Reland, Diſſertat. x. de Jure Militari Mohammedan. tom. iii. p. 14.): A rigid theory!

[197] The diſtinction between a proſcribed and a tolerated ſect, between

the *Harbii* and the People of the Book, the believers in ſome divine revelation is correctly defined in the converſation of the caliph Al Mamun with the idolaters or Sabæans of Charræ. Hottinger, Hiſt. Orient. p. 107, 108.

[198] The Zend or Pazend, the bible of the Ghebers, is reckoned by themſelves, or at leaſt by the Mahometans, among the ten books which Abraham received from heaven; and their religion is honourably ſtyled the religion of Abraham (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 701.; Hyde, de Religione veterum Perſarum, c. iii. p. 27, 28, etc.). I much fear that we do not poſſeſs any pure and *free* deſcription of the ſyſtem of Zoroaſter. Dr. Prideaux (Connection, vol. i. p. 300. octavo) adopts the opinion, that he had been the ſlave and ſcholar of ſome Jewiſh prophet in the captivity of Babylon. Perhaps the Perſians, who have been the maſters of the Jews, would aſſert the honour, a poor honour, of being *their* maſters.

[199] The Arabian Nights, a faithful and amuſing picture of the Oriental world, repreſent in the moſt odious colours the Magians, or worſhippers of fire, to whom they attribute the annual ſacrifice of a Muſulman. The religion of Zoroaſter has not the leaſt affinity with that of the Hindoos, yet they are often confounded by the Mahometans; and the ſword of Timour was ſharpened by this miſtake (Hiſt. de Timour Bec, par Cherefeddin Ali Yezdi, l. v.).

[200] Vie de Mahomet, par Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 114, 115.

[201] Hæ tres ſectæ, Judæi, Chriſtiani, et qui inter Perſas Magorum inſtitutis addicti ſunt, κατ' ἐξοχην, *populi liberi* dicuntur (Reland, Diſſertat. tom. iii. p. 15.). The caliph Al Mamun confirms this honourable diſtinction in favour of the three ſects, with the vague and equivocal religion of the Sabæans, under which the ancient polytheiſts of Charræ were allowed to ſhelter their idolatrous worſhip (Hottinger, Hiſt. Orient. p. 167, 168.).

[202] This ſingular ſtory is related by d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 448, 449.) on the faith of Khondemir, and by Mirchond himſelf (Hiſt. priorum Regum Perſarum, etc. p. 9, 10. not. p. 88, 89.)

[203] Mirchond (Mohammed Emir Khoondah Shah), a native of Herat, compoſed in the Perſian language a general hiſtory of the Eaſt, from the creation to the year of the Hegira 875 (A. D. 1471). In the year 904 (A. D. 1498) the hiſtorian obtained the command of a princely library, and his applauded work, in ſeven or twelve parts, was abbreviated in three volumes by his ſon Khondemir, A. H. 927. A. D. 1520. The two writers moſt accurately diſtinguiſhed by Petit de la Croix (Hiſt. de Genghizcan, p. 537, 538. 544, 545.), are looſely confounded by d'Herbelot (p. 358. 410. 994, 995.): but his numerous

extracts, under the improper name of Khondemir, belong to the father rather than the ſon. The hiſtorian of Genghizcan refers to a MS. of Mirchond, which he received from the hands of his friend d'Herbelot himſelf. A curious fragment (the Taherian and Soffarian Dynaſties) has been lately published in Perſic and Latin (Viennæ, 1782, in 4to, cum notis Bernard de Jenish); and the editor allows us to hope for a continuation of Mirchond.

[204] Quo teſtimonio boni ſe quidpiam præſtitiſſe opinabantur. Yet Mirchond muſt have condemned their zeal, ſince he approved the legal toleration of the Magi, cui (the fire temple) peracto ſingulis annis cenſû, uti ſacrâ Mohammedis lege cautum, ab omnibus moleſtiis ac oneribus libero eſſe licuit.

[205] The laſt Magian of name and power appears to be Mardavige the Dilemite, who, in the beginning of the xth century, reigned in the northern provinces of Perſia, near the Caſpian Sea (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 355.). But his ſoldiers and ſucceſſors, the *Bowides*, either profeſſed or embraced the Mahometan faith; and under their dynaſty (A. D. 933—1020) I ſhould place the fall of the religion of Zoroaſter.

[206] The preſent ſtate of the Ghebers in Perſia, is taken from Sir John Chardin, not indeed the moſt learned, but the moſt judicious and inquiſitive, of our modern travellers (Voyages en Perſe, tom. ii p. 109. 179—187. in 4to). His brethren, Pietro della Valle, Olearius, Thevenot, Tavernier, etc. whom I have fruitleſsly ſearched, had neither eyes nor attention for this intereſting people.

[207] The letter of Abdoulrahman, governor or tyrant of Africa, to the caliph Aboul Abbas, the firſt of the Abaſſides, is dated A. H. 132 (Cardonne, Hiſt. de l'Afrique et de l'Eſpagne, tom. i. p. 168).

[208] Bibliothéque Orientale, p. 66. Renaudot, Hiſt. Patriarch. Alex. p. 287, 288.

[209] Among the Epiſtles of the Popes, ſee Leo IX, epiſt. 3. Gregor. VII. l. i. epiſt. 22, 23. l. iii. epiſt. 19, 20, 21.; and the criticiſms of Pagi (tom. iv. A. D. 1053, N° 14. A. D. 1073, N° 13.), who inveſtigates the name and family of the Moorish prince, with whom the proudeſt of the Roman pontiffs ſo politely correſponds.

[210] Mozarabes, or Moſtarabes, *adſcitiii*, as it is interpreted in Latin (Pocock, Specimen Hiſt. Arabum, p. 39, 40. Bibliot. Arabico-Hiſpana, tom. ii. p. 18.). The Mozarabic liturgy, the ancient ritual of the church of Toledo, has been attacked by the popes, and expoſed to the doubtful trials of the ſword and of fire (Marian. Hiſt. Hiſpan. tom. i. l. ix. c. 18. p. 378.). It was, or rather it is, in the Latin tongue; yet in the xith century it was found neceſſary (A. Æ. C. 1687,

A. D. 1039) to tranſcribe an Arabic verſion of the canons of the councils of Spain (Bibliot. Arab. Hiſp. tom. i. p. 547.), for the uſe of the bishops and clergy in the Moorish kingdoms.

[211] About the middle of the xth century, the clergy of Cordova was reproached with this criminal compliance, by the intrepid envoy of the emperor Otho I. (Vit. Johan. Gorz, in Secul. Benedict. V. N° 115. apud Fleury, Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xii. p. 91.).

[212] Pagi, Critica, tom. iv. A. D. 1149, N° 8, 9. He juſtly obſerves, that when Seville, etc. were retaken by Ferdinand of Caſtille, no Chriſtians, except captives, were found in the place; and that the Mozarabic churches of Africa and Spain, deſcribed by James à Vitriaco, A. D. 1218 (Hiſt. Hieroſol. c. 80. p. 1095. in Geſt. Dei per Francos), are copied from ſome older book. I shall add, that the date of the Hegira 677 (A. D. 1278) muſt apply to the copy, not the compoſition, of a treatiſe of juriſprudence, which ſtates the civil rights of the Chriſtians of Cordova (Bibliot. Arab. Hiſp. tom. i. p. 471.); and that the Jews were the only diſſenters whom Abul Waled, king of Grenada (A. D. 1313), could either diſcountenance or tolerate tom. ii. p. 288.).

[213] Renaudot, Hiſt. Patriarch. Alex. p. 288. Leo Africanus would have flattered his Roman maſters, could he have diſcovered any latent relics of the Chriſtianity of Africa.

[214] Abſit (ſaid the Catholic to the Vizir of Bagdad) ut pati loco habeas Neſtorianos, quorum præter Arabas nullus alius rex eſt, et Græcos, quorum reges à movendo Arabibus bello non deſiſtunt, etc. See in the Collections of Aſſemannus (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 94—101.), the ſtate of the Neſtorians under the caliphs. That of the Jacobites is more conciſely expoſed in the Preliminary Diſſertation of the ſecond volume of Aſſemannus.

[215] Eutych. Annal. tom. ii. p. 384. 387, 388. Renaudot, Hiſt. Patriarch. Alex. p. 205, 206. 257. 332. A taint of the Monothelite hereſy might render the firſt of theſe Greek patriarchs leſs loyal to the emperors and leſs obnoxious to the Arabs.

[216] Motadhed, who reigned from A. D. 892 to 902. The Magians ſtill held their name and rank among the religions of the empire (Aſſemanni, Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 97.).

[217] Reland explains the general reſtraints of the Mahometan policy and juriſprudence (Diſſertat. tom. iii. p. 16—20.). The oppreſſive edicts of the caliph Motawakkel (A. D. 847—861.), which are ſtill in force are noticed by Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 448.) and d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 640.). A perſecution of the caliph Omar II. is related, and moſt probably magnified, by the Greek Theophanes Chron. p. 334.).

[218] The martyrs of Cordova (A. D. 850, etc.) are commemorated and juſtified by St. Eulogius, who at length fell a victim himſelf. A ſynod, convened by the caliph, ambiguouſly cenſured their rashneſs. The moderate Fleury cannot reconcile their conduct with the diſcipline of antiquity, toutefois l'autorité de l'égliſe, etc. (Fleury, Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. x. p. 415—522. particularly p. 451. 508, 509.). Their authentic acts throw a ſtrong though tranſient light on the Spaniſh church in the ixth century.

[219] See the article *Eslamiah* (as we ſay Chriſtendom), in the Bibliothéque Orientale (p. 325.). This chart of the Mahometan world is ſuited by the author, Ebn Alwardi, to the year of the Hegira 385 (A. D. 995.). Since that time, the loſſes in Spain have been overbalanced by the conqueſts in India, Tartary, and the European Turkey.

[220] The Arabic of the Koran is taught as a dead language in the college of Mecca. By the Daniſh traveller, this ancient idiom is compared to the Latin; the vulgar tongue of Hejaz and Yemen to the Italian; and the Arabian dialects of Syria, Egypt, Africa, etc. to the Provençal, Spaniſh, and Portugueſe (Niebuhr, Deſcription de l'Arabie, p. 74, etc.).

CHAP. LII.

[1] Theophanes places the *ſeven* years of the ſiege of Conſtantinople in the year of *our* Chriſtian æra 673 (of the Alexandrian 665, Sept. 1.); and the peace of the Saracens, *four* years afterwards; a glaring inconſiſtency! which Petavius, Goar, and Pagi (Critica, tom. iv. p. 63, 64.), have ſtruggled to remove. Of the Arabians, the Hegira 52. (A. D. 672. January 8.) is aſſigned by Elmacin, the year 48. (A. D. 668, Feb. 20.) by Abulfeda, whoſe teſtimony I eſteem the moſt convenient and creditable.

[2] For this firſt ſiege of Conſtantinople, ſee Nicephorus (Breviar. p. 21, 22.); Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 294.); Cedrenus (Compend. p. 437.); Zonaras (Hiſt. tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 89.); Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 56, 57.); Abulfeda (Annal. Moſlem. p. 107, 108. verſ. Reiske); d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. Conſtantinah); Ockley's Hiſt. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 127, 128.

[3] The ſtate and defence of the Dardannelles is expoſed in the memoirs of the Baron de Tott (tom. iii. p. 39—97.), who was ſent to fortify them againſt the Ruſſians. From a principal, actor, I ſhould have expected more accurate details; but he ſeems to write for the amuſement, rather than the inſtruction, of his reader. Perhaps, on the approach of the enemy, the miniſter of Conſtantine was occupied,

like that of Muſtapha, in finding two Canary birds, who ſhould ſing preciſely the ſame note.

[4] Demetrius Cantemir's Hiſt. of the Othman empire, p. 105, 106. Rycaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 10, 11. Voyages de Thevenot, part. i. p. 189. The Chriſtians, who ſuppoſe that the martyr Abu Ayub is vulgarly confounded with the patriarch Job, betray their own ignorance rather than that of the Turks.

[5] Theophanes, though a Greek, deſerves credit for theſe tributes (Chronograph. p. 295, 296. 300, 301.), which are confirmed, with ſome variation, by the Arabic hiſtory of Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 128. verſ. Pocock).

[6] The cenſure of Theophanes is juſt and pointed, *την Ρωμαϊκην δυναστειαν ακμαζουσαν πανδεινα κακα πεπονθεν ἡ Ρωμαια ὑπο των Αραβων μεχρι τε νυν* (Chronograph. p. 302, 303.). The ſeries of theſe events may be traced in the Annals of Theophanes, and in the Abridgement of the Patriarch Nicephorus, p. 22. 24.

[7] Theſe domeſtic revolutions are related in a clear and natural ſtyle, in the ſecond volume of Ockley's Hiſtory of the Saracens, p. 253—370. Beſides our printed authors, he draws his materials from the Arabic MSS. of Oxford, which he would have more deeply ſearched, had he been confined to the Bodleian library inſtead of the city jail; a fate how unworthy of the man and of his country!

[8] Elmacin, who dates the firſt coinage A. H. 76, A. D. 695, five or ſix years later than the Greek hiſtorians, has compared the weight of the beſt or common gold dinar, to the drachm or dirhem of Egypt (p. 77.), which may be equal to two pennies (48 grains) of our Troy weight (Hooper's Enquiry into Ancient Meaſures, p. 24—36.), and equivalent to eight ſhillings of our ſterling money. From the ſame Elmacin and the Arabian phyſicians, ſome dinars as high as two dirhems, as low as half a dirhem, may be deduced. The piece of ſilver was the dirhem, both in value and weight; but an old, though fair coin, ſtruck at Waſet, A. H. 88, and preſerved in the Bodleian library, wants four grains of the Cairo ſtandard (ſee the Modern Univerſal Hiſtory, tom. i. p. 548. of the French tranſlation).

[9] *Και εκωλυσε γραφεσθαι ἑλληνιςι τας δημοσιας των λογοθετιων κωδικας, αλλ' Αραβιοις αυτα παρασημαινεσθαι χωρις των ψηφων, επειδη αδυνατον τη εκεινων γλωσσῃ μοναδα, η δυαδα, η τριαδα, η οκτω ἡμισυ η τρια γραφεσθαι.* Theophan. Chronograh. p. 314. This defect, if it really exiſted, muſt have ſtimulated the ingenuity of the Arabs to invent or borrow.

[10] According to a new, though probable notion, maintained by M. de Villoiſon

Villoiſon (Anecdota Græca, tom. ii. p. 152—157.), our cyphers are not of Indian or Arabic invention. They were uſed by the Greek and Latin arithmeticians long before the age of Boethius. After the extinction of ſcience in the Weſt, they were adopted by the Arabic verſions from the original MSS. and *reſtored* to the Latins about the xith century.

[11] In the diviſion of the *Themes*, or provinces deſcribed by Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus (de Thematibus, l. i. p. 9, 10.), the *Obſequium*, a Latin appellation of the army and palace, was the fourth in the public order. Nice was the metropolis, and its juriſdiction extended from the Helleſpont over the adjacent parts of Bithynia and Phrygia (ſee the two maps prefixed by Deliſle to the Imperium Orientale of Banduri).

[12] The caliph had emptied two baskets of eggs and of figs, which he ſwallowed alternately, and the repaſt was concluded with marrow and ſugar. In one of his pilgrimages to Mecca, Soliman eat, at a ſingle meal, ſeventy pomegranates, a kid, ſix fowls, and a huge quantity of the grapes of Tayef. If the bill of fare be correct, we muſt admire the appetite rather than the luxury of the ſovereign of Aſia (Abulfeda, Annal. Moſlem. p. 126.).

[13] See the article of Omar Ben Abdalaziz, in the Bibliothéque Orientale (p. 689, 690.), præferens, ſays Elmacin (p. 91.), religionem ſuam rebus ſuis mundanis. He was ſo deſirous of being with God, that he would not have anointed his ear (his own ſaying) to obtain a perfect cure of his laſt malady. The caliph had only one ſhirt, and in an age of luxury, his annual expence was no more than two drachms (Abulpharagius, p. 131.). Haud diu gaviſus eo principe fuit orbis Moſlemus (Abulfeda, p. 127.).

[14] Both Nicephorus and Theophanes agree that the ſiege of Conſtantinople was raiſed the 15th of Auguſt (A. D. 718.); but as the former, our beſt witneſs, affirms that it continued thirteen months, the latter muſt be miſtaken in ſuppoſing that it began on the ſame day of the preceding year. I do not find that Pagi has remarked this inconſiſtency.

[15] In the ſecond ſiege of Conſtantinople, I have followed Nicephorus (Brev. p. 33—36.), Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 324—334.), Cedrenus (Compend. p. 449—452.), Zonaras (tom. ii. p. 98—102.), Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 88.), Abulfeda (Annal. Moſlem. p. 126.), and Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 130.), the moſt ſatisfactory of the Arabs.

[16] Our ſure and indefatigable guide in the middle ages and Byzantine hiſtory, Charles du Freſne du Cange, has treated in ſeveral places of the Greek fire, and his collections leave few gleanings behind. See particularly Gloſſar. Med. et Infim. Græcitat. p. 1275. ſub voce Πυρ θαλασσιον, ὑγρον. Gloſſar. Med. et Infim. Latinitat. *Ignis Græcus.*

Obſervations ſur Villehardouin, p. 305, 307. Obſervations ſur Joinville, p. 71, 72.

[17] Theophanes ſtyles him αρχιτεκτων (p. 295.). Cedrenus (p. 437.) brings this artiſt from (the ruins of) Heliopolis in Egypt; and chemiſtry was indeed the peculiar ſcience of the Egyptians.

[18] The naphta, the oleum incendiarium of the hiſtory of Jeruſalem (Geſt. Dei per Francos, p. 1167.), the Oriental fountain of James de Vitry (l. iii. c. 84.), is introduced on ſlight evidence and ſtrong probability. Cinnamus (l. vi. p. 165.) calls the Greek fire πυρ Μηδικον; and the naphta is known to abound between the Tigris and the Caſpian Sea. According to Pliny (Hiſt. Natur. ii. 109.), it was ſubſervient to the revenge of Medea, and in either etymology the ελαιον Μηδιας, or Μηδειας (Procop. de Bell. Gothic. l. iv. c. 11.), may fairly ſignify this liquid bitumen.

[19] On the different ſorts of oils and bitumens, ſee Dr. Watſon's (the preſent biſhop of Llandaff's) Chemical Eſſays, vol. iii. eſſay i. a claſſic book, the beſt adapted to infuſe the taſte and knowledge of chemiſtry. The leſs perfect ideas of the ancients may be found in Strabo (Geograph. l. xvi. p. 1078.) and Pliny (Hiſt. Natur. ii. 108, 109.) Huic (*Naphtæ*) magna cognatio eſt ignium, tranſiliuntque protinus in eam undecunque viſam. Of our travellers I am beſt pleaſed with Otter (tom. i. p. 153. 158.).

[20] Anna Comnena has partly drawn aſide the curtain. Απο της πευκης, και αλλων τινων τοιουτων δενδρων αειθαλων συναγεται δακρυον ικανον. Τουτο μετα θειου τριβεμενον εμβαλλεται εις αυλισκους καλαμων και εμφυσαται παρα του παιζοντος λαβρω και συνεχει πνευματι (Alexiad, l. xiii. p. 383.). Elſewhere (l. xi. p. 336.) ſhe mentions the property of burning, κατα το πρανες και εφ' εκατερα. Leo, in the xixth chapter of his Tactics (Opera Meurſii, tom. vi. p. 843. edit. Lami, Florent. 1745.), ſpeaks of the new invention of πυρ μετα βροντης και καπνου. Theſe are genuine and *Imperial* teſtimonies.

[21] Conſtantin. Porphyrogenit. de Adminiſtrat. Imperii, c. xiii. p. 64, 65.

[22] Hiſtoire de St. Louis, p. 39. Paris, 1668, p. 44. Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1761. The former of theſe editions is precious for the obſervations of Ducange; the latter, for the pure and original text of Joinville. We muſt have recourſe to that text to diſcover, that the feu Gregeois was ſhot with a pile or javeline, from an engine that acted like a ſling.

[23] The vanity, or envy, of ſhaking the eſtabliſhed property of Fame, has tempted ſome moderns to carry gunpowder above the xivth (ſee Sir William Temple, Dutens, etc.), and the Greek fire above the

viith century (ſee the Saluſte du Préſident des Broſſes, tom. ii. p. 381.). But their evidence, which precedes the vulgar æra of the invention, is ſeldom clear or ſatisfactory, and ſubſequent writers may be ſuſpected of fraud or credulity. In the earlieſt ſieges, ſome combuſtibles of oil and ſulphur have been uſed, and the Greek fire has *ſome* affinities with gunpowder both in nature and effects: for the antiquity of the firſt, a paſſage of Procopius (de Bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 11.); for that of the ſecond, ſome facts in the Arabic hiſtory of Spain (A. D. 1249. 1312. 1332. Bibliot. Arab. Hiſp. tom. ii. p. 6, 7, 8.), are the moſt difficult to elude.

[24] That extraordinary man, Friar Bacon, reveals two of the ingredients, ſaltpetre and ſulphur, and conceals the third in a ſentence of myſterious gibberiſh, as if he dreaded the conſequences of his own diſcovery (Biographia Britannica, vol. i. p. 430. new edition).

[25] For the invaſion of France, and the defeat of the Arabs by Charles Martel, ſee the Hiſtoria Arabum (c. 11, 12, 13, 14.) of Roderic Ximenes, archbiſhop of Toledo, who had before him the Chriſtian chronicle of Iſidore Pacenſis, and the Mahometan hiſtory of Novairi. The Moſlems are ſilent or conciſe in the account of their loſſes, but M. Cardonne (tom. i. p. 129, 130, 131.) has given a *pure* and ſimple account of all that he could collect from Ibn Halikan, Hidjaci, and an anonymous writer. The texts of the chronicles of France, and lives of ſaints, are inſerted in the collection of Bouquet (tom. iii.) and the Annals of Pagi, who (tom. iii. under the proper years) has reſtored the chronology, which is anticipated ſix years in the Annals of Baronius. The Dictionary of Bayle (*Abderame* and *Munuza*) has more merit for lively reflection than original reſearch.

[26] Eginhart, de Vitâ Caroli Magni, c. ii. p 13—18. edit. Schmink, Utrecht, 1711. Some modern critics accuſe the miniſter of Charlemagne of exaggerating the weakneſs of the Merovingians: but the general outline is juſt, and the French reader will for ever repeat the beautiful lines of Boileau's Lutrin.

[27] *Mamaccæ* on the Oyſe, between Compiegne and Noyon, which Eginhart calls perparvi reditûs villam (ſee the notes, and the map of ancient France for Dom. Bouquet's Collection. Compendium, or Compiegne was a palace of more dignity (Hadrian Valeſii Notitia Galliarum, p. 152.), and that laughing philoſopher, the Abbé Galiani (Dialogues ſur le Commerce des Bleds), may truly affirm, that it was the reſidence of the rois Très-Chrétiens et très-chevelus.

[28] Even before that colony, A. U. C. 630. (Velleius Patercul. i. 15.), in the time of Polybius (Hiſt. l. iii. p. 265. edit. Gronov.), Narbonne was a Celtic town of the firſt eminence, and one of the moſt northern

places of the known world (d'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 473.).

[29] With regard to the ſanctuary of St. Martin of Tours, Roderic Ximenes accuſes the Saracens of the *deed*. Turonis civitatem, eccleſiam et palatia vaſtatione et incendio ſimili diruit et conſumpſit. The continuator of Fredegarius imputes to them no more than the *intention*. Ad domum beatiſſimi Martini evertendam deſtinant. At Carolus, etc. The French annaliſt was more jealous of the honour of the ſaint.

[30] Yet I ſincerely doubt whether the Oxford moſch would have produced a volume of controverſy ſo elegant and ingenious as the ſermons lately preached by Mr. White, the Arabic profeſſor, at Mr. Bampton's lecture. His obſervations on the character and religion of Mahomet, are always adapted to his argument, and generally founded in truth and reaſon. He ſuſtains the part of a lively and eloquent advocate; and ſometimes riſes to the merit of an hiſtorian and philoſopher.

[31] Gens Auſtriæ membrorum præ-eminentiâ valida, et gens Germana corde et corpore præſtantiſſima, quaſi in ictû oculi manû ferreâ et pectore arduo Arabes extinxerunt (Roderic. Toletan. c. xiv.).

[32] Theſe numbers are ſtated by Paul Warnefrid, the deacon of Aquileia (de Geſtis Langobard. l. vi. p. 911. edit. Grot.), and Anaſtaſius, the librarian of the Roman church (in Vit. Gregorii II.), who tells a miraculous ſtory of three conſecrated ſponges, which rendered invulnerable the French ſoldiers among whom they had been ſhared. It ſhould ſeem, that in his letters to the pope, Eudes uſurped the honour of the victory, for which he is chaſtiſed by the French annaliſts, who, with equal falſehood, accuſe him of inviting the Saracens.

[33] Narbonne, and the reſt of Septimania, was recovered by Pepin, the ſon of Charles Martel, A. D. 755. (Pagi, Critica, tom. iii. p. 300.). Thirty-ſeven years afterwards it was pillaged by a ſudden inroad of the Arabs, who employed the captives in the conſtruction of the moſch of Cordova (de Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 354.).

[34] This paſtoral letter, addreſſed to Lewis the Germanic, the grandſon of Charlemagne, and moſt probably compoſed by the pen of the artful Hincmar, is dated in the year 858, and ſigned by the biſhops of the provinces of Rheims and Rouen (Baronius, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 741. Fleury, Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. x. p. 514—516.). Yet Baronius himſelf, and the French critics, reject with contempt this epiſcopal fiction.

[35] The ſteed and the ſaddle which had carried any of his wives, were inſtantly killed or burnt, leſt they ſhould be afterwards mounted by a male. Twelve hundred mules, or camels, were required for his kitchen furniture; and the daily conſumption amounted to three thouſand cakes, an hundred ſheep, beſides oxen, poultry, etc. (Abulpharagius, Hiſt. Dynaſt. p. 140.).

[36] *Al Hemar.* He had been governor of Meſopotamia, and the Arabic proverb praiſes the courage of that warlike breed of aſſes who never fly from an enemy. The ſurname of Mervan may juſtify the compariſon of Homer (Iliad. Δ. 557, etc.), and both will ſilence the moderns, who conſider the aſs a ſtupid and ignoble emblem (d'Herbelot. Bibliot. Orient. p. 558.).

[37] Four ſeveral places, all in Egypt, bore the name of Buſir, or Buſiris, ſo famous in Greek fable. The firſt where Mervan was ſlain, was to the weſt of the Nile, in the province of Fium, or Arſinoe; the ſecond in the Delta, in the Sebennytic nome; the third, near the pyramids; the fourth, which was deſtroyed by Diocletian (ſee above, vol. i. p. 439.), in the Thebais. I ſhall here tranſcribe a note of the learned and orthodox Michaelis: Videntur in pluribus Ægypti ſuperioris urbibus Buſiri Coptoque arma ſumpſiſſe Chriſtiani, libertatemque de religione ſentiendi defendiſſe, ſed ſuccubuiſſe quo in bello Coptus et Buſiris diruta, et circa Eſnam magna ſtrages edita. Bellum narrant ſed cauſam belli ignorant ſcriptores Byzantini, alioqui Coptum et Buſirim non rebellaſſe dicturi, ſed cauſam Chriſtianorum ſuſcepturi (Not. 211. p. 100.). For the geography of the four Buſirs, ſee Abulfeda (Deſcript. Ægypt. p. 9. verſ. Michaelis. Gottingæ, 1776, in 4to), Michaelis (Not. 122—127. p. 58—63.), and d'Anville (Mémoire ſur l'Egypte, p. 85. 147. 205.).

[38] See Abulfeda (Annal. Moſlem. p. 136—145.), Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 392. verſ. Pocock), Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 109—121.), Abulpharagius (Hiſt. Dynaſt. p. 134—140.), Roderic of Toledo (Hiſt. Arabum, c. 18. p. 33.), Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 356, 357. who ſpeaks of the Abbaſſides under the names of Χωρασανιται and Μαυροφοροι), and the Bibliothéque of d'Herbelot, in the articles of *Ommiades*, *Abaſſides*, *Mærvan*, *Ibrahim*, *Saffah*, *Abou Moslem*.

[39] For the revolution of Spain, conſult Roderic of Toledo (c. xviii. p. 34, etc.), the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hiſpana (tom. ii. p. 30. 198.), and Cardonne (Hiſt. de l'Afrique et de l'Eſpagne, tom. i. p. 180—197. 205. 272. 323, etc.).

[40] I ſhall not ſtop to refute the ſtrange errors and fancies of Sir William Temple (his works, vol. iii. p. 371—374. octavo edition) and Voltaire (Hiſt. Générale, c. xxviii. tom. ii. p. 124, 125. édition de Lauſanne), concerning the diviſion of the Saracen empire. The miſtakes of Voltaire proceeded from the want of knowledge or reflection; but Sir William was deceived by a Spaniſh impoſtor, who has framed an apocryphal hiſtory of the conqueſt of Spain by the Arabs.

[41] The geographer d'Anville (l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 121—123.),

and the Orientaliſt d'Herbelot (Bibliothéque, p. 167, 168), may ſuffice for the knowledge of Bagdad. Our travellers, Pietro della Valle (tom. i. p. 688—698.), Tavernier (tom. i. p. 230—238.), Thevenot (part. ii. p. 209—212.), Otter (tom. i. p. 162—168.), and Niebuhr (Voyage en Arabie, tom. ii. p. 239—271.), have ſeen only its decay; and the Nubian geographer (p. 204.) and the travelling Jew, Benjamin of Tudela (Itinerarium, p. 112—123. à Conſt. l'Empereur, apud Elzevir, 1633), are the only writers of my acquaintance, who have known Bagdad under the reign of the Abbaſſides.

[42] The foundations of Bagdad were laid A. H. 145, A. D. 762. Moſtaſem, the laſt of the Abbaſſides, was taken and put to death by the Tartars, A. H. 656, A. D. 1258, the 20th of February.

[43] Medinat al Salem, Dar al Salam. Urbs pacis, or as it is more neatly compounded by the Byzantine writers, Εἰρηνοπολις (Irenopolis). There is ſome diſpute concerning the etymology of Bagdad, but the firſt ſyllable is allowed to ſignify a garden in the Perſian tongue; the garden of Dad, a Chriſtian hermit, whoſe cell had been the only habitation on the ſpot.

[44] Reliquit in ærario ſexcenties millies mille ſtateres, et quater et vicies millies mille aureos aureos. Elmacin, Hiſt. Saracen. p. 126. I have reckoned the gold pieces at eight ſhillings, and the proportion to the ſilver as twelve to one. But I will never anſwer for the numbers of Erpenius; and the Latins are ſcarcely above the ſavages in the language of arithmetic.

[45] D'Herbelot, p. 530. Abulfeda, p. 154. Nivem Meccam apportavit, rem ibi aut nunquam aut rariſſime viſam.

[46] Abulfeda, p. 184. 189. deſcribes the ſplendour and liberality of Almamon. Milton has alluded to this Oriental cuſtom:

—Or where the gorgeous Eaſt, with richeſt hand,
Showers on her kings Barbaric pearls and gold.

I have uſed the modern word *lottery*, to expreſs the *Miſſilia* of the Roman emperors, which entitled to ſome prize the perſon who caught them, as they were thrown among the crowd.

[47] When Bell of Antermony (Travels, vol. i. p. 99.) accompanied the Ruſſian ambaſſador to the audience of the unfortunate Shah Huſſein of Perſia, *two* lions were introduced, to denote the power of the king over the fierceſt animals.

[48] Abulfeda, p. 237. d'Herbelot, p. 590. This embaſſy was received at Bagdad A. H. 305, A. D. 917. In the paſſage of Abulfeda, I have uſed, with ſome variations, the Engliſh tranſlation of the learned and amiable M. Harris of Salisbury (Philological Enquiries, p. 363, 364.).

[49] Cardonne, Hiſtoire de l'Afrique et de l'Eſpagne, tom. i. p. 330—

536. A juſt idea of the taſte and architecture of the Arabians of Spain, may be conceived from the deſcription and plates of the Alhambra of Grenada (Swinburne's Travels, p. 171—188.).

[50] Cardonne, tom. i. p. 329, 330. This confeſſion, the complaints of Solomon of the vanity of this world (read Prior's verboſe but eloquent poem), and the happy ten days of the emperor Seghed (Rambler, N° 204, 205.), will be triumphantly quoted by the detractors of human life. Their expectations are commonly immoderate, their eſtimates are ſeldom impartial. If I may ſpeak of myſelf (the only perſon of whom I can ſpeak with certainty), *my* happy hours have far exceeded, and far exceed, the ſcanty numbers of the caliph of Spain; and I ſhall not ſcruple to add, that many of them are due to the pleaſing labour of the preſent compoſition.

[51] The Guliſtan (p. 239.) relates the converſation of Mahomet and a phyſician (Epiſtol. Renaudot. in Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. i. p. 814.). The prophet himſelf was ſkilled in the art of medicine; and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 394—405.) has given an extract of the aphoriſms which are extant under his name.

[52] See their curious architecture in Reaumur (Hiſt. des Inſectes, tom. v. Mémoire viii.). Theſe hexagons are cloſed by a pyramid; the angles of the three ſides of a ſimilar pyramid, ſuch as would accomplish the given end with the ſmalleſt quantity poſſible of materials, were determined by a mathematician, at 109 degrees 26 minutes for the larger, 70 degrees 34 minutes for the ſmaller. The actual meaſure is 109 degrees 28 minutes, 70 degrees 32 minutes. Yet this perfect harmony raiſes the work at the expence of the artiſt: the bees are not maſters of tranſcendant geometry.

[53] Saed Ebn Ahmed, cadhi of Toledo, who died A. H. 462, A. D. 1069, has furniſhed Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 160.) with this curious paſſage, as well as with the text of Pocock's Specimen Hiſtoriæ Arabum. A number of literary anecdotes of philoſophers, phyſicians, etc. who have flouriſhed under each caliph, form the principal merit of the Dynaſties of Abulpharagius.

[54] Theſe literary anecdotes are borrowed from the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hiſpana (tom. ii. p. 38. 71. 201, 202.), Leo Africanus (de Arab. Medicis et Philoſophis, in Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xiii. p. 259—298. particularly p. 274.), and Renaudot (Hiſt. Patriarch. Alex. p. 274, 275. 536, 537.), beſides the chronological remarks of Abulpharagius.

[55] The Arabic catalogue of the Eſcurial will give a juſt idea of the proportion of the claſſes. In the library of Cairo, the MSS. of aſtronomy and medicine amounted to 6500, with two fair globes, the one of braſs, the other of ſilver (Bibliot. Arab. Hiſp. tom. i. p. 417.).

[56] As for inſtance, the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh books (the eighth is ſtill wanting) of the Conic Sections of Apollonius Pergæus, which were printed from the Florence MS. 1661. (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. ii. p. 559.). Yet the fifth book had been previouſly reſtored by the mathematical divination of Viviani (ſee his eloge in Fontenelle, tom. v. p. 59, etc.).

[57] The merit of theſe Arabic verſions is freely diſcuſſed by Renaudot (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. i. p. 812—816.), and pioufly defended by Caſiri (Bibliot. Arab. Hiſpana, tom. i. p. 238—240). Moſt of the verſions of Plato, Ariſtotle, Hippocrates, Galen, etc. are aſcribed to Honain, a phyſician of the Neſtorian ſect, who flouriſhed at Bagdad in the court of the caliphs, and died A. D. 876. He was at the head of a ſchool or manufacture of tranſlations, and the works of his ſons and diſciples were published under his name. See Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 88. 115. 171—174. and apud Aſſeman, Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 438.), d'Herbelot (Bibliot Orient. p. 456.), Aſſeman (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii. p. 164.), and Caſiri (Bibliot. Arab. Hiſpana, tom. i. p. 238, etc. 251. 286—290. 302. 304, etc.).

[58] See Moſheim, Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 181. 214. 236. 257. 315. 338. 396. 438, etc.

[59] The moſt elegant commentary on the Categories or Predicaments of Ariſtotle, may be found in the Philoſophical Arrangements of Mr. James Harris (London, 1775, in octavo), who laboured to revive the ſtudies of Grecian literature and philoſophy.

[60] Abulpharagius, Dynaſt. p. 81. 222. Bibliot. Arab. Hiſp. tom. i. p. 370, 371. In quem (ſays the primate of the Jacobites) ſi immiſerit ſe lector, oceanum hoc in genere (*algebræ*) inveniet. The time of Diophantus of Alexandria is unknown, but his ſix books are ſtill extant, and have been illuſtrated by the Greek Planudes and the Frenchman Meziriac (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. iv. p. 12—15.).

[61] Abulfeda (Annal. Moſlem. p. 210, 211. verſ. Reiske) deſcribes this operation according to Ibn Challecan, and the beſt hiſtorians. This degree moſt accurately contains 200,000 royal or Hashemite cubits, which Arabia had derived from the ſacred and legal practice both of Paleſtine and Egypt. This ancient cubit is repeated 400 times in each baſis of the great pyramid, and ſeems to indicate the primitive and univerſal meaſures of the Eaſt. See the Métrologie of the laborious M. Paucton, p. 101—195.

[62] See the Aſtronomical Tables of Ulugh Begh, with the preface of Dr. Hyde, in the 1ſt volume of his Syntagma Diſſertationum, Oxon. 1767.

[63] The truth of aſtrology was allowed by Albumazar, and the beſt of the Arabian aſtronomers, who drew their moſt certain predictions,

not from Venus and Mercury, but from Jupiter and the ſun (Abulpharag. Dynaſt. p. 161—163.). For the ſtate and ſcience of the Perſian aſtronomers, ſee Chardin (Voyages en Perſe, tom. iii. p. 162—203.).

[64] Bibliot. Arabico-Hiſpana, tom. i. p. 438. The original relates a pleaſant tale, of an ignorant but harmleſs practitioner.

[65] In the year 956, Sancho the fat, king of Leon, was cured by the phyſicians of Cordova (Mariana, l. viii. c. 7. tom. i. p. 318.).

[66] The ſchool of Salerno, and the introduction of the Arabian ſciences into Italy, are diſcuſſed with learning and judgment by Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. iii. p. 932—940.) and Giannone (Iſtoria Civile di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 119—127.).

[67] See a good view of the progreſs of anatomy in Wotton (Reflections on ancient and modern Learning, p. 208—256.). His reputation has been unworthily depreciated by the wits in the controverſy of Boyle and Bentley.

[68] Bibliot. Arab. Hiſpanica, tom. i. p. 275. Al Beithar of Malaga, their greateſt botaniſt, had travelled into Africa, Perſia, and India.

[69] Dr. Watſon (Elements of Chemiſtry, vol. i. p 17, etc.) allows the *original* merit of the Arabians. Yet he quotes the modeſt confeſſion of the famous Geber of the ixth century (d'Herbelot, p. 387.), that he had drawn moſt of his ſcience, perhaps of the tranſmutation of metals, from the ancient ſages. Whatever might be the origin or extent of their knowledge, the arts of chemiſtry and alchymy appear to have been known in Egypt at leaſt three hundred years before Mahomet (Wotton's Reflections, p. 121—133. Pauw, Récherches ſur les Egyptiens et les Chinois, tom. i. p. 376—429.).

[70] Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 26. 148.) mentions a Syriac verſion of Homer's two poems, by Theophilus, a Chriſtian Maronite of mount Libanus, who profeſſed aſtronomy at Roha or Edeſſa towards the end of the viiith century. His work would be a literary curioſity. I have read ſomewhere, but I do not believe, that Plutarch's Lives were tranſlated into Turkiſh for the uſe of Mahomet the ſecond.

[71] I have peruſed, with much pleaſure, Sir William Jones's Latin Commentary on Aſiatic poetry (London, 1774, in octavo), which was compoſed in the youth of that wonderful linguiſt. At preſent, in the maturity of his taſte and judgment, he would perhaps abate of the fervent, and even partial, praiſe which he has beſtowed on the Orientals.

[72] Among the Arabian philoſophers, Averroes has been accuſed of deſpiſing the religions of the Jews, the Chriſtians, and the Mahometans (ſee his article in Bayle's Dictionary). Each of theſe ſects would agree, that in two inſtances out of three, his contempt was reaſonable.

[73] D'Herbelot, Bibliothéque Orientale, p. 546.

[74] Θεοφιλος ατοπον κρινας, ει την των οντων γνωσιν, δι ην το Ρωμαιων γενος θαυμαζεται, εκδοτον ποιησει τοις εθνεσι, etc. Cedrenus, p. 548. who relates how manfully the emperor refuſed a mathematician to the inſtances and offers of the caliph Almamon. This abſurd ſcruple is expreſſed almoſt in the ſame words, by the continuator of Theophanes (Scriptores poſt Theophanem, p. 118.).

[75] See the reign and character of Harun al Rashid, in the Bibliothéque Orientale, p. 431—433, under his proper title; and in the relative articles to which M. d'Herbelot refers. That learned collector has ſhewn much taſte in ſtripping the Oriental chronicles of their inſtructive and amuſing anecdotes.

[76] For the ſituation of Racca, the old Nicephorium, conſult d'Anville (l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 24—27.). The Arabian Nights repreſent Harun al Rashid as almoſt ſtationary in Bagdad. He reſpected the royal ſeat of the Abbaſſides, but the vices of the inhabitants had driven him from the city (Abulfed. Annal. p. 167.).

[77] M. de Tournefort, in his coaſting voyage from Conſtantinople to Trebizond, paſſed a night at Heraclea or Eregri. His eye ſurveyed the preſent ſtate, his reading collected the antiquities, of the city (Voyage du Levant, tom. iii. lettre xvi. p. 23—35.). We have a ſeparate hiſtory of Heraclea in the fragments of Memnon, which are preſerved by Photius.

[78] The wars of Harun al Rashid againſt the Roman empire, are related by Theophanes (p. 384, 385. 391. 396. 407, 408.), Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xv. p. 115. 124.), Cedrenus (p. 477, 478.), Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 407.), Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 136. 151. 152.), Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 147. 151.), and Abulfeda (p. 156. 166—168.)

[79] The authors from whom I have learned the moſt of the ancient and modern ſtate of Crete, are Belon (Obſervations, etc. c. 3—20. Paris, 1555.), Tournefort (Voyage du Levant, tom. i. lettre ii. et iii.), and Meurſius (Creta, in his works, tom. iii. p. 343—544.). Although Crete is ſtyled by Homer Πειρα, by Dionyſius λιπαρη τε και ευβοτος, I cannot conceive that mountainous iſland to ſurpaſs, or even to equal, in fertility the greater part of Spain.

[80] The moſt authentic and circumſtantial intelligence is obtained from the four books of the Continuation of Theophanes, compiled by the pen or the command of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, with the Life of his father Baſil the Macedonian (Scriptores poſt Theophanem, p. 1—162. à Franciſc. Combefis, Paris, 1685.). The loſs of Crete and Sicily is related, l. ii. p. 46—53. To theſe we may add the ſecondary

evidence of Joſeph Geneſius (l. ii. p. 21. Venet. 1733.), George Cedrenus (Compend. p. 506—508.), and John Scylitzes Curopalata (apud Baron. Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 827. N° 24, etc.). But the modern Greeks are ſuch notorious plagiaries, that I ſhould only quote a plurality of names.

[81] Renaudot (Hiſt. Patriarch. Alex. p. 251—256. 268—270.) has deſcribed the ravages of the Andaluſian Arabs in Egypt, but has forgot to connect them with the conqueſt of Crete.

[82] Δηλοι (ſays the continuator of Theophanes, l. ii. p. 51.) δε ταυτα σαφεςατα και πλατικωτερον ἡ τοτε γραφεισα Θεογνωςῳ και ἱς χειρας ἐλθυσα ἡμων. This hiſtory of the loſs of Sicily is no longer extant. Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. vii. p. 7. 19. 21, etc.) has added ſome circumſtances from the Italian chronicles.

[83] The ſplendid and intereſting tragedy of *Tancrede* would adapt itſelf much better to this epoch, than to the date (A. D. 1005.) which Voltaire himſelf has choſen. But I muſt gently reproach the poet, for infuſing into the Greek ſubjects the ſpirit of modern knights and ancient republicans.

[84] The narrative or lamentation of Theodoſius, is tranſcribed and illuſtrated by Pagi (Critica, tom. iii. p. 719, etc.). Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus (in Vit. Baſil. c. 69, 70. p. 190—192.) mentions the loſs of Syracuſe and the triumph of the demons.

[85] The extracts from the Arabic hiſtories of Sicily are given in Abulfeda (Annal. Moſlem. p. 271—273.), and in the firſt volume of Muratori's Scriptores Rerum Italicarum. M. de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 363, 364.) has added ſome important facts.

[86] One of the moſt eminent Romans (Gratianus, magiſter militum et Romani palatii ſuperiſta) was accuſed of declaring, quia Franci nihil nobis boni faciunt, neque adjutorium præbent, ſed magis quæ noſtra ſunt violenter tollunt. Quare non advocamus Græcos, et cum eis fœdus pacis componentes, Francorum regem et gentem de noſtro regno et dominatione expellimus? Anaſtaſius in Leone IV. p. 199.

[87] Voltaire (Hiſt. Générale, tom. ii. c. 38. p. 124.) appears to be remarkably ſtruck with the character of pope Leo IV. I have borrowed his general expreſſion, but the ſight of the forum has furniſhed me with a more diſtinct and lively image.

[88] De Guignes, Hiſt. Générale des Huns, tom. i. p. 363, 364. Cardonne, Hiſt. de l'Afrique et de l'Eſpagne, ſous la Domination des Arabes, tom. ii. p. 24, 25. I obſerve, and cannot reconcile, the difference of theſe writers in the ſucceſſion of the Aglabites.

[89] Beretti (Chorographia Italiæ Medii Ævi, p. 106, 108.) has illuſtrated

Centumcellæ, Leopolis, Civitas Leonina, and the other places of the Roman dutchy.

[90] The Arabs and the Greeks are alike ſilent concerning the invaſion of Rome by the Africans. The Latin chronicles do not afford much inſtruction (ſee the Annals of Baronius and Pagi). Our authentic and contemporary guide for the popes of the ixth century, is Anaſtaſius, librarian of the Roman church. His Life of Leo IV. contains twenty-four pages (p. 175—199. edit. Paris); and if a great part conſiſts of ſuperſtitious trifles, we muſt blame or commend his hero, who was much oftener in a church than in a camp.

[91] The ſame number was applied to the following circumſtance in the life of Motaſſem: he was the *eighth* of the Abbaſſides; he reigned *eight* years, *eight* months, and *eight* days; left *eight* ſons, *eight* daughters, *eight* thouſand ſlaves, *eight* millions of gold.

[92] Amorium is ſeldom mentioned by the old geographers, and totally forgotten in the Roman Itineraries. After the vith century, it became an epiſcopal ſee, and at length the metropolis of the new Galatia (Carol. Scto Paulo, Geograph. Sacra, p. 234.). The city roſe again from its ruins, if we ſhould read *Ammuria*, not *Anguria*, in the text of the Nubian geographer (p. 236.).

[93] In the Eaſt he was ſtyled Δυσυχης (Continuator Theophan. l. iii. p. 84.); but ſuch was the ignorance of the Weſt, that his ambaſſadors, in public diſcourſe, might boldly narrate, de victoriis, quas adverſus exteras bellando gentes cœlitus fuerat aſſecutus. (Annaliſt Bertinian, apud Pagi, tom. iii. p. 720.).

[94] Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 167, 168.) relates one of theſe ſingular tranſactions on the bridge of the river Lamus in Cilicia, the limit of the two empires, and one day's journey weſtward of Tarſus (d'Anville, Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 91.). Four thouſand four hundred and ſixty Moſlems, eight hundred women and children, one hundred confederates, were exchanged for an equal number of Greeks. They paſſed each other in the middle of the bridge, and when they reached their reſpective friends, they ſhouted *Allah Acbar*, and *Kyrie Eleiſon*. Many of the priſoners of Amorium were probably among them, but in the ſame year (A. H. 231.), the moſt illuſtrious of them, the forty-two martyrs, were beheaded by the caliph's order.

[95] Conſtantin. Porphyrogenitus, in Vit. Baſil. c. 61. p. 186. Theſe Saracens were indeed treated with peculiar ſeverity as pirates and renegadoes.

[96] For Theophilus Motaſſem, and the Amorian war, ſee the Continuator of Theophanes (l. iii. p. 77—84.), Geneſius (l. iii. p. 24—

34.), Cedrenus (p. 528—532.), Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 180.), Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 165, 166.), Abulfeda (Annal. Moſlem, p. 191.), d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 639—640.).

[97] M. de Guignes, who ſometimes leaps, and ſometimes ſtumbles, in the gulph between Chineſe and Mahometan ſtory, thinks he can ſee, that theſe Turks are the *Hoei-ke*, alias the *Kao-tche*, or *high waggons*; that they were divided into fifteen hords, from China and Siberia to the dominions of the caliphs and Samanides, etc. (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 1—33. 124—131.).

[98] He changed the old name of Sumere, or Samara, into the fanciful title of *Ser-men-rai*, that which gives pleaſure at firſt ſight (d'Herbelot, Bibliothéque Orientale, p. 808. d'Anville, l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 97, 98.).

[99] Take a ſpecimen, the death of the caliph Motaz, correptum pedibus pertrahunt, et ſudibus probe permulcant, et ſpoliatum laceris veſtibus in ſole collocant, præ cujus acerrimo æſtu pedes alternos attollebat et demittebat. Adſtantium aliquis miſero cplaphos continuo ingerebat, quos ille objectis manibus avertere ſtudebat. . . . Quo facto traditus tortori fuit totoque triduo cibo potûque prohibitus. . . . Suffocatus, etc. (Abulfeda, p. 206.). Of the caliph Mohtadi, he ſays, cervices ipſi perpetuis ictibus contundebant, teſticuloſque pedibus conculcabant (p. 208.).

[100] See under the reigns of Motaſſem, Motawakkel, Moſtanſer, Moſtain, Motaz, Mohtadi, and Motamed, in the Bibliothéque of d'Herbelot, and the now familiar Annals of Elmacin, Abulpharagius, and Abulfeda.

[101] For the ſect of the Carmathians, conſult Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 219. 224. 229. 231. 238. 241. 243.), Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 179 — 182.), Abulfeda (Annal. Moſlem. p. 218, 219, etc. 245. 265. 274.), and d'Herbelot (Bibliothéque Orientale, p. 256—258. 635.). I find ſome inconſiſtencies of theology and chronology, which it would not be eaſy nor of much importance to reconcile.

[102] Hyde, Syntagma Diſſertat. tom. ii. p. 57. in Hiſt. Shahiludii.

[103] The dynaſties of the Arabian empire may be ſtudied in the Annals of Elmacin, Abulpharagius, and Abulfeda, under the *proper* years, in the dictionary of d'Herbelot, under the *proper* names. The tables of M. de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i.) exhibit, a general chronology of the Eaſt, interſperſed with ſome hiſtorical anecdotes; but his attachment to national blood has ſometimes confounded the order of time and place.

[104] The Aglabites and Edriſites are the profeſſed ſubject of M. de

Cardonne (Hiſt. de l'Afrique et de l'Eſpagne ſous la Domination des Arabes, tom. ii. p. 1—63.).

[105] To eſcape the reproach of error, I muſt criticiſe the inaccuracies of M. de Guignes (tom. i. p. 359.) concerning the Edriſites. 1. The dynaſty and city of Fez could not be founded in the year of the Hegira 173, ſince the founder was a *poſthumous* child of a deſcendant of Ali, who fled from Mecca in the year 168. 2. This founder, Edris the ſon of Edris, inſtead of living to the improbable age of 120 years. A. H. 313, died A. H. 214, in the prime of manhood. 3. The dynaſty ended A. H. 307, twenty-three years ſooner than it is fixed by the hiſtorian of the Huns. See the accurate Annals of Abulfeda, p. 158, 159. 185. 238.

[106] The dynaſties of the Taherites and Soffarides, with the riſe of that of the Samanides, are deſcribed in the original hiſtory and Latin verſion of Mirchond: yet the moſt intereſting facts had already been drained by the diligence of M. d'Herbelot.

[107] M. de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 124—154.) has exhauſted the Toulonides and Ikshidites of Egypt, and thrown ſome light on the Carmathians and Hamadanites.

[108] Hic eſt ultimus chalifah qui multum atque ſæpius pro concione perorarit. . . . Fuit etiam ultimus qui otium cum eruditis et facetis hominibus fallere hilariterque agere ſoleret. Ultimus tandem chalifarum cui ſumtus, ſtipendia, reditus, et theſauri, culinæ, cæteraque omnis aulica pompa priorum chalifarum ad inſtar comparata fuerint. Videbimus enim paulo poſt quam indignis et ſervilibus ludibriis exagitati, quam ad humilem fortunam ultimumque contemptum abjecti fuerint hi quondam potentiſſimi totius terrarum Orientalium orbis domini. Abulfed. Annal. Moſlem. p. 261. I have given this paſſage as the manner and tone of Abulfeda, but the caſt of Latin eloquence belongs more properly to Reiske. The Arabian hiſtorian (p. 255. 257. 261.—269. 283, etc.) has ſupplied me with the moſt intereſting facts of this paragraph.

[109] Their maſter, on a ſimilar occaſion, ſhewed himſelf of a more indulgent and tolerating ſpirit. Ahmed Ebn Hanbal, the head of one of the four orthodox ſects, was born at Bagdad A. H. 174, and died there A. H. 241. He fought and ſuffered in the diſpute concerning the creation of the Koran.

[110] The office of vizir was ſuperſeded by the emir al Omra, Imperator Imperatorum, a title firſt inſtituted by Rahdi, and which emerged at length in the Bowides and Seljukides: vectigalibus et tributis et curiis per omnes regiones præfecit, juſſitque in omnibus ſuggeſtis no-

minis ejus in concionibus mentionem fieri (Abulpharagius, Dynaſt. p. 199.). It is likewiſe mentioned by Elmacin (p. 254, 255.).

[111] Liutprand, whoſe choleric temper was embittered by his uneaſy ſituation, ſuggeſts the names of reproach and contempt more applicable to Nicephorus than the vain titles of the Greeks, Ecce venit ſtella matutina, ſurgit Eous, reverberat obtutû ſolis radios, pallida Saracenorum mors, Nicephorus μεδων.

[112] Notwithſtanding the inſinuation of Zonaras, και ει μη, etc. (tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 197.), it is an undoubted fact, that Crete was completely and finally ſubdued by Nicephorus Phocas (Pagi, Critica, tom. iii. p. 873—875. Meurſius, Creta, l. iii. c. 7. tom. iii. p. 464. 465.).

[113] A Greek life of St. Nicon the Armenian was found in the Sforza library, and tranſlated into Latin by the Jeſuit Sirmond for the uſe of cardinal Baronius. This contemporary legend caſts a ray of light on Crete and Peloponneſus in the xth century. He found the newly recovered island, fœdis deteſtandæ Agarenorum ſuperſtitionis veſtigiis adhuc plenam ac refertam but the victorious miſſionary, perhaps with ſome carnal aid, ad baptiſmum omnes veræque fidei diſciplinam pepulit. Eccleſiis per totam inſulam ædificatis, etc. (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 961.).

[114] Elmacin, Hiſt. Saracen. p. 278, 279. Liutprand was diſpoſed to depreciate the Greek power, yet he owns that Nicephorus led againſt Aſſyria an army of eighty thouſand men.

[115] Ducenta fere millia hominum numerabat urbs (Abulfeda, Annal. Moslem. p. 231.) of Mopſueſtia, or Maſiſa, Mampſyſta, Manſiſta, Mamiſta, as it is corruptly, or perhaps more correctly, ſtyled in the middle ages (Weſſeling, Itinerar. p. 580.). Yet I cannot credit this extreme populouſneſs a few years after the teſtimony of the emperor Leo, ου γαρ πολυπληθια χρατει τοις Κιλιξι βαρβαροις ἐσιν (Tactica, c. xviii. in Meurſii Oper. tom. vi. p. 817.).

[116] The text of Leo the deacon, in the corrupt names of Emeta and Myctarſim, reveals the cities of Amida and Martyropolis (Miafarekin. See Abulfeda Geograph. p. 245. verſ. Reiske). Of the former, Leo obſerves, urbs munita et illuſtris; of the latter, clara atque conſpicua opibuſque et pecore, reliquis ejus provinciæ urbibus atque oppidis longe præſtans.

[117] Ut et Ecbatana pergeret Agarenorumque regiam everteret aiunt enim urbium quæ uſquam ſunt ac toto orbe exiſtunt feliciſſimam eſſe auroque ditiſſimam (Leo Diacon. apud Pagium, tom. iv. p. 34.). This ſplendid deſcription ſuits only with Bagdad, and cannot poſſibly apply either to Hamadan, the true Echatana (d'Anville, Géographie

Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 237.), or Tauris, which has been commonly miſtaken for that city. The name of Ectabana, in the ſame indefinite ſenſe, is tranſferred by a more claſſic authority (Cicero pro Lege Manilia, c. 4.) to the royal ſeat of Mithridates king of Pontus.

[118] See the Annals of Elmacin, Abulpharagius, and Abulfeda, from A. H. 351, to A. H. 361; and the reigns of Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimiſces, in the Chronicles of Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 199—l. xvii. 215.) and Cedrenus (Compend. p. 649—684.). Their manifold defects are partly ſupplied by the MS. hiſtory of Leo the deacon, which Pagi obtained from the Benedictines, and has inſerted almoſt entire, in a Latin verſion (Critica, tom. iii. p. 873. tom. iv. p. 37.).

NOTES

NOTES

TO THE

TENTH VOLUME.

CHAP. LIII.

[1] The epithet of Πορφυρογεννητος, Porphyrogenitus, born in the purple, is elegantly defined by Claudian:

Ardua privatos neſcit fortuna Penates;
Et regnum cum luce dedit. Cognata poteſtas
Excepit Tyrio venerabile pignus in oſtro.

And Ducange, in his Greek and Latin Gloſſaries, produces many paſſages expreſſive of the ſame idea.

[2] A ſplendid MS. of Conſtantine, de Cæremoniis Aulæ et Eccleſiæ Byzantinæ, wandered from Conſtantinople to Buda, Frankfort and Leipſic, where it was published in a ſplendid edition by Leich and Reiske (A. D. 1751, in folio), with ſuch lavish praiſe as editors never fail to beſtow on the worthy or worthleſs object of their toil.

[3] See, in the firſt volume of Banduri's Imperium Orientale, Conſtantinus de Thematibus, p. 1—24. de Adminiſtrando Imperio, p. 45—127. edit. Venet. The text of the old edition of Meurſius is corrected from a MS. of the royal library of Paris, which Iſaac Caſaubon had formerly ſeen (Epiſt. ad Polybium, p. 10.), and the ſenſe is illuſtrated by two maps of William Deliſle, the prince of geographers, till the appearance of the greater d'Anville.

[4] The Tactics of Leo and Conſtantine are published with the aid of ſome new MSS. in the great edition of the works of Meurſius, by the learned John Lami (tom. vi. p. 531—920. 1211—1417. Florent. 1745), yet the text is ſtill corrupt and mutilated, the verſion is ſtill obſcure and faulty. The imperial library of Vienna would afford ſome valuable materials to a new editor (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 369, 370.).

[5] On the ſubject of the *Baſilica*, Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. xii. p. 425—514.), and Heineccius (Hiſt. Juris Romani, p. 396—399.), and Giannone (Iſtoria civile di Napoli, tom. i. p. 450—458.) as hiſtorical civilians may be uſefully conſulted. XLI books of this Greek code have been published, with a Latin verſion, by Charles Annibal

Fabrottus (Paris, 1647), in ſeven tomes in folio; IV other books have been ſince diſcovered, and are inſerted in Gerard Meerman's Novus Theſaurus Juris Civ. et Canon. tom. v. Of the whole work, the ſixty books, John Leunclavius has printed (Baſil, 1575) an *eclogue*, or ſynopſis. The CXIII novels, or new laws, of Leo, may be found in the Corpus Juris Civilis.

[6] I have uſed the laſt and beſt edition of the Geoponics (by Nicolas Niclas, Lipſiæ, 1781, 2 vols. in octavo). I read in the preface, that the ſame emperor reſtored the long-forgotten ſyſtem of rhetoric and philoſophy: and his two books of *Hippiatrica*, or Horſe-phyſic, were publiſhed at Paris, 1530, in folio (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 493—500.).

[7] Of theſe LIII books, or titles, only two have been preſerved and printed, de Legationibus (by Fulvius Urſinus, Antwerp, 1582, and Daniel Hæſchelius, Auguſt. Vindel. 1603), and de Virtutibus et Vitiis (by Henry Valeſius or de Valois, Paris, 1634).

[8] The life and writings of Simeon Metaphraſtes are deſcribed by Hankius (de Scriptoribus Byzant. p. 418—460.). This biographer of the ſaints indulged himſelf in a looſe paraphraſe of the ſenſe or nonſenſe of more ancient acts. His Greek rhetoric is again paraphraſed in the Latin verſion of Surius, and ſcarcely a thread can be now viſible of the original texture.

[9] According to the firſt book of the Cyropædia, profeſſors of tactics, a ſmall part of the ſcience of war, were already inſtituted in Perſia, by which Greece muſt be underſtood. A good edition of all the Scriptores Tactici would be a task not unworthy of a Scholar. His induſtry might diſcover ſome new MSS. and his learning might illuſtrate the military hiſtory of the ancients. But this ſcholar ſhould be likewiſe a ſoldier; and, alas! Quintus Icilius is no more.

[10] After obſerving that the demerit of the Cappadocians roſe in proportion to their rank and riches, he inſerts a more pointed epigram, which is aſcribed to Demodocus:

Καππαδοκην ποτ' εχιδνα κακη δακεν, αλλα και αυτη
Καθανε, γευσαμενη αἱματος ιοβολω.

The ſting is preciſely the ſame with the French epigram againſt Freron: Un ſerpent mordit Jean Freron—Eh bien? Le ſerpent en mourut. But as the Paris wits are ſeldom read in the Anthology, I ſhould be curious to learn through what channel it was conveyed for their imitation (Conſtantin. Porphyrogen. de Themat. c. ii. Brunk. Analect. Græc. tom. ii. p. 56. Brodæi Anthologia, l. ii. p. 244.).

[11] The Legatio Liutprandi Epiſcopi Cremonenſis ad Nicephorum

Phocam, is inſerted in Muratori, Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. ii. pars i.

[12] See Conſtantine de Thematibus, in Banduri, tom. i. p. 1—30. who owns, that the word is ὁ παλαια. [illegible]μα is uſed by Maurice (Stratagem. l. ii. c. 2.) for a legion, from whence the name was eaſily transferred to its poſt or province (Ducange, Gloſſ. Græc. tom. i. p. 487, 488.). Some etymologies are attempted for the Opſician, Optimatian, Thraceſian, themes.

[13] Αγιος πελαγος, as it is ſtyled by the modern Greeks, from which the corrupt names of Archipelago, l'Archipel, and the Arches, have been transformed by geographers and ſeamen (d'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 281. Analyſe de la Carte de la Grèce p. 60.). The numbers of monks or caloyers, in all the iſlands and the adjacent mountain of Athos (Obſervations de Belon, fol. 32. verſo), monte ſanto, might juſtify the epithet of holy, ἁγιος, a ſlight alteration from the original αιγαιος, impoſed by the Dorians, who, in their dialect, gave the figurative name of αιγες, or goats, to the bounding waves (Voſſius, apud Cellarium, Geograph. Antiq. tom. i. p. 829.).

[14] According to the Jewish traveller who had viſited Europe and Aſia, Conſtantinople was equalled only by Bagdad, the great city of the Iſmaelites (Voyage de Benjamin de Tudele, par Baratier, tom. i. c. 5. p. 46.).

[15] Εσκλαβωθη δε πασα ἡ χωρα και γεγονε βαρβαρος, ſays Conſtantine (Thematibus, l. ii. c. 6. p. 25.), in a ſtyle as barbarous as the idea, which he confirms, as uſual, by a foolish epigram. The epitomizer of Strabo likewiſe obſerves, και νυν δε πασαν Ηπειρον, και Ελλαδα σχεδον και Μακεδονιαν, και Πελοποννησον Σκυθαι Σκλαβοι νεμονται (l. vii. p. 98. edit. Hudſon): a paſſage which leads Dodwell a weary dance (Geograph. Minor. tom. ii. diſſert. vi. p. 170—191.), to enumerate the inroads of the Sclavi, and to fix the date (A. D. 980) of this petty geographer.

[16] Strabo Geograph. l. viii. p. 562. Pauſanias, Græc. Deſcriptio, l. iii. c. 21. p. 264, 265. Plin. Hiſt. Natur. l. iv. c. 8.

[17] Conſtantin. de Adminiſtrando Imperio, l. ii. c. 50, 51, 52.

[18] The rock of Leucate, was the ſouthern promontory of his iſland and dioceſe. Had he been the excluſive guardian of the Lover's Leap, ſo well known to the readers of Ovid (Epiſt. Sappho) and the Spectator, he might have been the richeſt prelate of the Greek church.

[19] Leucatenſis mihi juravit epiſcopus, quotannis eccleſiam ſuam debere Nicephoro aureos centum perſolvere, ſimiliter et ceteras plus minuſve ſecundum vires ſuas (Liutprand in Legat. p. 489.).

[20] See Conſtantine (in Vit. Baſil, c. 74, 75, 76. p. 195. 197. in Script. poſt Theophanem) who allows himſelf to uſe many technical or barbarous words: barbarous, ſays he, τῃ των πολλων αμαθιᾳ καλον γαρ επι τουτοις κοινολεκτ*. Ducange labours on ſome: but he was not a weaver.

[21] The manufactures of Palermo, as they are deſcribed by Hugo Falcandus (Hiſt. Sicula in proem. in Muratori Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. v. p. 256.) is a copy of thoſe of Greece. Without tranſcribing his declamatory ſentences, which I have ſoftened in the text, I ſhall obſerve, that in this paſſage, the ſtrange word *exarentaſmata* is very properly changed for *exanthemata* by Cariſius, the firſt editor. Falcandus lived about the year 1190.

[22] Inde ad interiora Græciæ progreſſi Corinthum, Thebas, Athenas, antiquâ nobilitate celebres expugnant; et maximâ ibidem prædâ direptâ, opifices etiam qui Sericos pannos texere ſolent, ob ignominiam Imperatoris illius, ſuique principis gloriam, captivos deducunt. Quos Rogerius, in Palermo Siciliæ metropoli collocans, artem texendi ſuos edocere præcepit; et exhinc prædicta ars illa, prius à Græcis tantum inter Chriſtianos habita, Romanis patere cœpit ingeniis (Otho Friſingen. de Geſtis Frederici I. l. i. c. 33. in Muratori Script. Ital. tom. vi. p. 668.). This exception allows the biſhop to celebrate Liſbon and Almeria in ſericorum pannorum opificio prænobiliſſimæ (in Chron. apud Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 415.).

[23] Nicetas in Manuel, l. ii. c. 8. p. 65. He deſcribes theſe Greeks as ſkilled ενητριας εθνας ὑφαινειν, as ἱςῳ προσανεχοντας των ἑξαμιτων και χρυσοπαςων ςολων.

[24] Hugo Falcandus ſtyles them nobiles officinas. The Arabs had not introduced ſilk, though they had planted canes and made ſugar in the plain of Palermo.

[25] See the Life of Caſtruccio Caſticani, not by Machiavel, but by his more authentic biographer Nicholas Tegrim. Muratori, who has inſerted it in the xith volume of his Scriptores, quotes this curious paſſage in his Italian Antiquities (tom. i. diſſert. xxv. p. 378.).

[26] From the Ms. ſtatutes, as they are quoted by Muratori in his Italian Antiquities (tom. ii. diſſert. xxx. p. 46—48.).

[27] The broad ſilk manufacture was eſtabliſhed in England in the year 1620 (Anderſon's Chronological Deduction, vol. ii. p. 4.): but it is to the revocation of the edict of Nantes, that we owe the Spitalfields colony.

[28] Voyage de Benjamin de Tudele, tom. i. c. 5. p. 44—52. The Hebrew text has been tranſlated into French by that marvellous child

Baratier, who has added a volume of crude learning. The errors and fictions of the Jewish rabbi, are not a sufficient ground to deny the reality of his travels.

[29] See the continuator of Theophanes (l. iv. p. 107.), Cedrenus (p. 544.), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 157.).

[30] Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvii. p. 225), instead of pounds, uses the more classic appellation of talents, which, in a literal sense and strict computation, would multiply sixty fold the treasure of Basil.

[31] For a copious and minute description of the Imperial palace, see the Constantinop. Christiana (l. ii. c 4. p. 113—123) of Ducange, the Tillemont of the middle ages. Never has laborius Germany produced two antiquarians more laborious and accurate, than these two natives of lively France.

[32] The Byzantine palace surpasses the Capitol, the palace of Pergamus, the Rufinian wood (Φαιδρον αγαλμα), the temple of Adrian at Cyzicus, the pyramids, the Pharus, etc. according to an epigram (Antholog. Græc. l. iv. p. 488, 489. Rhodæi, apud Wechel) ascribed to Julian, ex-præfect of Egypt. Seventy one of his epigrams, some lively, are collected in Brunck (Analect. Græc. tom. ii. p. 493—510.); but this is wanting.

[33] Constantinopolitanum Palatium non pulchritudine solum, verum etiam fortitudine, omnibus quas unquam videram munitionibus præstat (Liutprand, Hist. l. v. c. 9. p. 465.).

[34] See the anonymus continuator of Theophanes (p. 59. 61. 86.), whom I have followed in the neat and concise abstract of Le Beau (Hist. du Bas-Empire, tom. xiv. p. 436. 438.).

[35] In aureo triclinio quæ præstantior est pars potentissimus (*the usurper Romanus*) degens cæteras partes (*filiis*) distribuerat (Liutprand. Hist. l. v. c. 9. p. 469.). For this lax signification of Triclinium (ædificium tria vel plura κλινη scilicet στεγη complectens), see Ducange (Gloss. Græc. et Observations sur Joinville, p. 240.) and Reiske (ad Constantinum de Cæremoniis, p. 7.).

[36] In equis vecti (says Benjamin of Tudela) regum filiis videntur persimiles. I prefer the Latin version of Constantine l'Empereur (p. 46.), to the French of Baratier (tom. i. p. 49.).

[37] See the account of her journey, munificence, and testament, in the Life of Basil, by his grandson Constantine (c. 74, 75, 76. p. 195—197.).

[38] *Carsamatium* (καρζιμαδες, Ducange, Gloss.) Græci vocant, amputatis virilibus et virgâ puerum eunuchum, quos Verdunenses mercatores ob immensum lucrum facere solent et in Hispaniam ducere (Liutprand, l. vi. c. 3. p. 470.).—The last abomination of the abominable slave-

trade! Yet I am ſurpriſed to find in the xth century, ſuch active ſpeculations of commerce in Lorraine.

[39] See the Alexiad (l. iii. p. 78, 79.) of Anna Comnena, who except in filial piety, may be compared to mademoiſelle de Montpenſier. In her awful reverence for titles and forms, ſhe ſtyles her father Επιστημοναρχης, inventor of this royal art, the τεχνη τεχνων, and επιστημη επιστημων.

[40] Στεμμα, στεφανος, διαδημα, ſee Reiske, ad Cæremoniale, 14, 15, Ducange has given a learned diſſertation on the crowns of Conſtantiople, Rome, France, etc. (ſur Joinville xxv. p. 289—303.); but of his thirty-four models, none exactly tally with Anne's deſcription.

[41] Par exſtans curis, ſolo diademate diſpar
Ordine pro rerum vocitatus *Cura-Palati*;
ſays the African Corippus (de Laudibus Juſtini, l. i. 136.); and in the ſame century (the vith), Caſſiodorius repreſents him, who, virgâ aureâ decoratus, inter numeroſa obſequia primus ante pedes regis incederet (Variar. vii. 5.). But this great officer, unknown, ανεπιγνωστος, exerciſing no function, νυν δε ϐδεμιαν, was caſt down by the modern Greeks to the xvth rank (Codin. c. 5. p. 65.).

[42] Nicetas (in Manuel, l. vii. c. 1.) defines him ως ἡ Λατινων Φωνη Καισκελαριον, ως δ' Ελληνες ειποιεν Λογοθετην. Yet the epithet of μεγας was added by the elder Andronicus (Ducange, tom. i. p. 823, 823.).

[43] From Leo I. (A. D. 470) the Imperial ink, which is ſtill viſible on ſome original acts, was a mixture of vermilion and cinnabar, or purple. The emperor's guardians, who ſhared in this prerogative, always marked in green ink the indiction, and the month. See the Dictionnaire Diplomatique (tom. i. p. 511—513.), a valuable abridgment.

[44] The ſultan ſent a Σιαυς to Alexius (Anna Comnena, l. vi. p. 170. Ducange ad loc.); and Pachymer often ſpeaks of the μεγας τζαους (l. vii. c. 1. l. xii. c. 30. l. xiii. c. 32.). The Chiaoush basha is now at the head of 700 officers (Rycaut's Ottoman Empire, p. 349. octavo edition).

[45] *Tagerman* is the Arabic name of an interpreter (d'Herbelot, p. 864, 865.), πρωτος των ἑρμηνεων ὡς κοινως ονομαζουσι δραγομανους, ſays Codinus (c. 5. N° 70. p. 67.). See Villehardouin (N° 96.), Busbequius (Epiſt. iv. p. 338.), and Ducange (Obſervations ſur Villehardouin, and Gloſſ. Græc. et Latin.).

[46] Κονοσαυλος, or κοντοσαυλος, a corruption from the Latin Comes ſtabuli, or the French Connetable. In a military ſenſe, it was uſed by the Greeks in the xith century, at leaſt as early as in France.

[47] It was directly borrowed from the Normans. In the xiith century, Giannone reckons the admiral of Sicily among the great officers.

[48] This sketch of honours and offices is drawn from George Codinus Curopalata, who survived the taking of Constantinople by the Turks; his elaborate though trifling work (de Officiis Ecclesiæ et Aulæ. C. P.) has been illustrated by the notes of Goar, and the three books of Gretser, a learned Jesuit.

[49] The respectful salutation of carrying the hand to the mouth, *ad os*, is the root of the Latin word, *adoro adorare*. See our learned Selden (vol. iii. p. 143—145. 942.), in his Titles of Honour. It seems, from the 1st book of Herodotus, to be of Persian origin.

[50] The two embassies of Liutprand to Constantinople, all that he saw or suffered in the Greek capital, are pleasantly described by himself (Hist. l. vi. c. 1—4. p. 469—471. Legatio a Nicephorum Phocam, p. 479—489).

[51] Among the amusements of the feast, a boy balanced, on his forehead, a pike, or pole, twenty-four feet long, with a cross bar of two cubits a little below the top. Two boys, naked, though cinctured (*campestrati*) together, and singly, climbed, stood, played, descended, etc. ita me stupidum reddidit: utrum mirabilius nescio (p. 470.). At another repast an homily of Chrysostom on the Acts of the Apostles was read elatâ voce non Latine (p. 483).

[52] *Gala* is not improbably derived from Cala, or Caloat, in Arabic, a robe of honour (Reiske, Not. in Cæremon. p. 84.).

[53] Πολυχρονιζειν is explained by ευφημιζειν (Codin. c. 7. Ducange, Gloss. Græc. tom. i. p. 1199.).

[54] Κωνσεβετ Δευς μιπεριεμ βεσσαμ—βικτορ εις σεμπερ—βηβητε Δομνι Ημπερατορες ην μυλτος αννις (Cæremon. c. 75. p. 215.). The want of the Latin V, obliged the Greeks to employ their β; nor do they regard quantity. Till he recollected the true language, these strange sentences might puzzle a professor.

[55] Βαφαγγοι κατα την πατριαν γλωσσαν και αυτοι, ηγουν Ινγλινιστι πολυχρονιζουσι (Codin. p. 90.). I wish he had preserved the words, however corrupt, of their English acclamation.

[56] For all these ceremonies, see the professed work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, with the notes, or rather dissertations, of his German editors, Leich and Reiske. For the rank of the *standing* courtiers, p. 80. not. 23. 62.; for the adoration, except on Sundays, p. 95. 240. not. 131.; the processions, p. 2, ect. not. p. 3, etc. the acclamations, passim, not. 25, etc.; the factions and Hippodrome, p. 177—214. not.

9. 93, etc.; the Gothic games, p. 221. not. III.; vintage, p. 217. not. 109, : much more information is ſcattered over the work.

[57] Et privato Othoni et nuper eadem dicenti nota adulteria (Tacit. Hiſt. i. 85.).

[58] The xiiith chapter, de Adminiſtratione Imperii, may be explained and rectified by the Familiæ Byzantinæ of Ducange.

[59] Sequiturque nefas Ægyptia conjux (Virgil. Æneid viii. 688.). Yet this Egyptian wife was the daughter of a long line of kings. Quid te mutavit (ſays Antony in a private letter to Auguſtus) an quod reginam ineo? Uxor mea eſt (Sueton. in Auguſt. c. 69.). Yet I much queſtion (for I cannot ſtay to enquire), whether the triumvir ever dared to celebrate his marriage either with Roman or Egyptian rites.

[60] Berenicem invitus invitam dimiſit (Suetonius in Tito, c. 7.). Have I obſerved elſewhere, that this Jewish beauty was at this time above fifty years of age? The judicious Racine has moſt diſcreetly ſuppreſſed both her age and her country.

[61] Conſtantine was made to praiſe the ευγενεια and περιφανεια of the Franks, with whom he claimed a private and public alliance. The French writers (Iſaac Caſaubon in Dedicat. Polybii) are highly delighted with theſe compliments.

[62] Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus (de Adminiſtrat. Imp. c. 26.) exhibits a pedigree and life of the illuſtrious king Hugo περιβλεπτου γενους Ουγωνος). A more correct idea may be formed from the Criticiſm of Pagi, the Annals of Muratori, and the Abridgement of St. Marc, A. D. 925—946.

[63] After the mention of the three goddeſſes, Liutprand very naturally adds, et quoniam non rex ſolus iis abutebatur, earum nati ex incertis patribus originem ducunt (Hiſt. l. iv. c. 6.): for the marriage of the younger Bertha, ſee Hiſt. l. v. c. 5.; for the incontinence of the elder, dulcis exercitio Hymenæi, l. ii. c. 15.; for the virtues and vices of Hugo, l. iii. c. 5. Yet it muſt not be forgot, that the biſhop of Cremona was a lover of ſcandal.

[64] Licet illa Imperatrix Græca ſibi et aliis fuiſſet fatis utilis et optima, etc. is the preamble of an inimical writer, apud Pagi, tom. iv. A. D. 989, N° 3. Her marriage and principal actions may be found in Muratori, Pagi, and St. Marc, under the proper years.

[65] Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 699. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 221. Elmacin, Hiſt. Saracenica, l. iii. c. 6. Neſtor apud Leveſque, tome ii. p. 112. Pagi, Critica, A. D. 987, N° 6. a ſingular concourſe! Wolodomir and Anne are ranked among the ſaints of the Ruſſian church. Yet we know his vices, and are ignorant of her virtues.

[66] Henricus primus duxit uxorem Scythicam, Ruſſam, filiam regis Jeroſlai. An embaſſy of biſhops was ſent into Ruſſia, and the father gratanter filiam cum multis donis miſit. This event happened in the year 1051. See the paſſages of the original chronicles in Bouquet's Hiſtorians of France (tom. xi. p. 29. 159. 161. 319. 384. 481.). Voltaire might wonder at this alliance; but he ſhould not have owned his ignorance of the country, religion, etc. of Jeroſlaus—a name ſo conſpicuous in the Ruſſian annals.

[67] A conſtitution of Leo the Philoſopher (lxxviii.) ne ſenatuſconſulta amplius fiant, ſpeaks the language of naked deſpotiſm, ἐξ ἑ το μοναρχον κρατος την τυτων ανηπται διοικησιν, και ακαιρον και ματαιον το αχρηςον μετα των χρειαν παρεχομενων συναπτεσθαι.

[68] Codinus (de Officiis, c. xvii. p. 120, 121.) gives an idea of this oath ſo ſtrong to the church πιςος και γνησιος δυλος και υἱος της ἁγιας εκκλησιας, ſo weak to the people και απεχεσθαι Φονων και ακρωτηριασμων και ἀμοιων τυτοις κατα το δυνατον.

[69] If we liſten to the threats of Nicephorus, to the ambaſſador of Otho, Nec eſt in mari domino tuo claſſium numerus. Navigantium fortitudo mihi ſoli ineſt, qui eum claſſibus aggrediar, bello maritimas ejus civitates demoliar; et quæ fluminibus ſunt vicina redigam in favillam. (Liutprand in Legat. ad Nicephorum Phocam, in Muratori Scriptores rerum Italicarum, tom. ii. pars i. p. 481.). He obſerves in another place, qui cæteris præſtant Venetici ſunt et Amalphitani.

[70] Nec ipſa capiet eum (the emperor Otho) in quâ ortus eſt pauper et pellicea Saxonia: pecuniâ quâ pollemus omnes nationes ſuper eum invitabimus; et quaſi Keramicum confringemus (Liutprand in Legat. p. 487.). The two books, de adminiſtrando Imperio, perpetually inculcate the ſame policy.

[71] The xixth chapter of the Tactics of Leo (Meurſ. Opera, tom. vi. p. 825—848.), which is given more correct from a manuſcript of Guidus, by the laborious Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 372—379.), relates to the *Naumachia* or naval war.

[72] Even of fifteen and ſixteen rows of oars, in the navy of Demetrius Poliorcetes. Theſe were for real uſe: the forty rows of Ptolemy Philadelphus were applied to a floating palace, whoſe tonnage, according to Dr. Arbuthnot (Tables of ancient Coins, etc. p. 231—236.), is compared as $4\frac{1}{2}$ to one, with an English 100 gun ſhip.

[73] The Dromones of Leo, etc. are ſo clearly deſcribed with two tire of oars, that I muſt cenſure the verſion of Meurſius and Fabricius, who pervert the ſenſe by a blind attachment to the claſſic appellation

of *Triremes*. The Byzantine hiſtorians are ſometimes guilty of the ſame inaccuracy.

[74] Conſtantin. Porphyrogen. in Vit. Baſil. c. lxi. p. 185. He calmly praiſes the ſtratagem as a βελτιν συνεσιν και σοφιαν; but the ſailing round Peloponeſus is deſcribed by his terrified fancy as a circumnavigation of a thouſand miles.

[75] The continuator of Theophanes (l. iv. p. 122, 123.) names the ſucceſſive ſtations, the caſtle of Lulum near Tarſus, mount Argæus, Iſamus, Ægilus, the hill of Mamas, Cyriſus, Mocilus, the hill of Auxentius, the ſun-dial of the Pharus of the great palace. He affirms, that the news were tranſmitted εν ακαριει in an indiviſible moment of time. Miſerable amplification, which, by ſaying too much, ſays nothing. How much more forcible and inſtructive would have been the definition of three, or ſix, or twelve hours.

[76] See the Cæremoniale of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, l. ii. c. 44. p. 176—192. A critical reader will diſcern ſome inconſiſtencies in different parts of this account; but they are not more obſcure or more ſtubborn than the eſtabliſhment and effectives, the preſent and fit for duty, the rank and file and the private, of a modern return, which retain in proper hands the knowledge of theſe profitable myſteries.

[77] See the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh chapters, περι οπλων, περι οπλισεως, and περι γυμνασιας in the Tactics of Leo, with the correſponding paſſages in thoſe of Conſtantine.

[78] They obſerve της γαρ ταξεως παντελως αμελησθεισης εν τοις Ρωμαιοις τα πολλα νυν ειωθε σφαλματα γινεσθαι (Leo, Tactic. p. 581. Conſtantin. p. 1216.). Yet ſuch were not the maxims of the Greeks and Romans, who deſpiſed the looſe and diſtant practice of archery.

[79] Compare the paſſages of the Tactics, p. 669, and 721, and the xiith with the xviiith chapter.

[80] In the preface to his Tactics, Leo very freely deplores the loſs of diſcipline and the calamities of the times, and repeats, without ſcruple (proem. p. 537.), the reproaches of αμελεια, ατακτια, αγυμνασια, δειλια, etc. nor does it appear that the ſame cenſures were leſs deſerved in the next generation by the diſciples of Conſtantine.

[81] See in the Ceremonial (l. ii. c. 19. p. 353.) the form of the emperor's trampling on the necks of the captive Saracens, while the ſingers chanted, "thou haſt made my enemies my footſtool!" and the people ſhouted forty times the kyrie eleiſon.

[82] Leo obſerves (Tactic. p. 668.) that a fair open battle againſt any nation whatſoever, is επισφαλες and επικινδυνον; the words are ſtrong, and the remark is true; yet if ſuch had been the opinion of the

old Romans, Leo had never reigned on the shores of the Thracian Bosphorus.

[83] Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 202, 203.) and Cedrenus (Compend. p. 668.), who relate the design of Nicephorus, must unfortunately apply the epithet of γενναιως to the opposition of the patriarch.

[84] The xviiith chapter of the tactics of the different nations, is the most historical and useful of the whole Collection of Leo. The manners and arms of the Saracens (Tactic. p. 809—817. and a fragment from the Medicean MS. in the preface of the vith volume of Meursius), the Roman emperor was too frequently called upon to study.

[85] Παντος δε και κακως ἐργου τον Θεον αιτιον ὑποτιθενται, και πολεμους χαιρειν λεγουσι τον Θεον τον διακωφιζοντα ἑαυτα εἰς τα της πολεμικης θελοντα. Leon. Tactic. p. 809.

[86] Liutprand (p. 484, 485.) relates and interprets the oracles of the Greeks and Saracens, in which, after the fashion of prophecy, the past is clear and historical, the future is dark, enigmatical, and erroneous. From this boundary of light and shade, an impartial critic may commonly determine the date of the composition.

[87] The sense of this distinction is expressed by Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 2. 62. 101.), but I cannot recollect the passage in which it is conveyed by this lively apophthegm.

[88] Ex Francis, quo nomine tam Latinos quam Teutones comprehendit, ludum habuit (Liutprand. in Legat. and Imp. Nicephorum, p. 483, 484.). This extension of the name may be confirmed from Constantine (de administrando Imperio, l. ii. c. 27, 28.) and Eutychius (Annal. tom. i. p. 55, 56.), who both lived before the crusades. The testimonies of Abulpharagius (Dynast, p. 69.) and Abulfeda (Præfat. ad Geograph.) are more recent.

[89] On this subject of ecclesiastical and beneficiary discipline, father Thomassin (tom. iii. l. i. c. 40. 45, 46, 47.) may be usefully consulted. A general law of Charlemagne exempted the bishops from personal service, but the opposite practice, which prevailed from the ixth to the xvth century, is countenanced by the example or silence of saints and doctors You justify your cowardice by the holy canons, says Ratherius of Verona; the canons likewise forbid you to whore, and yet —

[90] In the xviiith chapter of his Tactics, the emperor Leo has fairly stated the military vices and virtues of the Franks (whom Meursius ridiculously translates by *Galli*), and the Lombards, or Langobards. See likewise the xxvith Dissertation of Muratori de Antiquitatibus Italiæ medii Ævi.

[91] Domini tui milites (ſays the proud Nicephorus) equitandi ignari pedeſtris pugnæ ſunt inſcii: ſcutorum magnitudo, loricarum gravitudo, enſium longitudo, galearumque pondus neutrâ parte pugnare eos ſinit; ac ſubridens, impedit, inquit, et eos gaſtrimargia hoc eſt ventris ingluvies, etc. Liutprand. in Legat. p. 480, 481.

[92] In Saxoniâ certe ſcio decentius enſibus pugnare quam calamis et prius mortem obire quam hoſtibus terga dare (Liutprand, p. 482.).

[93] Φραγγοι τοινυν και Λογιβαρδοι λογον ελευθεριας περι πολλου ποιουνται, αλλ' οι μεν Λογιβαρδοι το πλεον της τοιαυτης αρετης νυν απωλεσαν. Leonis Tactica, c. 18. p. 805. The emperor Leo died A. D. 911: an hiſtorical poem, which ends in 916, and appears to have been compoſed in 940, by a native of Venetia, diſcriminates in theſe verſes the manners of Italy and France:

— Quid inertia bello
Pectora (Ubertus ait) duris prætenditis armis
O Itali? Potius vobis ſacra pocula cordi;
Sæpius et ſtomachum nitidis laxare ſaginis
Elataſque domos rutilo fulcire metallo.
Non eadem Gallos ſimilis vel cura remordet;
Vicinas quibus eſt ſtudium devincere terras
Depreſſumque larem ſpoliis hinc inde coactis
Suſtentare. —

(Anonym. Carmen Panegyricum de Laudibus Berengarii Auguſti, l. ii. in Muratori Script. Rerum Italic. tom. ii. pars i. p. 393.)

[94] Juſtinian, ſays the hiſtorian Agathias (l. v. p. 157.), πρωτος Ρωμαιων αυτοκρατωρ ονομασι και πραγματι. Yet the ſpecific title of emperor of the Romans was not uſed at Conſtantinople, till it had been claimed by the French and German emperors of old Rome.

[95] Conſtantine Manaſſes reprobates this deſign in his barbarous verſe:

Την πολιν την βασιλειαν αποκοσμησαι θελων,
Και την αρχην χαρισασθαι τριπεμπελῳ Ρωμῃ,
Ως ειτις αβροζολιζον αποκοσμησει νυμφην,
Και γραων τι α τριορωνον ὡς κορην ὡραϊσει.

and it is confirmed by Theophanes, Zonaras, Cedrenus, and the Hiſtoria Miſcella. voluit in urbem Romam Imperium transferre (l. xix. p. 157. in tom. i. pars i. of the Scriptores Rer. Ital. of Muratori).

[96] Paul Diacon. l. v. c. 11. p. 480. Anaſtaſius in Vitis Pontificum, in Muratori's Collection, tom. iii. pars i. p. 141.

[97] Conſult the preface of Ducange (ad Gloſſ. Græc. medii Ævi),

and the novels of Juſtinian (vii. lxvi.). The Greek language was κοινος the Latin was πατριος to himſelf, κυριωτατος to the πολιτειας σχημα, the ſyſtem of government.

[98] Ου μην αλλα και Λατινικη λεξις και Φρασις εισετι της νομης κρυπτουσα της συνειναι ταυτην μη δυναμενους ισχυρως απερειδεσθαι (Matth. Blaſtares, Hiſt. Juris, apud Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xii. p. 369.). The Code and Pandects (the latter by Thalelæus) were tranſlated in the time of Juſtinian (p. 358. 366.). Theophilus, one of the original triumvirs, has left an elegant, though diffuſe, paraphraſe of the Inſtitutes. On the other hand, Julian, anteceſſor of Conſtantinople (A. D. 570) cxx. Novellas Græcas eleganti Latinitate donavit (Heineccius, Hiſt. J. R. p. 396. for the uſe of Italy and Africa.

[99] Abulpharagius aſſigns the viith Dynaſty to the Franks or Romans, the viiith to the Greeks, the ixth to the Arabs. A tempore Auguſti Cæſaris donec imperaret Tiberius Cæſar ſpatio circiter annorum 600 fuerunt Imperatores C. P. Patricii, et præcipua pars exercitûs Romani: extra quod, conſiliarii, ſcribæ et populus, omnes Græci fuerunt: deinde regnum etiam Græcanicum factum eſt (p. 96. verſ. Pocock). The Chriſtian and eccleſiaſtical ſtudies of Abulpharagius gave him ſome advantage over the more ignorant *Moslems*.

[100] Primus ex Græcorum genere in Imperio confirmatus eſt; or, according to another MS. of Paulus Diaconus (l. iii. c. 15. p. 443.), in Græcorum Imperio.

[101] Quia linguam, mores, veſteſque mutâſtis, putavit Sanctiſſimus Papa (an audacious irony), ita vos (vobis) diſplicere Romanorum nomen. His nuncios, rogabant Nicephorum Imperatorem Græcorum, ut cum Othone Imperatore Romanorum amicitiam faceret (Liutprand in Legatione, p. 486.).

[102] By Laonicus Chalcocondyles, who ſurvived the laſt ſiege of Conſtantinople, the account is thus ſtated (l. i. p. 3.). Conſtantine tranſplanted his Latins of Italy to a Greek city of Thrace: they adopted the language and manners of the natives, who were confounded with them under the name of Romans. The kings of Conſtantinople, ſays the hiſtorian, επι το σφας αυτους σεμνυνεσθαι Ρωμαιων βασιλεις τε και αυτοκρατορας αποκαλειν Ελληνων δε βασιλεις ουκετι ηθελεν αξιουν.

[103] See Ducange (C. P. Chriſtiana, l. ii. p. 150, 151.), who collects the teſtimonies, not of Theophanes, but at leaſt of Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xv. p. 104.), Cedrenus (p. 454.), Michael Glycas (p. 281.) Conſtantine Manaſſes (p. 87.). After refuting the abſurd charge againſt the emperor, Spanheim (Hiſt. Imaginum, p. 99—111.), like a true advocate, proceeds to doubt or deny the reality of the fire, and almoſt of the library.

[104] According to Maichus (apud Zonar. l. xiv. p. 43.), this Homer was burnt in the time of Baſiliſcus. The MS. might be renewed—But on a ſerpent's skin? Moſt ſtrange and incredible!

[105] The ἀλογιαι of Zonaras, the ὀργιαι καὶ ἀμαθιαι of Cedrenus, are ſtrong words, perhaps not ill-ſuited to theſe reigns.

[106] See Zonaras (l. xvi. p. 160, 161.) and Cedrenus p. 549, 550.). Like friar Bacon, the philoſopher Leo has been transformed by ignorance into a conjurer: yet not ſo undeſervedly, if he be the author of the oracles more commonly aſcribed to the emperor of the ſame name. The phyſics of Leo in MS. are in the library of Vienna (Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 366. tom. xii. p. 781.). Quieſcant!

[107] The eccleſiaſtical and literary character of Photius, is copiouſly diſcuſſed by Hanckius (de Scriptoribus Byzant. p. 269—396.) and Fabricius.

[108] Εἰς Ασσυριους can only mean Bagdad, the ſeat of the caliph; and the relation of his embaſſy might have been curious and inſtructive. But how did he procure his books? A library ſo numerous could neither be found at Bagdad, nor tranſported with his baggage, nor preſerved in his memory. Yet the laſt, however incredible, ſeems to be affirmed by Photius himſelf, ὅσας αὐτων ἡ μνημη διεσωζε. Camuſat (Hiſt. Critique des Journaux, p. 87—94.) gives a good account of the Myriobiblon.

[109] Of theſe modern Greeks, ſee the reſpective articles in the Bibliotheca Græca of Fabricius; a laborious work, yet ſuſceptible of a better method and many improvements: of Euſtathius (tom. i. p. 289—292. 306—329.), of the Pſelli (a diatribe of Leo Allatius, ad calcem, tom. v.), of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus (tom. vi. p. 486—509.), of John Stobæus (tom. viii. 665—728.), of Suidas (tom. ix. p. 622—827.), John Tzetzes (tom. xii. p. 245—273.). Mr. Harris, in his Philological Arrangements, opus ſenile, has given a ſketch of this Byzantine learning (p. 287—300.).

[110] From obſcure and hearſay evidence, Gerard Voſſius (de Poetis Græcis, c. 6.) and le Clerc (Bibliothéque Choiſie, tom. xix. p. 285.) mention a commentary of Michael Pſellus on twenty-four plays of Menander, ſtill extant in MS. at Conſtantinople. Yet ſuch claſſic ſtudies ſeem incompatible with the gravity or dulneſs of a ſchoolman, who pored over the categories (de Pſellis, p. 42.): and Michael has probably been confounded with Homerus *Sellius*, who wrote arguments to the comedies of Menander. In the xth century, Suidas quotes fifty plays, but he often tranſcribes the old ſcholiaſt of Ariſtophanes.

[111] Anna Comnena may boaſt of her Greek ſtyle (το Ελληνιζειν εις ακρον ισπουδακνια), and Zonaras, her contemporary, but not her flatterer, may add with truth, γλωτταν ειχεν ακριβως Αττικιζουσαν. The princeſs was converſant with the artful dialogues of Plato; and had ſtudied the τετρακτυς, or *quadrivium* of aſtrology, geometry, arithmetic, and muſic (ſee her preface to the Alexiad, with Ducange's notes).

[112] To cenſure the Byzantine taſte, Ducange (Præfat. Gloſſ. Græc. p. 17.) ſtrings the authorities of Aulus Gellius, Jerom Petronius, George Hamartolus, Longinus; who give at once the precept and the example.

[113] The *verſus politici*, thoſe common proſtitutes, as, from their eaſineſs, they are ſtyled by Leo Allatius, uſually conſiſt of fifteen ſyllables. They are uſed by Conſtantine Manaſſes, John Tzetzes, etc. (Ducange, Gloſſ. Latin. tom. iii. p. i. p. 345, 346. edit. Baſil, 1762.).

[114] As St. Bernard of the Latin, ſo St. John Damaſcenus in the viiith century, is revered as the laſt father of the Greek church.

[115] Hume's Eſſays, vol. i. p. 125.

CHAP. LIV.

[1] The errors and virtues of the Paulicians are weighed, with his uſual judgment and candour, by the learned Mosheim (Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. ſeculum ix. p. 311, etc.). He draws his original intelligence from Photius (contra Manichæos, l. i.) and Peter Siculus (Hiſt. Manichæorum). The firſt of theſe accounts has not fallen into my hands; the ſecond, which Mosheim prefers, I have read in a Latin verſion inſerted in the Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum (tom. xvi. p. 754—764.), from the edition of the Jeſuit Raderus (Ingolſtadii, 1604, in 4to).

[2] In the time of Theodoret, the dioceſe of Cyrrhus, in Syria, contained eight hundred villages. Of theſe, two were inhabited by Arians and Eunomians, and eight by *Marcionites*, whom the laborious biſhop reconciled to the Catholic church (Dupin, Bibliot. Eccléſiaſtique, tom. iv. p. 81, 82.).

[3] Nobis profanis iſta (*ſacra Evangelia*) legere non licet ſed ſacerdotibus duntaxat, was the firſt ſcruple of a Catholic when he was adviſed to read the Bible (Petr. Sicul. p. 761.).

[4] In rejecting the *ſecond* epiſtle of St. Peter, the Paulicians are juſtified by ſome of the moſt reſpectable of the ancients and moderns (ſee Wetſtein ad loc. Simon, Hiſt. Critique du Nouveau Teſtament, c. 17.). They likewiſe overlooked the Apocalypſe (Petr. Sicul. p. 756);

but as ſuch neglect is not imputed as a crime, the Greeks of the ixth century muſt have been careleſs of the credit and honour of the Revelations.

[5] This contention, which has not eſcaped the malice of Porphyry, ſuppoſes ſome error and paſſion in one or both of the Apoſtles. By Chryſoſtom, Jerom, and Eraſmus, it is repreſented as a ſham quarrel, a pious fraud, for the benefit of the Gentiles and the correction of the Jews (Middleton's Works, vol. ii. p. 1—20.).

[6] Thoſe who are curious of this heterodox library, may conſult the reſearches of Beauſobre (Hiſt. Critique du Manichéiſme, tom. i. p. 305—437.). Even in Africa, St. Auſtin could deſcribe the Manichæan books, tam multi, tam grandes, tam pretioſi codices (contra Fauſt. xiii. 14.); but he adds, without pity, Incendite omnes illas membranas: and his advice has been rigorouſly followed.

[7] The ſix capital errors of the Paulicians are defined by Peter Siculus p. 756.) with much prejudice and paſſion.

[8] Primum illorum axioma eſt, duo rerum eſſe principia; Deum malum et Deum bonum aliumque hujus mundi conditorem et principem, et alium futuri ævi (Petr. Sicul. p. 756.).

[9] Two learned critics, Beauſobre (Hiſt. Critique du Manichéiſme, l. i. iv, v, vi.) and Moſheim (Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. and de Rebus Chriſtianis ante Conſtantinum, ſec. i, ii, iii.), have laboured to explore and diſcriminate the various ſyſtems of the Gnoſtics on the ſubject of the two principles.

[10] The countries between the Euphrates and the Halys, were poſſeſſed above 350 years by the Medes (Herodot. l. i. c. 103.) and Perſians; and the kings of Pontus were of the royal race of the Achæmenides (Salluſt. Fragment. l. iii. with the French ſupplement and notes of the preſident de Broſſes).

[11] Moſt probably founded by Pompey after the conqueſt of Pontus. This Colonia, on the Lycus above Neo-Cæſarea, is named by the Turks Coulei-hiſar, or Chonac, a populous town in a ſtrong country (d'Anville, Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 34. Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, tom. iii. lettre xxi. p. 293.).

[12] The temple of Bellona at Comana in Pontus, was a powerful and wealthy foundation, and the high prieſt was reſpected as the ſecond perſon in the kingdom. As the ſacerdotal office had been occupied by his mother's family, Strabo (l. xii. p. 809. 835, 836, 837.) dwells with peculiar complacency on the temple, the worſhip, and feſtival, which was twice celebrated every year. But the Bellona of Pontus had the features and character of the goddeſs, not of war, but of love.

[13] Gregory

[13] Gregory, bishop of Neo-Cæsarea (A. D. 240—265), surnamed Thaumaturgus, or the Wonder-worker. An hundred years afterwards, the history or romance of his life was composed by Gregory of Nyssa, his namesake and countryman, the brother of the great St. Basil.

[14] Hoc cæterum ad sua egregia facinora, divini atque orthodoxi Imperatores addiderunt, ut Manichæos Montanosque capitali puniri sententiâ juberent, eorumque libros, quocunque in loco inventi essent, flammis tradi; quòd si quis usquam eosdem occultasse deprehenderetur, hunc eundem mortis pœnæ addici, ejusque bona in fiscum inferri (Petr Sicul. p. 759.). What more could bigotry and persecution desire?

[15] It should seem, that the Paulicians allowed themselves some latitude of equivocation and mental reservation: till the Catholics discovered the pressing questions, which reduced them to the alternative of apostacy or martyrdom (Petr. Sicul. p. 760.).

[16] The persecution is told by Petrus Siculus (p. 759—763.) with satisfaction and pleasantry. Justus *justa* persolvit. Simeon was not τιτος but κητος (the pronunciation of the two vowels must have been nearly the same), a great whale that drowned the mariners who mistook him for an island. See likewise Cedrenus (p. 432—435.).

[17] Petrus Siculus (p. 763, 764.), the continuator of Theophanes (l. iv. c. 4. p. 103, 104.), Cedrenus (p. 541, 542. 545.), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 156.), describe the revolt and exploits of Carbeas and his Paulicians.

[18] Otter (Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, tom. ii.) is probably the only Frank who has visited the independent Barbarians of Tephrice, now Divrigni, from whom he fortunately escaped in the train of a Turkish officer.

[19] In the history of Chrysocheir, Genesius (Chron. p. 67—70 edit. Venet.) has exposed the nakedness of the empire. Constantine Porphyrogenitus (in Vit. Basil. c. 37—43. p. 165—171.) has displayed the glory of his grandfather. Cedrenus (p. 570—573.) is without their passions or their knowledge.

[20] Συναπεμαραν θη παντα ἡ ανθουσα της Τεφρικης ευανδρια. How elegant is the Greek tongue, even in the mouth of Cedrenus!

[21] Copronymus transported his συγγενεις, heretics; and thus σπλατυνθη ἡ αἱρεσις Παυλικιανων, says Cedrenus (p. 463.), who has copied the annales of Theophanes.

[22] Petrus Siculus, who resided nine months at Tephrice (A. D. 870) for the ransom of captives (p. 764.), was informed of their intended mission, and addressed his preservative, the Historia Manichæorum, to the new archbishop of the Bulgarians (p. 754.).

[23] The colony of Paulicians and Jacobites, tranſplanted by John Zimiſces (A. D. 970.) from Armenia to Thrace, is mentioned by Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvii. p. 209.) and Anna Comnena (Alexiad, l. xiv. p. 450, etc.).

[24] The Alexiad of Anna Comnena (l. v. p. 131. l. vi. p. 154, 155. l. xiv. p. 450—457. with the annotations of Ducange) records the tranſactions of her apoſtolic father with the Manichæans, whoſe abominable hereſy ſhe was deſirous of refuting.

[25] Baſil, a monk, and the author of the Bogomiles, a ſect of Gnoſtics who ſoon vaniſhed (Anna Comnena, Alexiad, l. xv. p. 486—494. Mosheim, Hiſt. Eccleſiaſtica, p. 420.).

[26] Matt. Paris, Hiſt. Major. p. 267. This paſſage of our Engliſh hiſtorian is alleged by Ducange in an excellent note on Villehardouin (N° 208.), who found the Paulicians at Philippopolis the friends of the Bulgarians.

[27] See Marſigli, Stato Militare dell' Impero Ottomano, p. 24.

[28] The introduction of the Paulicians into Italy and France, is amply diſcuſſed by Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiæ medii Ævi, tom. v. diſſert. lx. p. 81—152.), and Mosheim (p. 379—382. 419—422.). Yet both have overlooked a curious paſſage of William the Appulian, who clearly deſcribes them in a battle between the Greeks and Normans, A. D. 1040 (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. v. p. 256.).

Cum Græcis aderant, quidam quos peſſimus error
Fecerat amentes, et ab ipſo nomen habebant.

But he is ſo ignorant of their doctrine as to make them a kind of Sabellians or Patripaſſians.

[29] *Bulgari*, *Boulgres*, *Bougres*, a national appellation, has been applied by the French as a term of reproach to uſurers and unnatural ſinners. The *Paterini*, or *Patelini*, has been made to ſignify a ſmooth and flattering hypocrite, ſuch as *l'Avocat Patelin* of that original and pleaſant farce (Ducange, Gloſſ. Latinitat. medii et infimi Ævi). The Manichæans were likewiſe named *Cathari*, or the pure, by corruption, *Gazari*, etc.

[30] Of the laws, cruſade, and perſecution againſt the Albigeois, a juſt, though general idea, is expreſſed by Mosheim (p. 477—481.). The detail may be found in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, ancient and modern, Catholics and Proteſtants; and among theſe Fleury is the moſt impartial and moderate.

[31] The Acts (Liber Sententiarum) of the Inquiſition of Tholouſe (A. D. 1307—1323) have been published by Limborch (Amſtelodami, 1692), with a previous Hiſtory of the Inquiſition in General. They deſerved a more learned and critical editor. As we muſt not calumniate

even Satan, or the Holy Office, I will obſerve, that of a liſt of criminals which fills nineteen folio pages, only fifteen men and four women were delivered to the ſecular arm.

[32] The opinions and proceedings of the reformers are expoſed in the ſecond part of the general hiſtory of Moſheim: but the balance, which he has held with ſo clear an eye, and ſo ſteady an hand, begins to incline in favour of his Lutheran brethren.

[33] Under Edward VI. our reformation was more bold and perfect: but in the fundamental articles of the church of England, a ſtrong and explicit declaration againſt the real preſence was obliterated in the original copy, to pleaſe the people, or the Lutherans, or Queen Elizabeth (Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 82. 128. 302.).

[34] "Had it not been for ſuch men as Luther and myſelf," ſaid the fanatic Whiſton to Halley the philoſopher, "you would now be "kneeling before an image of St. Winifred."

[35] The article of *Servet* in the Dictionnaire Critique of Chauffepié, is the beſt account which I have ſeen of this ſhameful tranſaction. See likewiſe the Abbé d'Artigny, Nouveaux Mémoires d'Hiſtoire, etc. tom. ii. p. 55—154.

[36] I am more deeply ſcandalized at the ſingle execution of Servetus, than at the hecatombs which have blazed in the Autos da Fè of Spain and Portugal. 1. The zeal of Calvin ſeems to have been envenomed by perſonal malice, and perhaps envy. He accuſed his adverſary before their common enemies, the judges of Vienna, and betrayed, for his deſtruction, the ſacred truſt of a private correſpondence. 2. The deed of cruelty was not varniſhed by the pretence of danger to the church or ſtate. In his paſſage through Geneva, Servetus was an harmleſs ſtranger, who neither preached, nor printed, nor made proſelytes. 3. A Catholic inquiſitor yields the ſame obedience which he requires, but Calvin violated the golden rule of doing as he would be done by; a rule which I read in a moral treatiſe of Iſocrates (in Nicocle, tom. i. p. 93. edit. Battie), four hundred years before the publication of the goſpel. Ἃ πασχοντες ὑφ' ἑτερων οργιζεσθε, ταυτα τοις αλλοις μη ποιειτε.

[37] See Burnet, vol. ii. p. 84—86. The ſenſe and humanity of the young king were oppreſſed by the authority of the primate.

[38] Eraſmus may be conſidered as the father of rational theology. After a ſlumber of an hundred years, it was revived by the Arminians of Holland, Grotius, Limborch, and Le Clerc: in England by Chillingworth, the latitudinarians of Cambridge (Burnet, Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 261—268. octavo edition), Tillotſon, Clarke, Hoadley, etc.

[39] I am ſorry to obſerve, that the three writers of the laſt age, by whom the rights of toleration have been ſo nobly defended, Bayle, Leibnitz, and Locke, are all laymen and philoſophers.

[40] See the excellent chapter of Sir William Temple on the religion of the United Provinces. I am not ſatisfied with Grotius (de Rebus Belgicis, Annal. l. i. p. 13, 14. edit. in 12mo), who approves the Imperial laws of perſecution, and only condemns the bloody tribunal of the inquiſition.

[41] Sir William Blackſtone (Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 53, 54.) explains the law of England as it was fixed at the Revolution. The exceptions of Papiſts, and of thoſe who deny the Trinity, would ſtill leave a tolerable ſcope for perſecution, if the national ſpirit were not more effectual than an hundred ſtatutes.

[42] I ſhall recommend to public animadverſion two paſſages in Dr. Prieſtley, which betray the ultimate tendency of his opinions. At the firſt of theſe (Hiſt. of the Corruptions of Chriſtianity, vol. i. p. 275, 276.), the prieſt; at the ſecond (vol. ii. p. 484.), the magiſtrate, may tremble!

CHAP. LV.

[1] *All* the paſſages of the Byzantine hiſtory which relate to the Barbarians, are compiled, methodiſed, and tranſcribed in a Latin verſion, by the laborious John Gotthelf Stritter, in his Memoriæ Populorum, ad Danubium, Pontum Euxinum, Paludem Mæotidem, Caucaſum, Mare Caſpium, et inde magis ad Septemtriones incolentium, Petropoli, 1771—1779, in four tomes, or ſix volumes, in 4to. But the faſhion has not enhanced the price of theſe raw materials.

[2] Hiſt. vol. vii. p. 11.

[3] Theophanes, p. 296—299. Anaſtaſius, p. 113. Nicephorus, C. P. p. 22, 23. Theophanes places the old Bulgaria on the banks of the Atell or Volga; but he deprives himſelf of all geographical credit, by diſcharging that river into the Euxine Sea.

[4] Paul. Diacon. de Geſtis Langobard. l. v. c. 29. p. 881, 882. The apparent difference between the Lombard hiſtorian and the above mentioned Greeks, is eaſily reconciled by Camillo Pellegrino (de Ducatû Beneventano, diſſert. vii. in the Scriptores Rerum Ital. tom. v. p. 186, 187.) and Beretti (Chorograph. Italiæ medii Ævi, p. 273, etc.). This Bulgarian colony was planted in a vacant diſtrict of Samnium, and learned the Latin, without forgetting their native, language.

[5] Theſe provinces of the Greek idiom and empire, are aſſigned to the Bulgarian kingdom in the diſpute of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction between

the patriarchs of Rome and Conſtantinople (Baronius, *Annal. Eccleſ.* A. D. 869. N° 75.).

[6] The ſituation and royalty of Lychnidus, or Achrida, are clearly expreſſed in Cedrenus (p. 713.). The removal of an archbiſhop or patriarch from Juſtinianea prima, to Lychnidus, and at length to Ternovo, has produced ſome perplexity in the ideas or language of the Greeks (Nicephorus Gregoras, l. ii. c. 2. p. 14, 15. Thomaſſin, Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. i. l. i. c. 19. 23.); and a Frenchman (d'Anville) is more accurately ſkilled in the geography of their own country (Hiſt. de l'Académie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxxi.).

[7] Chalcocondyles, a competent judge, affirms the identity of the language of the Dalmatians, Boſnians, Servians, *Bulgarians*, Poles (de Rebus Turcicis, l. x. p. 283.), and elſewhere of the Bohemians (l. ii. p. 38.). The ſame author has marked the ſeparate idiom of the Hungarians.

[8] See the work of John Chriſtopher de Jordan, de Originibus Sclavicis, Vindobonæ, 1745, in four parts, or two volumes in folio. His collections and reſearches are uſeful to elucidate the antiquities of Bohemia and the adjacent countries: but his plan is narrow, his ſtyle barbarous, his criticiſm ſhallow, and the Aulic counſellor is not free from the prejudices of a Bohemian.

[9] Jordan ſubſcribes to the well-known and probable derivation from *Slava, laus, gloria*, a word of familiar uſe in the different dialects and parts of ſpeech, and which forms the termination of the moſt illuſtrious names (de Originibus Sclavicis, pars i. p. 40. pars iv. p. 101, 102.).

[10] This converſion of a national into an appellative name, appears to have ariſen in the viiith century, in the Oriental France, where the princes and biſhops were rich in Sclavonian captives, not of the Bohemian (exclaims Jordan), but of Sorabian race. From thence the word was extended to general uſe, to the modern languages, and even to the ſtyle of the laſt Byzantines (ſee the Greek and Latin Gloſſaries of Ducange). The confuſion of the Σερβλοι, or Serviars, with the Latin *Servi*, was ſtill more fortunate and familiar (Conſtant. Porphyr. de adminiſtrando Imperio, c. 32. p. 99.).

[11] The emperor Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, moſt accurate for his own times, moſt fabulous for preceding ages, deſcribes the Sclavonians of Dalmatia (c. 29—36.).

[12] See the anonymous Chronicle of the xith century, aſcribed to John Sagorninus (p. 94—102.), and that compoſed in the xivth by the Doge Andrew Dandolo (Script. Rerum Ital. tom. xii. p. 227—230.); the two oldeſt monuments of the hiſtory of Venice.

[13] The firſt kingdom of the Bulgarians may be found under the proper dates in the Annals of Cedrenus and Zonaras. The Byzantine materials are collected by Stritter (Memoriæ Populorum, tom. ii. pars ii. p. 441—647.); and the ſeries of their kings is diſpoſed and ſettled by Ducange (Fam. Byzant. p. 305—318.).

[14] Simeonem ſemi-Græcum eſſe aiebant, eo quod a pueritiâ Byzantii Demoſthenis rhetoricam et Ariſtotelis ſyllogiſmos didicerat. Liutprand, l. iii. c. 8. He ſays in another place, Simeon, fortis bellator, Bulgariæ præerat; Chriſtianus ſed vicinis Græcis valde inimicus (l. i. c. 2.).

[15] — Rigidum fera dextera cornu
Dum tenet infregit, truncâque a fronte revellit.

Ovid (Metamorph. ix. 1—100.) has boldly painted the combat of the river-god and the hero; the native and the ſtranger.

[16] The ambaſſador of Otho was provoked by the Greek excuſes, cum Chriſtophori filiam Petrus Bulgarorum *Vaſileus* conjugem duceret, *Symphona*, id eſt conſonantia, ſcripto juramento firmata ſunt ut omnium gentium *Apoſtolis* id eſt nunciis penes nos Bulgarorum Apoſtoli præponantur, honorentur, diligantur (Liutprand in Legatione, p. 482.). See the Cæremoniale of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, tom. i. p. 82. tom. ii. p. 429, 430. 434, 435. 443, 444. 446, 447. with the annotations of Reiske.

[17] A bishop of Wurtzburgh ſubmitted this opinion to a reverend abbot; but *he* more gravely decided, that Gog and Magog were the ſpiritual perſecutors of the church; ſince Gog ſignifies the roof, the pride of the Hereſiarchs, and Magog what comes from the roof, the propagation of their ſects. Yet theſe men once commanded the reſpect of mankind (Fleury, hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xi. p. 594, etc.).

[18] The two national authors, from whom I have derived the moſt aſſiſtance, are George Pray (Diſſertationes ad Annales veterum Hungarorum, etc. Vindobonæ, 1775, in folio), and Stephen Katona (Hiſt. Critica Ducum et Regum Hungariæ ſtirpis Arpadianæ, Peſtini, 1778—1781, 5 vols. in octavo). The firſt embraces a large and often conjectural ſpace: the latter, by his learning, judgment, and perſpicuity, deſerves the name of a critical hiſtorian.

[19] The author of this Chronicle is ſtyled the notary of king Bela. Katona has aſſigned him to the xiith century, and defends his character againſt the hypercriticiſm of Pray. This rude annaliſt muſt have tranſcribed ſome hiſtorical records, ſince he could affirm with dignity, rejectis falſis fabulis ruſticorum, et garrulo cantû joculatorum. In the xvth century, theſe fables were collected by Thurotzius; and embellished by the Italian Bonfinius. See the Preliminary Diſcourſe in the Hiſt. Critica Ducum, p. 7—33.

[20] See Conſtantine de Adminiſtrando Imperio, c. 3, 4. 13. 38—42. Katona has nicely fixed the compoſition of this work to the years 949, 950, 951. (p. 4—7.). The critical hiſtorian (p. 34—107.) endeavours to prove the exiſtence, and to relate the actions, of a firſt duke *Almus*, the father of Arpad, who is tacitly rejected by Conſtantine.

[21] Pray (Diſſert. p. 37—39, etc.) produces and illuſtrates the original paſſages of the Hungarian miſſionaries, Bonfinius and Æneas Sylvius.

[22] Fiſcher, in the Quæſtiones Petropolitanæ, de Origine Ungrorum, and Pray, Diſſertat. i, ii, iii. etc. have drawn up ſeveral comparative tables of the Hungarian with the Fennic dialects. The affinity is indeed ſtriking, but the liſts are short, the words are purpoſely choſen; and I read in the learned Bayer (Comment. Academ. Petropol. tom. x. p. 374.), that although the Hungarian has adopted many Fennic words (innumeras voces), it eſſentially differs toto genio et naturâ.

[23] In the religion of Turfan, which is clearly and minutely deſcribed by the Chineſe geographers (Gaubil, Hiſt. du grand Gengiſcan, p. 13. de Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 32, etc.).

[24] Hiſt. Généalogique des Tartares, par Abulghazi Bahadur Khan, partie ii. p. 90—98.

[25] In their journey to Pekin, both Isbrand Ives (Harris's Collection of Voyages and Travels, vol. ii. p. 920, 921.) and Bell (Travels, vol. i. p. 174.) found the Vogulitz in the neighbourhood of Tobolsky. By the tortures of the etymological art, *Ugur* and *Vogul* are reduced to the ſame name; the circumjacent mountains really bear the appellation of *Ugrian*; and of all the Fennic dialects, the Vogulian is the neareſt to the Hungarian (Fiſcher, Diſſert. i. p. 20—30. Pray's Diſſert. ii. p. 31—34.).

[26] The eight tribes of the Fennic race, are deſcribed in the curious work of M. Levèque (Hiſt. des Peuples ſoumis à la Domination de la Ruſſie, tom. i. p. 361—561.).

[27] This picture of the Hungarians and Bulgarians is chiefly drawn from the Tactics of Leo, p. 796—801. and the Latin Annals which are alleged by Baronius, Pagi, and Muratori, A. D. 889, etc.

[28] Buffon, Hiſt. Naturelle, tom. v. p. 6. in 12mo. Guſtavus Adolphus attempted, without ſucceſs, to form a regiment of Laplanders. Grotius ſays of theſe Arctic tribes, arma arcus et pharetra ſed adverſus feras (Annal. l. iv. p. 236.), and attempts, after the manner of Tacitus, to varnish with philoſophy their brutal ignorance.

[29] Leo has obſerved, that the government of the Turks was monarchical, and that their punishments were rigorous (Tactic. p. 896. απηνεις και βαρειας). Rhegino (in Chron. A. D. 889) mentions theft

as a capital crime, and his juriſprudence is confirmed by the original code of St. Stephen (A. D. 1016.). If a ſlave were guilty, he was chaſtiſed, for the firſt time, with the loſs of his noſe, or a fine of five heifers; for the ſecond, with the loſs of his ears, or a ſimilar fine; for the third, with death; which the freeman did not incur till the fourth offence, as his firſt penalty was the loſs of liberty (Katona, Hiſt. Regum Hungar. tom. i. p. 231, 232.).

[30] See Katona, Hiſt. Ducum Hungar. p. 321—352.

[31] Hungarorum gens, cujus omnes fere nationes expertæ ſævitiam, etc. is the preface of Liutprand (l. i. c. 2.), who frequently expatiates on the calamities of his own times. See l. i. c. 5. l. ii. c. 1, 2. 4, 5, 6, 7 l. iii. c. 1, etc. l. v. c. 8. 15. in Legat. p. 485. His colours are glaring, but his chronology muſt be rectified by Pagi and Muratori.

[32] The three bloody reigns of Arpad, Zoltan, and Toxus, are critically illuſtrated by Katona (Hiſt. Ducum, etc. p. 107—499.). His diligence has ſearched both natives and foreigners, yet to the deeds of miſchief or glory, I have been able to add the deſtruction of Bremen (Adam Bremenſis, i. 43.).

[33] Muratori has conſidered with patriotic care the danger and reſources of Modena. The citizens beſought St. Geminianus, their patron, to avert, by his interceſſion, the *rabies*, *flagellum*, etc.

Nunc te rogamus licet ſervi peſſimi
Ab Ungerorum nos defendas jaculis.

The biſhop erected walls for the public defence, not contra dominos ſerenos (Antiquitat. Ital. med. Ævi, tom. i. diſſert. i. p. 21, 22.), and the ſong of the nightly watch is not without elegance or uſe (tom. iii. diſſ. xl. p. 709.). The Italian annaliſt has accurately traced the ſeries of their inroads (Annali d'Italia, tom. vii. p. 365. 367. 393. 401. 437. 440. tom. viii. p. 19. 41. 52, etc.).

[34] Both the Hungarian and Ruſſian annals ſuppoſe, that they beſieged, or attacked, or inſulted Conſtantinople (Pray, diſſertat. x. p. 239. Kantona, Hiſt. Ducum, p. 354—360.): and the fact is *almoſt* confeſſed by the Byzantine hiſtorians (Leo Grammaticus, p. 506. Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 629.): yet, however glorious to the nation, it is denied or doubted by the critical hiſtorian, and even by the notary of Bela. Their ſcepticiſm is meritorious; they could not ſafely tranſcribe or believe the ruſticorum fabulas; but Katona might have given due attention to the evidence of Liutprand, Bulgarorum gentem atque *Græcorum* tributariam fecerant (Hiſt. l. ii. c. 4. p. 435.).

[35] — λεονθ' ὡς ἐνεμυθησην
Ὥτ' ὀρεος κορυφῃσι περι κταμενης ἐλαφοιο
Ἀμφω πειναοντε μεγα φρονεοντε μαχεσθον.

[36] They are amply and critically diſcuſſed by Katona (Hiſt. Ducum, p. 360—368. 427—470.). Liutprand (l. ii. c. 8, 9.) is the beſt evidence for the former, and Witichind (Annal Saxon. l. iii.) of the latter: but the critical hiſtorian will not even overlook the horn of a warrior, which is ſaid to be preſerved at Jaz-berin.

[37] Hunc vero triumphum tam laude quam memoriâ dignum, ad Meresburgum rex in ſuperiori cœnaculo domûs per ζωγραφίαν, id eſt, picturam notari, præcepit, adeo ut rem veram potius quam veriſimilem videas: an high encomium (Liutprand, l ii. c. 9.). Another palace in Germany had been painted with holy ſubjects, by the order of Charlemagne; and Muratori may juſtly affirm, nulla ſæcula fuere in quibus pictores deſiderati fuerint (Antiquitat. Ital. medii Ævi, tom. ii. diſſert. xxiv. p. 360, 361.). Our domeſtic claims to antiquity of ignorance and original imperfection (M. Walpole's lively words), are of a much more recent date (Anecdotes of Painting, vol. i. p. 2, etc.).

[38] See Baronius, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 929. N° 2—5. The lance of Chriſt is taken from the beſt evidence, Liutprand (l. iv. c. 12.), Sigebert, and the acts of St. Gerard: but the other military relics depend on the faith of the Geſta Anglorum poſt Bedam, l. ii. c. 8.

[39] Katona, Hiſt. Ducum Hungariæ, p. 500, etc.

[40] Among theſe colonies we may diſtinguish, 1. The Chazars, or Cabari, who joined the Hungarians on their march (Conſtant. de admin. Imp. c. 39, 40. p. 108, 109.). 2. The Jazuges, Moravians, and Siculi, whom they found in the land; the laſt were *perhaps* a remnant of the Huns of Attila, and were entruſted with the guard of the borders. 3. The Ruſſians, who, like the Swiſs in France, imparted a general name to the royal porters. 4. The Bulgarians, whoſe chiefs (A. D. 956) were invited, cum magnâ multitudine *Hiſmahelitarum*. Had any of theſe Sclavonians embraced the Mahometan religion? 5. The Biſſeni and Cumans, a mixed multitude of Patzinacites, Uzi, Chazars, etc. who had ſpread to the lower Danube. The laſt colony of 40,000 Cumans, A. D. 1239, was received and converted by the kings of Hungary, who derived from that tribe a new regal appellation (Pray, Diſſert. vi, vii. p. 109—173. Katona, Hiſt. Ducum, p. 95—99. 259—264. 476. 479—483, etc.).

[41] Chriſtiani autem, quorum pars major populi eſt, qui ex omni parte mundi illuc tracti ſunt captivi, etc. Such was the language of Piligrinus, the firſt miſſionary who entered Hungary, A. D. 973. Pars major is ſtrong. Hiſt. Ducum, p. 517.

[42] The fideles Teutonici of Geiſla are authenticated in old charters; and Katona, with his uſual induſtry, has made a fair eſtimate of

theſe colonies, which had been ſo looſely magnified by the Italian Ranzanus (Hiſt. Critic. Ducum, p. 667—681.).

[43] Among the Greeks, this national appellation has a ſingular form, Ῥως, as an undeclinable word, of which many fanciful etymologies have been ſuggeſted. I have peruſed, with pleaſure and profit, a diſſertation de Origine Ruſſorum (Comment. Academ. Petropolitanæ, tom. viii. p. 388—436.), by Theophilus Sigefrid Bayer, a learned German, who ſpent his life and labours in the ſervice of Ruſſia. A geographical tract of d'Anville, de l'Empire de Ruſſie, ſon Origine, et ſes Accroiſſemens (Paris, 1772, in 12mo), has likewiſe been of uſe.

[44] See the entire paſſage (dignum, ſays Bayer, ut aureis in tabulis figatur) in the Annales Bertiniani Francorum (in Script. Ital. Muratori, tom. ii. pars i. p. 525.), A. D. 839, twenty-two years before the Æra of Ruric. In the xth century, Liutprand (Hiſt. l. v. c. 6.) ſpeaks of the Ruſſians and Normans as the ſame Aquilonares homines of a red complexion.

[45] My knowledge of theſe annals is drawn from M. Leveque, Hiſtoire de Ruſſie. Neſtor, the firſt and beſt of theſe ancient annaliſts, was a monk of Kiow, who died in the beginning of the xiith century; but his Chronicle was obſcure, till it was published at Petersburgh, 1767, in 4to. Levèque, Hiſt. de Ruſſie, tom. i. p. xvi. Coxe's Travels, vol. ii. p. 184.

[46] Theophil. Sig. Bayer de Varagis (for the name is differently ſpelt), in Comment. Academ. Petropolitanæ, tom. iv. p. 275—311.

[47] Yet, as late as the year 1018, Kiow and Ruſſia were ſtill guarded, ex fugitivorum ſervorum robore, confluentium et maxime Danorum. Bayer, who quotes (p. 292.) the Chronicle of Dithmar of Merſeburgh, obſerves, that it was unuſual for the Germans to enliſt in a foreign ſervice.

[48] Ducange has collected from the original authors the ſtate and hiſtory of the Varangi at Conſtantinople (Gloſſar. Med. et Infimæ Græcitatis, ſub voce Βαραγγοι. Med. et Infimæ Latinitatis, ſub voce *Vagri*. Not. ad Alexiad, Annæ Comnenæ, p. 256, 257, 258. Notes ſur Villehardouin, p. 296—299.). See likewiſe the Annotations of Reiske to the Cæremoniale Aulæ Byzant. of Conſtantine, tom. ii. p. 149, 150. Saxo Grammaticus affirms, that they ſpoke Danish; but Codinus maintains them till the fifteenth century in the uſe of their native English: Πολυχρονιζουσι δε Βαραγγοι κατα την πατριον γλωσσαν αυτων ητοι Ιγκλινιστι.

[49] The original record of the geography and trade of Ruſſia is produced by the emperor Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus (de Adminiſtrat.

Imperii, c. 2. p. 55, 56. c. 9. p. 59—61. c. 13. p. 63—67. c. 37. p. 106. c. 42. p. 112, 113.), and illuſtrated by the diligence of Bayer (de Geographiâ Ruſſiæ vicinarumque Regionum circiter A. C. 948, in Comment. Academ. Petropol. tom. ix. p. 367—422. tom. x. p. 371—421.), with the aid of the chronicles and traditions of Ruſſia, Scandinavia, etc.

[50] The haughty proverb, "Who can reſiſt God and the great "Novogorod?" is applied by M. Levèque (Hiſt. de Ruſſie, tom. i. p. 60.) even to the times that preceded the reign of Ruric. In the courſe of his hiſtory he frequently celebrates this republic, which was ſuppreſſed A. D. 1475, (tom. ii. p. 252—266.). That accurate traveller, Adam Olearius, deſcribes (in 1635) the remains of Novogorod, and the route by ſea and land of the Holſtein ambaſſadors (tom. i. p. 123—129.).

[51] In hac magnâ civitate, quæ eſt caput regni, plus trecentæ eccleſiæ habentur et nundinæ octo, populi etiam ignota manus (Eggehardus ad A.D. 1018, apud Bayer, tom. ix. p. 412.). He likewiſe quotes (tom. x. p. 397.) the words of the Saxon annaliſt, Cujus (*Ruſſiæ*) metropolis eſt Chive, æmula ſceptri Conſtantinopolitani quæ eſt clariſſimum decus Græciæ. The fame of Kiow, eſpecially in the xith century, had reached the German and the Arabian geographers.

[52] In Oderæ oſtio quâ Scythicas alluit paludes, nobiliſſima civitas Julinum, celeberrimam, Barbaris et Græcis qui ſunt in circuitû præſtans ſtationem; eſt ſane maxima omnium quas Europa claudit civitatum (Adam Bremenſis, Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 19.). A ſtrange exaggeration even in the xith century. The trade of the Baltic, and the Hanſeatic league, are carefully treated in Anderſon's Hiſtorical Deductiòn of Commerce; at leaſt, in *our* languages, I am not acquainted with any book ſo ſatisfactory.

[53] According to Adam of Bremen (de Sitû Daniæ, p. 58), the old Curland extended eight days journey along the coaſt; and by Peter Teutoburgicus (p. 68. A. D. 1326), Memel is defined as the common frontier of Ruſſia, Curland, and Pruſſia. Aurum ibi plurimum (ſays Adam) divinis, auguribus atque necromanticis omnes domus ſunt plenæ..... a toto orbe ibi reſponſa petuntur maxime ab Hiſpanis (forſan *Zupanis*, id eſt regulis Lettoviæ) et Græcis. The name of Greeks was applied to the Ruſſians even before their converſion; an imperfect converſion, if they ſtill conſulted the wizards of Curland (Bayer, tom. x. p. 378. 402, etc. Grotius, Prolegomen. ad Hiſt. Goth. p. 99.).

[54] Conſtantine only reckons ſeven cataracts, of which he gives the Ruſſian and Sclavonic names; but thirteen are enumerated by the Sieur de Beauplan, a French engineer, who had ſurveyed the courſe

and navigation of the Dnieper or Boryſthenes (Deſcription d'Ukranie, Rouen, 1660, a thin quarto); but the map is unluckily wanting in my copy.

[55] Neſtor, apud Levèque, Hiſt. de Ruſſie, tom. i. p. 78—80. From the Dnieper or Boryſthenes, the Ruſſians went to Black Bulgaria, Chazaria, and *Syria*. To Syria, how, where, when? May we not, inſtead of Συρια, read Συανια (de Adminiſtrat. Imp. c. 42. p. 113)? The alteration is ſlight; the poſition of Suania, between Chazaria and Lazica, is perfectly ſuitable; and the name was ſtill uſed in the xiith century (Cedren. tom. ii. p. 770.).

[56] The wars of the Ruſſians and Greeks in the ixth, xth, and xiith centuries, are related in the Byzantine Annals, eſpecially thoſe of Zonaras and Cedrenus; and all their teſtimonies are collected in the *Ruſſica* of Strittèr, tom. ii. pars ii. p. 939—1044.

[57] Προσεταιρισαμενος δε και συμμαχικον εκ ολιγον απο των κατοικουντων εν ταις προσαρκτιοις τη Ωκεανη νησοις εθνων. Cedrenus, in Compend. p. 758.

[58] See Beauplan (Deſcription de l'Ukranie, p. 54—61.): his deſcriptions are lively, his plans accurate, and, except the circumſtance of fire-arms, we may read old Ruſſians, for modern Coſacks.

[59] It is to be lamented, that Bayer has only given a Diſſertation de Ruſſorum *primâ* Expeditione Conſtantinopolitanâ (Comment. Academ. Petropol. tom. vi. p. 365—391.). After diſentangling ſome chronological intricacies, he fixes it in the years 864 or 865, a date which might have ſmoothed ſome doubts and difficulties in the beginning of M. Levèque's hiſtory.

[60] When Photius wrote his encyclic epiſtle on the converſion of the Ruſſians, the miracle was not yet ſufficiently ripe; he reproaches the nation as εις ωμοτητα και μιαιφονιαν παντας δευτερως τατ[illegible]ομενον.

[61] Leo Grammaticus, p. 463, 464. Conſtantini Continuator, in Script. poſt Theophanem, p. 121, 122. Symeon Logothet. p. 445, 446. Georg. Monach. p. 535, 536. Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 551. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 162.

[62] See Neſtor and Nicon, in Levèque's Hiſt. de Ruſſie, tom. i. p. 74—80. Katona (Hiſt. Ducum, p. 75—79.) uſes his advantage to diſprove this Ruſſian victory, which would cloud the ſiege of Kiow by the Hungarians.

[63] Leo Grammaticus, p. 506, 507. Incert. Contin. p. 263, 264. Symeon Logothet. p. 490, 491. George Monach. p. 588, 589. Cedren. tom. ii. p. 629. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 190, 191. and Liutprand, l. v. c. 6. who writes from the narratives of his father-in-law, then

ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, and corrects the vain exaggeration of the Greeks.

[64] I can only appeal to Cedrenus (tom. ii. p. 758, 759.) and Zonaras (tom. ii. p. 253, 254.); but they grow more weighty and credible as they draw near to their own times.

[65] Neſtor, apud Levêque, Hiſt. de Ruſſie, tom. i. p. 87.

[66] This brazen ſtatue, which had been brought from Antioch, and was melted down by the Latins, was ſuppoſed to repreſent either Joshua or Bellerophon, an odd dilemma. See Nicetas Choniates (p. 413, 414.), Codinus (de Originibus C. P. p. 24.) and the anonymous writer de Antiquitat. C. P. (Banduri, Imp. Orient. tom. i. p. 17, 18.), who lived about the year 1100. They witneſs the belief of the prophecy; the reſt is immaterial.

[67] The life of Swatoſlaus, or Sviatoſlaf, or Sphendoſthlabus, is extracted from the Ruſſian Chronicles by M. Levêque (Hiſt de Ruſſie, tom i. p. 94—107.).

[68] This reſemblance may be clearly ſeen in the ninth book of the Iliad (205—221.), in the minute detail of the cookery of Achilles. By ſuch a picture, a modern epic poet would diſgrace his work and diſguſt his reader; but the Greek verſes are harmonious, a dead language can ſeldom appear low or familiar; and at the diſtance of two thouſand ſeven hundred years, we are amuſed with the primitive manners of antiquity.

[69] This ſingular epithet is derived from the Armenian language, and Τζιμισκης is interpreted in Greek by μικρακιζης, or μοιραικιζης. As I profeſs myſelf equally ignorant of *theſe* words, I may be indulged in the queſtion in the play, "Pray which of you is the interpreter?" From the context, they ſeem to ſignify *Adoleſcentulus* (Leo Diacon. l. iv. MS. apud Ducange, Gloſſar. Græc. p. 1570.).

[70] In the Sclavonic tongue, the name of Periſthlaba implied the great or illuſtrious city, μεγαλη και ωσα και λεγομενη, ſays Anna Comnena (Alexiad, l. vii. p. 194.) From its poſition between Mount Hæmus and the Lower Danube, it appears to fill the ground, or at leaſt the ſtation, of Marcianopolis. The ſituation of Duroſtolus, or Driſtra, is well known and conſpicuous (Comment. Academ. Petropol. tom. ix. p. 415, 416. d'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 307. 311.).

[71] The political management of the Greeks, more eſpecially with the Patziniacites, is explained in the ſeven firſt chapters, de Adminiſtratione Imperii.

[72] In the narrative of this war, Leo the Deacon (apud Pagi, Critica, tom. iv. A. D. 968—973) is more authentic and circumſtantial

than Cedrenus (tom. ii. p. 660—683.) and Zonaras tom. ii. p. 205—214.). Theſe declaimers have multiplied to 308,000 and 330,000 men, thoſe Ruſſian forces, of which the contemporary had given a moderate and conſiſtent account.

[73] Phot. Epiſtol ii. N° 35. p. 58. edit. Montacut. It was unworthy of the learning of the editor to miſtake the Ruſſian nation, το Ῥως, for a war-cry of the Bulgarians; nor did it become the enlightened patriarch to accuſe the Sclavonian idolaters της Ἑλληνικης και αθεου δοξης. They were neither Greeks nor Atheiſts.

[74] M. Levèque has extracted, from old chronicles and modern reſearches, the moſt ſatisfactory account of the religion of the *Slavi*, and the converſion of Ruſſia (Hiſt. de Ruſſie. tom. i. p. 35—54. 59. 92, 93. 113—121. 124—129. 148, 149, etc.).

[75] See the Cæremoniale Aulæ Byzant. tom. ii. c. 15. p. 343—345.: the ſtyle of Olga, or Elga, is Αρχοντισσα Ῥωσιας. For the chief of Barbarians the Greeks whimſically borrowed the title of an Athenian magiſtrate, with a female termination, which would have aſtoniſhed the ear of Demoſthenes.

[76] See an anonymous fragment published by Banduri (Imperium Orientale, tom. ii. p. 112, 113.), de Converſione Ruſſorum.

[77] Cherſon, or Corſun, is mentioned by Herberſtein (apud Pagi, tom. iv. p. 56.) as the place of Wolodomir's baptiſm and marriage; and both the tradition and the gates are ſtill preſerved at Novogorod. Yet an obſerving traveller tranſports the brazen gates from Magdeburgh in Germany (Coxe's Travels into Ruſſia, etc. vol. i. p. 452.); and quotes an inſcription, which ſeems to juſtify his opinion. The modern reader muſt not confound this old Cherſon of the Tauric or Crimæan peninſula with a new city of the ſame name, which has ariſen near the mouth of the Boryſthenes, and was lately honoured by the memorable interview of the empreſs of Ruſſia with the emperor of the Weſt.

[78] Conſult the Latin text, or English verſion, of Mosheim's excellent Hiſtory of the Church, under the firſt head or ſection of each of theſe centuries.

[79] In the year 1000, the ambaſſadors of St. Stephen received from pope Silveſter the title of king of Hungary, with a diadem of Greek workmanſhip. It had been deſigned for the duke of Poland; but the Poles, by their own confeſſion, were yet too barbarous to deſerve an *angelical* and *apoſtolical* crown (Katona, Hiſt. Critic. Regum Stirpis Arpadianæ, tom. i. p. 1—20).

[80] Liſten to the exultations of Adam of Bremen (A. D. 1080.), of which the ſubſtance is agreeable to truth: Ecce illa ferociſſima

Danorum, etc. natio jamdudum novit in Dei laudibus Alleluia reſonare. Ecce populus ille piraticus ſuis nunc finibus contentus eſt Ecce patria horribilis ſemper inacceſſa propter cultum idolorum . . . prædicatores veritatis ubique certatim admittit, etc. etc. (de Situ Daniæ, etc. p. 40, 41. edit. Elzevir.: a curious and original proſpect of the north of Europe, and the introduction of Chriſtianity).

[81] The great princes removed in 1156 from Kiow, which was ruined by the Tartars in 1240. Moſcow became the ſeat of empire in the xivth century. See the iſt and iid volumes of Levêque's Hiſtory, and Mr. Coxe's Travels into the North, tom. i. p. 241, etc.

[82] The ambaſſadors of St. Stephen had uſed the reverential expreſſions of *regnum oblatum*, *debitam obedientiam*, etc. which were moſt rigorouſly interpreted by Gregory VII.; and the Hungarian Catholics are diſtreſſed between the ſanctity of the pope and the independence of the crown (Katona, Hiſt. Critica, tom. i. p. 20—25. tom. ii. p. 304. 346. 360, etc.).

CHAP. LVI.

[1] For the general hiſtory of Italy in the ixth and xth centuries, I may properly refer to the vth, vith, and viith books of Sigonius de Regno Italiæ (in the ſecond volume of his works, Milan, 1732.); the Annals of Baronius, with the Criticiſm of Pagi; the viith and viiith books of the Iſtoria Civile del Regno di Napoli of Giannone; the viith and viiith volumes (the octavo edition) of the Annali d'Italia of Muratori, and the iid volume of the Abrégé Chronologique of M. de Saint Marc, a work which, under a ſuperficial title, contains much genuine learning and induſtry. But my long accuſtomed reader will give me credit for ſaying, that I myſelf have aſcended to the fountain-head, as often as ſuch aſcent could be either profitable or poſſible; and that I have diligently turned over the originals in the firſt volumes of Muratori's great collection of the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*.

[2] Camillo Pellegrino, a learned Capuan of the laſt century, has illuſtrated the hiſtory of the dutchy of Beneventum, in his two books, Hiſtoria Principum Longobardorum, in the Scriptores of Muratori, tom. ii. pars i. p. 221—345. and tom. v. p. 159—245.

[3] See Conſtantin. Porphyrogen. de Thematibus, l. ii. c. xi. in Vit. Baſil. c. 55. p. 181.

[4] The original epiſtle of the emperor Lewis II. to the emperor Baſil, a curious record of the age, was firſt published by Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 871, N° 51—71.), from the Vatican MS. of Erchempert, or rather of the anonymous hiſtorian of Salerno.

[5] See an excellent diſſertation de Republicâ Amalphitanâ, in the Appendix (p. 1—42.) of Henry Brencmann's Hiſtoria Pandectarum (Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1722, in 4to).

[6] Your maſter, ſays Nicephorus, has given aid and protection principibus Capuano et Beneventano, ſervis meis, quos oppugnare diſponо.... Nova (potius *nota*) res eſt quòd eorum patres et avi noſtro Imperio tributa dederunt (Liutprand, in Legat. p. 484.). Salerno is not mentioned, yet the prince changed his party about the ſame time, and Camillo Pellegrino (Script. Rer. Ital. tom. ii. pars i. p. 285.) has nicely diſcerned this change in the ſtyle of the anonymous Chronicle. On the rational ground of hiſtory and language, Liutprand (p. 480.) had aſſerted the Latin claim to Apulia and Calabria.

[7] See the Greek and Latin Gloſſaries of Ducange (Κατεπανω, *catapanus*), and his notes on the Alexias (p. 275.). Againſt the contemporary notion, which derives it from Κατα πσν, *juxta omne*, he treats it as a corruption of the Latin *capitaneus*. Yet M. de St. Marc has accurately obſerved (Abrégé Chronologique, tom. ii. p. 924.), that in this age the capitanei were not *captains*, but only nobles of the firſt rank, the great vaſſors of Italy.

[8] Ου μονον δια πολεμων ακριβως τεταγμενων το τοιυτον ὑπηγαγε το εθνος (the Lombards), αλλα και αγχινοιᾳ χρησαμενος, και δικαιοσυνῃ και χρηστοτητι, επιεικως τε τοις προσερχομενοις προσφερομενος και την ελευθεριαν αυτοις πασης τε δουλειας, και των αλλων φορολογικων χαριζομενος (Leon. Tactic. c. xv. p. 741.). The little Chronicle of Beneventum tom. ii. pars i. p. 280.) gives a far different character of the Greeks during the five years (A. D. 891—896) that Leo was maſter of the city.

[9] Calabriam adeunt, eamque inter ſe diviſam reperientes funditus depopulati ſunt (or depopularunt), ita ut deſerta ſit velut in diluvio. Such is the text of Herempert, or Erchempert, according to the two editions of Caraccioli (Rer. Italic. Script. tom. v. p. 23.) and of Camillo Pellegrino (tom. ii. pars i. p. 246.). Both were extremely ſcarce, when they were reprinted by Muratori.

[10] Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 874. N°. 2.) has drawn this ſtory from a MS. of Erchempert, who died at Capua only fifteen years after the event. But the cardinal was deceived by a falſe title, and we can only quote the anonymous Chronicle of Salerno (Paralipomena, c. 110.), compoſed towards the end of the xth century, and published in the ſecond volume of Muratori's Collection. See the Diſſertations of Camillo Pellegrino (tom. ii. pars i. p. 231—281, etc.).

[11] Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus (in Vit. Baſil. c. 58. p. 183.) is the original

original author of this ſtory. He places it under the reigns of Baſil and Lewis II.; yet the reduction of Beneventum by the Greeks is dated A. D. 891, after the deceaſe of both of thoſe princes.

[12] In the year 663, the ſame tragedy is deſcribed by Paul the Deacon (de Geſtis Langobard. l. v. c. 7, 8. p. 870, 871. édit. Grot.), under the walls of the ſame city of Beneventum. But the actors are different, and the guilt is imputed to the Greeks themſelves, which in the Byzantine edition is applied to the Saracens. In the late war in Germany; M. d'Aſſas, a French officer of the regiment of Auvergne, *is ſaid* to have devoted himſelf in a ſimilar manner. His behaviour is the more heroic, as mere ſilence was required by the enemy who had made him priſoner (Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV. c. 33. tom. ix. p. 172.).

[13] Theobald, who is ſtyled *Heros* by Liutprand, was prpperly duke of Spoleto and marquis of Camerino, from the year 926 to 935. The title and office of marquis (commander of the march or frontier) was introduced into Italy by the French emperors (Abrégé Chronologique, tom. ii. p. 645—732, etc.).

[14] Liutprand, Hiſt. l. iv. c. 4. in the Rerum Italic. Script. tom. i. pars i. p. 453, 454. Should the licentiouſneſs of the tale be queſtioned, I may exclaim, with poor Sterne, that it is hard if I may not tranſcribe with caution, what a bishop could write without ſcruple. What if I had tranſlated, ut viris certetis teſticulos amputare, in quibus noſtri corporis refocillatio, etc.?

[15] The original monuments of the Normans in Italy are collected in the vth volume of Muratori, and among theſe we may diſtinguish the poem of William Appulus (p. 245—278.) and the hiſtory of Galfridus (*Jeffrey*) Malaterra (p. 537—607.). Both were natives of France, but they wrote on the ſpot, in the age of the firſt conquerors (before A. D. 1100), and with the ſpirit of freemen. It is needleſs to recapitulate the compilers and critics of Italian hiſtory, Sigonius, Baronius, Pagi, Giannone, Muratori, St. Marc, etc. whom I have always conſulted, and never copied.

[16] Some of the firſt converts were baptiſed ten or twelve times, for the ſake of the white garment uſually given at this ceremony. At the funeral of Rollo, the gifts to monaſteries for the repoſe of his ſoul, were accompanied by a ſacrifice of one hundred captives. But in a generation or two, the national change was pure and general.

[17] The Danish language was ſtill ſpoken by the Normans of Bayeux on the ſea-coaſt, at a time (A. D. 940) when it was already forgotten at Rouen, in the court and capital. Quem (Richard I.) confeſtim pater Baiocas mittens Botoni militiæ ſuæ principi nutriendum tradidit, ut ibi

linguâ eruditus *Danicâ* ſuis exteriſque hominibus ſciret aperte dare reſponſa (Wilhelm. Gemeticenſis de Ducibus Normannis, l. iii. c. 8) p. 613. edit. Cambden). Of the vernacular and favourite idiom of William the conqueror (A. D. 1035.), Selden (Opera, tom. ii. p. 1640—1656.) has given a ſpecimen, obſolete and obſcure even to antiquarians and lawyers.

[18] See Leandro Alberti (Deſcrizione d'Italia, p. 250.) and Baronius (A. D. 493, N° 43.). If the archangel inherited the temple and oracle, perhaps the cavern, of old Calchas the ſoothſayer (Strab. Geograph. l. vi p. 435, 436.), the Catholics (on this occaſion) have ſurpaſſed the Greeks in the elegance of their ſuperſtition.

[19] See the 1ſt book of William Appulus. His words are applicable to every ſwarm of Barbarians and freebooters:

Si vicinorum quis *perniciosus* ad illos
Confugiebat, eum gratanter ſuſcipiebant
Moribus et linguâ quoſcunque venire videbant
Informant propriâ; gens efficiatur ut una.

And elſewhere, of the native adventurers of Normandy:

Pars parat, exiguæ vel opes aderant quia nullæ;
Pars quia de magnis majora ſubire volebant.

[20] Liutprand in Legatione, p. 485. Pagi has illuſtrated this event from the MS. hiſtory of the deacon Leo (tom. iv. A. D. 965, N°. 17—19.).

[21] See the Arabian Chronicle of Sicily, apud Muratori Script. Rerum Ital. tom. i. p. 253.

[22] Jeffrey Malaterra, who relates the Sicilian war, and the conqueſt of Apulia (l. i. c. 7, 8, 9. 19.). The ſame events are deſcribed by Cedrenus (tom. ii. p. 741—743. 755, 756.) and Zonaras (tom. ii. p. 237, 238.); and the Greeks are ſo hardened to diſgrace, that their narratives are impartial enough.

[23] Cedrenus ſpecifies the ταγμα of the Obſequium (Phrygia), and the μερος of the Thraceſians (Lydia; conſult Conſtantine de Thematibus, i. 3, 4. with Deliſle's map); and afterwards names the Piſidians and Lycaonians, with the fœderati.

[24] Omnes conveniunt et bis ſex nobiliores
Quos genus et gravitas morum decorabat et ætas,
Elegêre duces. Provectis ad comitatum
His alii parent. Comitatus nomen honoris
Quo donantur erat. Hi totas undique terras
Diviſêre ſibi, ni ſors inimica repugnet,
Singula proponunt loca quæ contingere forte
Cuique duci debent, et quæque tributa locorum.

And after ſpeaking of Melphi, William Appulus adds,

Pro numero comitum bis ſex ſtatuêre plateas
Atque domus comitum totidem fabricantur in urbe.

Leo Oſtienſis (l. ii. c. 67.) enumerates the diviſions of the Apulian cities, which it is needleſs to repeat.

[25] Gulielm. Appulus, l. ii. c. 12. according to the reference of Giannone (Iſtoria Civile di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 31.), which I cannot verify in the original. The Apulian praiſes indeed his *validas vires*, *probitas animi*, and *vivida virtus*; and declares, that had he lived, no poet could have equalled his merits (l. i. p. 258. l. ii. p. 259.). He was bewailed by the Normans, quippe qui tanti conſilii virum (ſays Malaterra, l. i. c. 12. p. 552.) tam armis ſtrenuum, tam ſibi munificum, affabilem, morigeratum ulterius ſe habere diffidebant.

[26] The gens aſtutiſſima, injuriarum ultrix.... adulari ſciens.... eloquentiis inſerviens, of Malaterra (l. i. c. 3. p. 550.), are expreſſive of the popular and proverbial character of the Normans.

[27] The hunting and hawking more properly belong to the *deſcendants* of the Norwegian ſailors; though they might import from Norway and Iceland the fineſt caſts of falcons.

[28] We may compare this portrait with that of William of Malmsbury (de Geſtis Anglorum, l. iii. p. 101, 102.), who appreciates, like a philoſophic hiſtorian, the vices and virtues of the Saxons and Normans. England was aſſuredly a gainer by the conqueſt.

[29] The biographer of St. Leo IX. pours his holy venom on the Normans. Vident indiſciplinatam et alienam gentem Normannorum, crudeli et inauditâ rabie et pluſquam Paganâ impietate adverſus eccleſias Dei inſurgere, paſſim Chriſtianos trucidare, etc. (Wibert, c. 6.) The honeſt Apulian (l. ii. p. 259.) ſays calmly of their accuſer, Veris commiſcens fallacia.

[30] The policy of the Greeks, revolt of Maniaces, etc. muſt be collected from Cedrenus (tom. ii. p. 757, 758.), William Appulus (l. i. p. 257, 258. l. ii. p. 259.), and the two Chronicles of Bari, by Lupus Protoſpata (Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. v. p. 42, 43, 44.), and an anonymous writer (Antiquitat. Italiæ medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 31—35.). This laſt is a fragment of ſome value.

[31] Argyrus received, ſays the anonymous Chronicle of Bari, imperial letters, Fœderatûs et patriciatûs, et Catapani et Veſtatûs. In his annals, Muratori (tom. viii. p. 426.) very properly reads, or interprets, *Seveſtatus*, the title of Sebaſtos or Auguſtus. But in his Antiquities, he was taught by Ducange to make it a palatine office, maſter of the wardrobe.

[32] A Life of St. Leo IX. deeply tinged with the paſſions and prejudices of the age, has been compoſed by Wibert, printed at Paris, 1615,

in octavo, and ſince inſerted in the Collections of the Bollandiſts, of Mabillon, and of Muratori. The public and private hiſtory of that pope is diligently treated by M. de St. Marc (Abrégé, tom. ii. p. 140—210. and p. 25—95. 2d column).

[33] See the expedition of Leo IX. againſt the Normans. See William Appulus (l. ii. p. 259—261.) and Jeffrey Malaterra (l. i. c. 13, 14, 15. p. 253.). They are impartial, as the national, is counterbalanced by the clerical, prejudice.

[34] Teutonici quia cæſaries et forma decoros
Fecerat egregie proceri corporis illos
Corpora derident Normannica quæ breviora
Eſſe videbantur.

The verſes of the Apulian are commonly in this ſtrain, though he heats himſelf a little in the battle. Two of his ſimilies from hawking and ſorcery are deſcriptive of manners.

[35] Several reſpectable cenſures or complaints are produced by M. de St. Marc (tom. ii. p. 200—204.). As Peter Damianus, the oracle of the times, had denied the popes the right of making war, the hermit (lugens eremi incola) is arraigned by the cardinal, and Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 1053. N° 10—17.) moſt ſtrenuouſly aſſerts the two ſwords of St. Peter.

[36] The origin and nature of the papal inveſtitures are ably diſcuſſed by Giannone (Iſtoria Civile di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 37—49. 57—66.) as a lawyer and antiquarian. Yet he vainly ſtrives to reconcile the duties of patriot and catholic, adopts an empty diſtinction of "Eccleſia "Romana non dedit ſed accepit," and ſhrinks from an honeſt but dangerous confeſſion of the truth.

[37] The birth, character, and firſt actions of Robert Guiſcard, may be found in Jeffrey Malaterra (l. i. c. 3, 4. 11. 16, 17, 18. 38, 39, 40.), William Appulus (l. ii. p. 260—262.), William Gemeticenſis or of Jumieges (l. xi. c. 30. p. 663, 664. edit. Cambden), and Anna Comnena (Alexiad, l. i. p. 23—27. l. vi. p. 165, 166), with the annotations of Ducange (Not. in Alexiad. p. 230—232. 320.), who has ſwept all the French and Latin chronicles for ſupplemental intelligence.

[38] Ο δε Ρομπερτος (a Greek corruption) ητος ην Νορμαννος το γενος, την τυχην ασημος. again, εξ αφανους παυ τυχης περιφανης, and elſewhere (l. iv. p. 84.), απο εσχατης πενιας και τυχης αφανους. Anna Comnena was born in the purple; yet her father was no more than a private though illuſtrious ſubject, who raiſed himſelf to the empire.

[39] Giannone (tom. ii. p. 2.) forgets all his original authors, and reſts this princely deſcent on the credit of Inveges, an Auguſtine monk of

Palermo in the laſt century. They continue the ſucceſſion of dukes from Rollo to William II. the Baſtard or Conqueror, whom they hold (communemente ſi tiene) to be the father of Tancred of Hauteville: a moſt ſtrange and ſtupendous blunder! The ſons of Tancred fought in Appulia, before William II. was three years old (A. D. 1037.).

[40] The judgment of Ducange is juſt and moderate: Certe humilis fuit ac tenuis Roberti familia, ſi ducalem et regium ſpectemus apicem, ad quem poſtea pervenit; quæ honeſta tamen et præter nobilium vulgarium ſtatum et conditionem illuſtris habita eſt, "quæ nec humi reperet "nec altum quid tumeret" (Wilhelm. Malmsbur. de Geſtis Anglorum, l. iii. p. 107. Not. ad Alexiad. p. 230.).

[41] I ſhall quote with pleaſure ſome of the beſt lines of the Apulian (l. ii. p. 270.):

Pugnat utrâque manû, nec lancea caſſa, nec enſis.
Caſſus erat, quocunque manû deducere vellet.
Ter dejectus equo, ter viribus ipſe reſumptis
Major in arma redit: ſtimulos furor ipſe miniſtrat.
Ut Leo cum frendens, etc.
.
Nullus in hoc bello, ſicuti poſt bella probatum eſt,
Victor vel victus, tam magnos edidit ictus.

[42] The Norman writers and editors moſt converſant with their own idiom, interpret *Guiſcard* or *Wiſcard*, by *Callidus*, a cunning man. The root (*wiſe*) is familiar to our ear; and in the old word *Wiſeacre*, I can diſcern ſomething of a ſimilar ſenſe and termination. Την ψυχην πανυργοτατος, is no bad tranſlation of the ſurname and character of Robert.

[43] The acquiſition of the ducal title by Robert Guiſcard is a nice and obſcure buſineſs. With the good advice of Giannone, Muratori, and St. Marc, I have endeavoured to form a conſiſtent and probable narrative.

[44] Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 1059. N° 69.) has published the original act. He profeſſes to have copied it from the *Liber Cenſuum*, a Vatican MS. Yet a Liber Cenſuum of the xiith century has been printed by Muratori (Antiquit. medii Ævi, tom. v. p. 851—908.): and the names of Vatican and Cardinal awaken the ſuſpicious of a proteſtant, and even of a philoſopher.

[45] Read the life of Guiſcard in the ſecond and third books of the Apulian, the firſt and ſecond books of Malaterra.

[46] The conqueſts of Robert Guiſcard and Roger I. the exemption of Benevento and the XII provinces of the kingdom, are fairly expoſed by Giannone in the ſecond volume of his Iſtoria Civile, l. ix, x, xi.

and l. xvii. p. 460—470. This modern diviſion was not eſtabliſhed before the time of Frederic II.

[47] Giannone (tom. ii. p. 119—127.), Muratori (Antiquitat. medii Ævi, tom. iii. diſſert. xliv. p. 935, 936.), and Tiraboſchi (Iſtoria della Letteratura Italiana), have given an hiſtorical account of theſe phyſicians; their medical knowledge and practice muſt be left to our phyſicians.

[48] At the end of the Hiſtoria Pandectarum of Henry Brencman (Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1722, in 4to), the indefatigable author has inſerted two diſſertations, de Republicâ Amalphitanâ, and de Amalphi a Piſanis direptâ, which are built on the teſtimonies of one hundred and forty writers. Yet he has forgotten two moſt important paſſages of the embaſſy of Liutprand (A. D. 969.), which compare the trade and navigation of Amalphi with that of Venice.

[49] Urbs Latii non eſt hâc delicioſior urbe,
Frugibus arboribus vinoque redundat; et unde
Non tibi poma, nuces, non pulchra palatia deſunt,
Non ſpecies muliebris abeſt probitaſque virorum.
(Gulielmus Appulus, l. iii. p. 267.)

[50] Muratori carries their antiquity above the year (1066) of the death of Edward the Confeſſor, the *rex Anglorum* to whom they are addreſſed. Nor is this date affected by the opinion, or rather miſtake, of Paſquier (Recherches de la France, l. vii. c 2.) and Ducange (Gloſſar. Latin.). The practice of rhyming, as early as the viith century, was borrowed from the languages of the North and Eaſt (Muratori, Antiquitat. tom. iii. diſſert. xl. p. 686—708.).

[51] The deſcription of Amalphi, by William the Apulian (l. iii. p. 267.), contains much truth and ſome poetry; and the third line may be applied to the ſailor's compaſs:

Nulla magis locuples argento, veſtibus, auro
Partibus innumeris; hâc plurimus urbe moratur
Nauta *maris cælique vias aperire peritus.*
Huc et Alexandri diverſâ feruntur ab urbe
Regis, et Antiochi. Gens hæc freta plurima tranſit.
Hic Arabes, Indi, Siculi naſcuntur et Afri.
Hæc gens eſt totum prope nobilitata per orbem,
Et mercando ferens, et amans mercata referre.

[52] Latrocinio armigerorum ſuorum in multis ſuſtentabatur, quod quidem ad ejus ignominiam non dicimus; ſed ipſo ita præcipiente adhuc viliora et reprehenſibiliora dicturi ſumus ut pluribus pateſcat, quàm laborioſe et cum quantâ anguſtiâ a profundâ paupertate ad ſummum culmen divitiarum vel honoris attigerit. Such is the preface of Malaterra (l. i. c. 25.) to the horſe-ſtealing. From the moment (l. i. c. 19.)

that he has mentioned his patron Roger, the elder brother ſinks into the ſecond character. Something ſimilar in Velleius Paterculus may be obſerved of Auguſtus and Tiberius.

[53] Duo ſibi proficua reputans animæ ſcilicet et corpori ſi terram Idolis deditam ad cultum divinum revocaret (Galfrid Malaterra, l. ii. c. 1.). The conqueſt of Sicily is related in the three laſt books, and he himſelf has given an accurate ſummary of the chapters (p. 544—546.).

[54] See the word *milites*, in the Latin Gloſſary of Ducange.

[55] Of odd particulars, I learn from Malaterra, that the Arabs had introduced into Sicily the uſe of camels (l. i. c. 33.) and of carrier-pigeons (c. 42.); and that the bite of the tarantula provokes a windy diſpoſition, quæ per anum inhoneſte crepitando emergit: a ſymptom moſt ridiculouſly felt by the whole Norman army in their camp near Palermo (c. 36.). I ſhall add an etymology not unworthy of the xith century: *Meſſanais* derived from *Meſſis*, the place from whence the harveſts of the iſle were ſent in tribute to Rome (l. ii. c. 1.).

[56] See the capitulation of Palermo in Malaterra, l. ii. c. 45. and Giannone, who remarks the general toleration of the Saracens (tom. ii. p. 72.).

[57] John Leo Afer, de Medicis et Philoſophis Arabibus, c. 14. apud Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xiii. p. 278, 279. This philoſopher is named Eſſeriph Eſſachalli, and he died in Africa, A. H. 516. A. D. 1122. Yet this ſtory bears a ſtrange reſemblance to the Sherif al Edriſſi, who preſented his book (Geographia Nubienſis, ſee preface, p. 88. 90. 170.) to Roger king of Sicily, A. H. 548. A. D. 1153 (d'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 786. Prideaux Life of Mahomet, p. 188. Petit de la Croix, Hiſt. de Gengiſcan, p. 535, 536. Caſiri, Bibliot. Arab. Hiſpan. tom. ii. p. 9—13.); and I am afraid of ſome miſtake.

[58] Malaterra remarks the foundation of the biſhoprics (l. iv. c. 7.), and produces the original of the bull (l. iv. c. 29.). Giannone gives a national idea of this privilege, and the tribunal of the monarchy of Sicily (tom. ii. p. 95—102.); and St. Marc (Abrégé, tom. iii. p. 217—301. 1ſt column) labours the caſe with the diligence of a Sicilian lawyer.

[59] In the firſt expedition of Robert againſt the Greeks, I follow Anna Comnena (the iſt, iiid, ivth, and vth books of the Alexiad), William Appulus (l. ivth and vth, p. 270—275.), and Jeffrey Malaterra (l. iii. c. 13, 14. 24—29. 39.). Their information is contemporary and authentic, but none of them were eye-witneſſes of the war.

[60] One of them was married to Hugh, the ſon of Azzo, or Axo, a marquis of Lombardy, rich, powerful, and *noble* (Guilielm. Appul. l. iii. p. 267.), in the xith century, and whoſe anceſtors in the xth and ixth are explored by the critical induſtry of Leibnitz and Muratori. From the two elder ſons of the marquis Azzo, are derived the illuſtrious lines of Brunſwic and Eſte. See Muratori, Antichità Eſtenſi.

[61] Anna Comnena, ſomewhat too wantonly, praiſes and bewails that handſome boy, who, after the rupture of his barbaric nuptials (l. i. p. 23.), was betrothed as her husband; he was αγαλμα φυσεως Θεᾳ χειρων Φιλοτιμημα χρυσᾳ χαιτης απορῤῥοη, etc. (p. 27.). Elſewhere, she deſcribes the red and white of his ſkin, his hawk's eyes, etc. l. iii. p. 71.

[62] Anna Comnena, l. i. p. 28, 29. Guilielm. Appul. l. iv. p. 271. Galfrid Malaterra, l. iii. c. 13. p. 579, 580. Malaterra is more cautious in his ſtyle: but the Apulian is bold and poſitive.

— Mentitus ſe Michaelem
Venerat a Danais quidam ſeductor ad illum.

As Gregory VII. had believed, Baronius, almoſt alone, recognizes the emperor Michael (A. D. 1080, N° 44.).

[63] Ipſe armatæ militiæ non pluſquam MCCC milites ſecum habuiſſe, ab eis qui eidem negotio interfuerunt atteſtatur (Malaterra, l. iii. c. 24. p. 583.). Theſe are the ſame whom the Apulian (l. iv. p. 273.) ſtyles the equeſtris gens ducis, equites de gente ducis.

[64] Εις τριακοντα χιλιαδας, ſays Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. i. p. 37.); and her account tallies with the number and lading of the ships. Ivit in Dyrrachium cum xv millibus hominum, ſays the Chronicum Breve Normannicum (Muratori, Scriptores, tom. v. p. 278). I have endeavoured to reconcile theſe reckonings.

[65] The Itinerary of Jeruſalem (p. 609. edit. Weſſeling) gives a true and reaſonable ſpace of a thouſand ſtadia, or one hundred miles, which is ſtrangely doubled by Strabo (l. vi. p. 433.) and Pliny (Hiſt. Natur. iii. 26.).

[66] Pliny (Hiſt. Nat. iii. 6. 16.) allows *quinquaginta* millia for this breviſſimus curſus, and agrees with real diſtance from Otranto to La Vallona, or Aulon (d'Anville, Analyſe de ſa Carte des Côtes de la Grèce, etc. p. 3—6.). Hermolaus Barbarus, who ſubſtitutes *centum* (Harduin, Not. lxvi. in Plin. l. iii.), might have been corrected by every Venetian pilot who had ſailed out of the gulph.

[67] Infames ſcopulos Acroceraunia, Horat. carm. i. 3. The præcipitem Africum decertantem Aquilonibus et rabiem Noti, and the monſtra natantia of the Adriatic, are ſomewhat enlarged; but Horace trembling

for the life of Virgil, is an intereſting moment in the hiſtory of poetry and friendship.

[68] Των δε εις τον πωγωνα αυτε εφυβρισαντων (Alexias, l. iv. p. 106.). Yet the Normans ſhaved, and the Venetians wore, their beards; they muſt have derived the *no*-beard of Bohemond; an harsh interpretation! (Ducange, Not. ad Alexiad. p. 283.).

[69] Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 136, 137.) obſerves, that ſome authors (Petrus Diacon. Chron. Caſinen. l. iii. c. 49.) compoſe the Greek army of 170,000 men, but that the *hundred* may be ſtruck off, and that Malaterra reckons only 70,000: a ſlight inattention. The paſſage to which he alludes, is in the Chronicle of Lupus Protoſpata (Script. Ital. tom. v. p. 45.). Malaterra (l. iv. c. 27.) ſpeaks in high, but indefinite, terms of the emperor, cum copiis innumerabilibus: like the Apulian poet (l. iv. p. 272.):

More locuſtarum montes et plana teguntur.

[70] See William of Malmsbury de Geſtis Anglorum, l. ii. p. 92. Alexius fidem Anglorum ſuſcipiens præcipuis familiaritatibus ſuis eos applicabat, amorem eorum filio tranſcribens. Ordericus Vitalis (Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. iv. p. 508. l. vii. p. 641.) relates their emigration from England, and their ſervice in Greece.

[71] See the Apulian (l. i. p. 256.). The character and ſtory of theſe Manichæans has been the ſubject of the livth chapter.

[72] See the ſimple and maſterly narrative of Cæſar himſelf (Comment. de Bell. Civil. iii. 41—75.). It is pity that Quintus Icilius (M. Guiſchard) did not live to analyſe theſe operations, as he has done the campaigns of Africa and Spain.

[73] Παλλας αλλη και μη Αθηνη, which is very properly tranſlated by the preſident Couſin (Hiſt. de Conſtantinople, tom. iv. p. 131, in 12mo), qui combattoit comme une Pallas, quoiqu'elle ne fût pas auſſi ſavante que celle d'Athénes. The Grecian goddeſs was compoſed of two diſcordant characters, of Neith, the workwoman of Sais in Egypt, and of a virgin Amazon of the Tritonian lake in Libya (Banier, Mythologie, tom. iv. p. 1—31. in 12mo).

[74] Anna Comnena (l. iv. p. 116.) admires, with ſome degree of terror, her maſculine virtues. They were more familiar to the Latins; and though the Apulian (l. iv. p. 273.) mentions her preſence and her wound, he repreſents her as far leſs intrepid.

Uxor in hoc bello Roberti forte fagittâ
Quâdam læſa fuit: quo vulnere *territa* nullam
Dum ſperabat opem ſe pœne *ſubegerat* hoſti.

The laſt is an unlucky word for a female priſoner.

[75] Απο της τε Ρομπερτε προηγησαμενης μαχης, γινωσκων την

πρωτην κατα των εναντιων ἱππασιαν των Κελτων ανυποιζον (Annal. l. v. p. 133.); and elſewhere και γαρ Κελτος ανηρ πας επογμενος μεν ανυποιζος την ὁρμην, και την θεζιν εζιν (p. 140.). The pedantry of the princeſs in the choice of claſſic appellations, encouraged Ducange to apply to his countrymen the characters of the ancient Gauls.

[76] Lupus Protoſpata (tom. iii. p. 45.) ſays 6000; William the Apulian more than 5000 (l. iv. p. 273.). Their modeſty is ſingular and laudable; they might with ſo little trouble have ſlain two or three myriads of ſchiſmatics and infidels!

[77] The Romans had changed the inauſpicious name of *Epi-damnus* to Dyrrachium (Plin. iii. 26.); and the vulgar corruption of Duracium (ſee Malaterra) bore ſome affinity to *hardneſs*. One of Robert's names was Durand, a *durando:* poor wit! (Alberic. Monarch. in Chron. apud Muratori Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 137.).

[78] Βρεχξ; και ακριδας ειπεν αν τις αυτης πατερα και υἱον (Anna, l. i. p. 35.). By theſe ſimilies, ſo different from thoſe of Homer, ſhe wiſhes to inſpire contempt as well as horror for the little, noxious animal, a conqueror. Moſt unfortunately, the common ſenſe, or common nonſenſe, of mankind reſiſts her laudable deſign.

[79] Prodiit hâc auctor Trojanæ cladis Achilles.

The ſuppoſition of the Apulian (l. v. p. 275.) may be excuſed by the more claſſic poetry of Virgil (Æneid II. 197.). Lariſſæus Achilles, but it is not juſtified by the geography of Homer.

[80] The των πεδιλων προαλματα, which incumbered the knights on foot, have been ignorantly tranſlated ſpurs (Anna Comnena, Alexias, l. v. p. 140.). Ducange has explained the true ſenſe by a ridiculous and inconvenient faſhion, which laſted from the xith to the xvth century. Theſe peaks, in the form of a ſcorpion, were ſometimes two foot long, and faſtened to the knee with a ſilver chain.

[81] The epiſtle itſelf (Alexias, l. iii. p. 93, 94, 95.) well deſerves to be read. There is one expreſſion, αστροπελεκυν δεδεμενον μετα χρυσαφιου, which Ducange does not underſtand. I have endeavoured to grope out a tolerable meaning: χρυσαφιον, is a golden crown; αστροπελεκυς, is explained by Simon Portius (in Lexico Græco-Barbar.), by κεραυνος, πρηστηρ, a flaſh of lightning.

[82] For theſe general events I muſt refer to the general hiſtorians Sigonius, Baronius, Muratori, Mosheim, St. Marc, etc.

[83] The lives of Gregory VII. are either legends or invectives (St. Marc, Abrégé, tom. iii. p. 235, etc.): and his miraculous or magical performances are alike incredible to a modern reader. He will, as uſual, find ſome inſtruction in Le Clerc (Vie de Hildebrand, Bibliot. ancienne et moderne, tom. viii.), and much amuſement in Bayle

(Dictionnaire Critique, *Gregoire* VII.). That pope was undoubtedly a great man, a ſecond Athanaſius, in a more fortunate age of the church. May I preſume to add, that the portrait of Athanaſius is one of the paſſages of my hiſtory (vol. iii. p. 280, etc.) with which I am the leaſt diſſatisfied?

[84] Anna, with the rancour of a Greek ſchiſmatic, calls him καταπτυστος ὁντος Παπας (l. i. p. 32.), a pope, or prieſt, worthy to be ſpit upon; and accuſes him of ſcourging, ſhaving, perhaps of caſtrating, the ambaſſadors of Henry (p. 31, 33.). But this outrage is improbable and doubtful (ſee the ſenſible preface of Couſin).

[85] Sic uno tempore victi
Sunt terræ Domini duo: rex Alemannicus iſte,
Imperii rector Romani maximus ille.
Alter ad arma ruens armis ſuperatur; et alter
Nominis auditi ſolâ formidine ceſſit.

It is ſingular enough, that the Apulian, a Latin, ſhould diſtinguiſh the Greek as the ruler of the Roman empire (l. iv. p. 274.).

[86] The narrative of Malaterra (l. iii. c. 37. p. 587, 588.) is authentic, circumſtantial, and fair. Dux ignem exclamans urbe incenſâ, etc. The Apulian ſofrens the miſchief (inde *quibuſdam* ædibus exuſtis), which is again exaggerated in ſome partial Chronicles (Muratori Annali, tom. ix. p. 147.).

[87] After mentioning this devaſtation, the Jeſuit Donatus (de Roma veteri et novâ, l. iv. c. 8. p. 489.) prettily adds, Duraret hodieque in Cœlio monte interque ipſum et capitolium miſerabilis facies proſtratæ urbis, niſi in hortorum vinetorumque amœnitatem Roma reſurrexiſſet ut perpetuâ viriditate contegeret vulnera et ruinas ſuas.

[88] The royalty of Robert, either promiſed or beſtowed by the pope (Anna, l. i. p. 32.), is ſufficiently confirmed by the Apulian (l. iv. p. 270.).

Romani regni ſibi promiſiſſe coronam
Papa ferebatur.

Nor can I underſtand why Gretſer, and the other papal advocates, ſhould be diſpleaſed with this new inſtance of apoſtolic juriſdiction.

[89] See Homer Iliad B. (I hate this pedantic mode of quotation by the letters of the Greek alphabet) 87, etc. His bees are the image of a diſorderly crowd: their diſcipline and public works ſeem to be the ideas of a later age (Virgil. Æneid, l. i.)

[90] Guilielm. Appulus, l. v. p. 276. The admirable port of Brunduſium was double; the outward harbour was a gulph covered by an iſland, and narrowing by degrees, till it communicated by a ſmall gullet with the inner harbour, which embraced the city on both

fides. Cæſar and Nature have laboured for its ruin; and againſt ſuch agents, what are the feeble efforts of the Neapolitan government? (Swinburne's Travels in the two Sicilies, vol. i. p. 384—390.).

[91] William of Apulia (l. v. p. 276.) deſcribes the victory of the Normans, and forgets the two previous defeats, which are diligently recorded by Anna Comnena (l. vi. p. 159, 160, 161.). In her turn, ſhe invents or magnifies a fourth action, to give the Venetians revenge and rewards. Their own feelings were far different, ſince they depoſed their doge, propter excidium ſtoli (Dandulus in Chron. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii. p. 249.).

[92] The moſt authentic writers, William of Apulia (l. v. 277.), Jeffrey Malaterra (l. iii. c. 41. p. 589.), and Romuald of Salerno (Chron. in Muratori, Script. Rerum. Ital. tom. vii.), are ignorant of this crime ſo apparent to our countrymen William of Malmsbury (l. iii. p. 107.) and Roger de Hoveden (p. 710. in Script. poſt Bedam): and the latter can tell, how the juſt Alexius married, crowned, and burnt alive, his female accomplice. The English hiſtorian is indeed ſo blind, that he ranks Robert Guiſcard, or Wiſcard, among the knights of Henry I. who aſcended the throne fifteen years after the duke of Apulia's death.

[93] The joyful Anna Comnena ſcatters ſome flowers over the grave of an enemy (Alexiad, l. v. p. 162—166.): and his beſt praiſe is the eſteem and envy of William the Conqueror, the ſovereign of his family. Græcia (ſays Malaterra) hoſtibus recedentibus libera læta quievit: Apulia tota ſive Calabria turbatur.

[94] Urbs Venuſina nitet tantis decorata ſepulchris,
is one of the laſt lines of the Apulian's poem (l. v. p. 278.). William of Malmsbury (l. iii. p. 107.) inſerts an epitaph on Guiſcard, which is not worth tranſcribing.

[95] Yet Horace had few obligations to Venuſia: he was carried to Rome in his childhood (Sermon. i. 6.); and his repeated alluſions to the doubtful limit of Apulia and Lucania (Carm. iii. 4. Serm. ii. 1.) are unworthy of his age and genius.

[96] See Giannone (tom. ii. p. 88—93.), and the hiſtorians of the firſt cruſade.

[97] The reign of Roger, and the Norman kings of Sicily, fills four books of the Iſtoria Civile of Giannone (tom. ii. l. xi—xiv. p. 136—340.), and is ſpread over the ixth and xth volumes of the Italian Annals of Muratori. In the Bibliothèque Italique (tom. i. p. 175—222.) I find an uſeful abſtract of Capecelatro, a modern Neapolitan, who has compoſed, in two volumes, the hiſtory of his country from Roger I. to Frederic II. incluſive.

[98] According to the teſtimony of Philiſtus and Diodorus, the tyrant Dionyſius of Syracuſe could maintain a ſtanding force of 10,000 horſe, 100,000 foot, and 400 gallies. Compare Hume (Eſſays, vol. i. pag. 268. 435.) and his adverſary Wallace (Numbers of Mankind, p. 306, 307.). The ruins of Agrigentum are the theme of every traveller, d'Orville, Reideſel, Swinburne, etc.

[99] A contemporary hiſtorian of the Acts of Roger from the year 1127 to 1135, founds his title on merit and power, the conſent of the barons, and the ancient royalty of Sicily and Palermo, without introducing pope Anacletus (Alexand. Cœnobii Teleſini Abbatis de Rebus geſtis Regis Rogerii, lib. iv. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. v. p. 607—645.).

[100] The kings of France, England, Scotland, Caſtille, Arragon, Navarre, Sweden, Denmark, and Hungary. The three firſt were more ancient than Charlemagne: the three next were created by their ſword, the three laſt by their baptiſm; and of theſe the king of Hungary alone was honoured or debaſed by a papal crown.

[101] Fazellus, and a crowd of Sicilians, had imagined a more early and independent coronation (A. D. 1130, May 1.), which Giannone unwillingly rejects (tom. ii. p. 137—144.). This fiction is diſproved by the ſilence of contemporaries; nor can it be reſtored by a ſpurious charter of Meſſina (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 340. Pagi, Critica, tom. iv. p. 467, 468.).

[102] Roger corrupted the ſecond perſon of Lothaire's army, who ſounded, or rather cried, a retreat: for the Germans (ſays Cinnamus, l. iii. c. 1. p. 51.) are ignorant of the uſe of trumpets. Moſt ignorant himſelf!

[103] See de Guignes, Hiſt. Générale des Huns, tom. i. p. 369—373. and Cardonne, Hiſt. de l'Afrique, etc. ſous la Domination des Arabes, tom. ii. p. 70—140. Their common original appears to be Novairi.

[104] Tripoli (ſays the Nubian geographer, or more properly the Sherif al Edriſi) urbs fortis, ſaxeo muro vallata, ſita prope litus maris. Hanc expugnavit Rogerius, qui mulieribus captivis ductis, viros peremit.

[105] See the geography of Leo Africanus (in Ramuſio, tom. i. fol. 74. verſo, fol. 75. recto), and Shaw's Travels (p. 110.), the viith book of Thuanus, and the xith of the Abbé de Vertot. The poſſeſſion and defence of the place was offered by Charles V. and wiſely declined by the knights of Malta.

[106] Pagi has accurately marked the African conqueſts of Roger; and his criticiſm was ſupplied by his friend the Abbé de Longuerue,

emperor and the empire, he is above flattery: but the fall of Conſtantinople exaſperated his prejudices againſt the Latins. For the honour of learning, I ſhall obſerve that Homer's great commentator, Euſtachius archbiſhop of Theſſalonica, refuſed to deſert his flock.

[126] The Hiſtoria Sicula of Hugo Falcandus, which properly extends from 1154 to 1169, is inſerted in the viith volume of Muratori's Collection (tom. vii. p. 259—344.), and preceded by an eloquent preface or epiſtle (p. 251—258.), de Calamitatibus Siciliæ. Falcandus has been ſtyled the Tacitus of Sicily; and, after a juſt, but immenſe, abatement, from the iſt to the xiith century, from a ſenator to a monk, I would not ſtrip him of his title: his narrative is rapid and perſpicuous, his ſtyle bold and elegant, his obſervation keen; he had ſtudied mankind, and feels like a man. I can only regret the narrow and barren field on which his labours have been caſt.

[127] The laborious Benedictines (l'Art de vérifier les Dates, p. 896) are of opinion, that the true name of Falcandus, is Fulcandus, or Foucault. According to them, Hugues Foucault, a Frenchman by birth, and at length abbot of St. Denys, had followed into Sicily his patron Stephen de la Perche, uncle to the mother of William II. archbiſhop of Palermo, and great chancellor of the kingdom. Yet Falcandus has all the feelings of a Sicilian: and the title of *Alumnus* (which he beſtows on himſelf), appears to indicate, that he was born, or at leaſt educated, in the iſland.

[128] Falcand. p. 303. Richard de St. Germano begins his hiſtory from the death and praiſes of William II. After ſome unmeaning epithets, he thus continues: legis et juſtitiæ cultus tempore ſuo vigebat in regno; ſuâ erat quilibet ſorte contentus; (were they mortals?) ubique pax, ubique ſecuritas, nec latronum metuebat viator inſidias, nec maris nauta offendicula piratarum (Scrip. Rerum Ital. tom. vii. p. 969.).

[129] Conſtantia, primis a cunabulis in deliciarum. tuarum affluentiâ diutius educata, tuiſque inſtitutis, doctrinis et moribus informata, tandem opibus tuis Barbaros delatura diſceſſit: et nunc cum ingentibus copiis revertitur, ut pulcherrima nutricis ornamenta barbaricâ fœditate contaminet. Intueri mihi jam videor turbulentas barbarorum acies civitates opulentas et loca diuturnâ pace florentia, metû concutere, cæde vaſtare, rapinis atterere, et fœdare luxuriâ: hinc cives aut gladiis intercepti, aut ſervitute depreſſi, virgines conſtupratæ, matronæ, etc.

[130] Certe ſi regem non dubiæ virtutis elegerint, nec a Saracenis Chriſtiani diſſentiant, poterit rex creatus rebus licet quaſi deſperatis et perditis ſubvenire, et incurſus hoſtium, ſi prudenter egerit, propulſare.

[131] In

[131] In Appulis, qui, ſemper novitate gaudentes, novarum rerum ſtudiis aguntur, nihil arbitror ſpei aut fiduciæ reponendum.

[132] Si civium tuorum virtutem et audaciam attendas, ... murorum etiam ambitum denſis turribus circumſeptum.

[133] Cum crudelitate piraticâ Theutonum confligat atrocitas, et inter ambuſtos lapides, et Aetnæ flagrantis incendia, etc.

[134] Eam partem, quam nobiliſſimarum civitatum fulgor illuſtrat, quæ et toti regno ſingulari meruit privilegio præminere, nefarium eſſet vel barbarorum ingreſſû pollui. I wish to tranſcribe his florid, but curious, deſcription of the palace, city, and luxuriant plain of Palermo.

[135] Vires non ſuppetunt, et conatus tuos tam inopia civium, quam paucitas bellatorum elidunt.

[136] At vero, quia difficile eſt Chriſtianos in tanto rerum turbine, ſublato regis timore Saracenos non opprimere, ſi Saraceni injuriis fatigati ab eis cœperint diffidere, et caſtella forte maritima vel montanas munitiones occupaverint; ut hinc cum Theutonicis ſummâ virtute pugnandum, illinc Saracenis crebris inſultibus occurrendum, quid putas acturi ſunt Siculi inter has depreſſi anguſtias, et velut inter malleum et incudem multo cum diſcrimine conſtituti? hoc útique agent quod poterunt, ut ſe Barbaris miſerabili conditione dedentes, in eorum ſe conferant poteſtatem. O utinam plebis et procerum, Chriſtianorum et Saracenorum vota conveniant, ut regem ſibi concorditer eligentes, barbaros totis viribus, toto conamine, totiſque deſideriis proturbare contendant. The Normans and Sicilians appear to be confounded.

[137] The teſtimony of an Engliſhman, of Roger de Hoveden (p. 689.), will lightly weigh againſt the ſilence of German and Italian hiſtory (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. x. p. 156.) The prieſts and pilgrims, who returned from Rome, exalted, by every tale, the omnipotence of the holy father.

[138] Ego enim in eo cum Teutonicis manere non debeo (Caffari, Annales Genuenſes, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. vi. p. 367, 368.).

[139] For the Saracens of Sicily and Nocera, ſee the Annals of Muratori (tom. x. p. 149. and A. D. 1223, 1247), Giannone, (tom. ii p. 385.), and of the originals, in Muratori's Collection, Richard de St. Germano (tom. vii. p. 996.), Matteo Spinelli di Giovenazzo (tom. vii. p. 1064.), Nicholas de Jamſilla (tom. x. p. 494.), and Matteo Villani (tom. xiv. l. vii. p. 103.). The laſt of theſe inſinuates, that in reducing the Saracens of Nocera, Charles II. of Anjou employed rather artifice than violence.

[140] Muratori quotes a paſſage from Arnold of Lubec (l. iv. c. 20.):

Reperit theſauros abſconditos, et omnem lapidum pretioſorum et gemmarum gloriam, ita ut oneratis 160 ſomariis, glorioſe ad terram ſuam redierit. Roger de Hoveden, who mentions the violation of the royal tombs and corpſes, computes the ſpoil of Salerno at 200,000 ounces of gold (p. 746.) On theſe occaſions, I am almoſt tempted to exclaim with the liſtening maid in La Fontaine, "Je voudrois bien "avoir ce qui manque."

CHAP. LVII.

[1] I am indebted for his character and hiſtory to d'Herbelot (Bibliothèque Orientale, *Mahmud*, p. 533—537.), M. de Guignes (Hiſtoire des Huns, tom. iii. p. 155—173.), and our countryman Colonel Alexander Dow (vol. i. p. 23—83.). In the two firſt volumes of his Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, he ſtyles himſelf the tranſlator of the Perſian Ferishta; but in his florid text, it is not eaſy to diſtinguiſh the verſion and the original.

[2] The dynaſty of the Samanides, continued 125 years, A. D. 874—999, under ten princes. See their ſucceſſion and ruin, in the Tables of M. de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 404—406.). They were followed by the Gaznevides, A. D. 999—1183 (ſee tom. i. p. 239, 240.). His diviſion of nations often diſturbs the ſeries of time and place.

[3] Gaznah hortos non habet: eſt emporium et domicilium mercaturæ Indicæ. Abulfedæ Geograph. Reiske, tab. xxiii. p. 349. d'Herbelot, p. 364. It has not been viſited by any modern traveller.

[4] By the ambaſſador of the caliph of Bagdad, who employed an Arabian or Chaldaïc word that ſignifies *lord* and *maſter* (d'Herbelot, p. 825.). It is interpreted Αυτοκρατωρ, Βασιλευς Βασιλεων, by the Byzantine writers of the xith century; and the name (Σελτανος, Soldanus) is familiarly employed in the Greek and Latin languages, after it had paſſed from the Gaznevides to the Seljukides, and other emirs of Aſia and Egypt. Ducange (Diſſertation xvi. ſur Joinville, p. 238—240. Gloſſ. Græc. et Latin.) labours to find the title of ſultan in the ancient kingdom of Perſia; but his proofs are mere ſhadows: a proper name in the Themes of Conſtantine (ii. 11.), an anticipation of Zonaras, etc. and a medal of Kai Khoſrou, not (as he believes) the Saſſanide of the vith, but the Seljukide of Iconium of the xiiith, century (de Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 246.).

[5] Ferishta (apud. Dow, Hiſt. of Hindoſtan, vol. i. p. 49.) mentions the report of a *gun* in the Indian army. But as I am ſlow in believing this premature (A. D. 1008) uſe of artillery, I muſt deſire to

ſcrutinize firſt the text, and then the authority of Ferishta, who lived in the Mogul court in the laſt century.

[6] Kinnouge, or Canouge (the old Palimbothra) is marked in latitude 27° 3′, longitude 80° 13′. See d'Anville (Antiquité de l'Inde, p. 60—62.), corrected by the local knowledge of Major Rennel (in his excellent Memoir on his map of Hindoſtan, p. 37—43.): 300 jewellers, 30,000 shops for the arreca nut, 60,000 bands of muſicians, etc. (Abulfed. Geograph. tab. xv. p. 274. Dow, vol. i. p. 16.), will allow an ample deduction.

[7] The idolaters of Europe, ſays Ferishta (Dow, vol. i. p. 66.). Conſult Abulfeda (p. 272.) and Rennel's map of Hindoſtan.

[8] D'Herbelot, Bibliothéque Orientale, p. 427. Yet theſe letters, apophthegms, etc. are rarely the language of the heart, or the motives of public action.

[9] For inſtance, a ruby of four hundred and fifty miskals (Dow, vol. i. p. 53.), or ſix pounds three ounces: the largeſt in the treaſury of Dehli weighed ſeventeen miskals (Voyages de Tavernier, partie ii. p. 280.). It is true, that in the Eaſt all coloured ſtones are called rubies (p. 355.), and that Tavernier ſaw three larger and more precious among the jewels de notre grand roi, le plus puiſſant et plus magnifique de tous les rois de la terre (p. 376.).

[10] Dow, vol. i. p. 65. The ſovereign of Kinoge is ſaid to have poſſeſſed 2400 elephants (Abulfed. Geograph. tab. xv. p. 274.). From theſe Indian ſtories, the reader may correct a note in my firſt volume (p. 278.); or from that note he may correct theſe ſtories.

[11] See a juſt and natural picture of theſe paſtoral manners, in the hiſtory of William archbiſhop of Tyre (l. i. c. vii. in the Geſta Dei per Francos, p. 633, 634.), and a valuable note by the editor of the Hiſtoire Généalogique des Tatars, p. 534—538.

[12] The firſt emigrations of the Turkmans, and doubtful origin of the Seljukians, may be traced in the laborious Hiſtory of the Huns, by M. de Guignes (tom. i. Tables Chronologiques, l. v. tom. iii. l. vii. ix. x.), and the Bibliothéque Orientale of d'Herbelot, (p. 799—802. 897—901.), Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen p. 331—333.), and Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 221, 222).

[13] Dow, Hiſt. of Hindoſtan, vol. i. p. 89. 95—98. I have copied this paſſage as a ſpecimen of the Perſian manner; but I ſuſpect, that by ſome odd fatality, the ſtyle of Ferishta has been improved by that of Oſſian.

[14] The Zendekan of d'Herbelot (p. 1028.), the Dindaka of Dow (vol. i. p. 97.), is probably the Dandanekan of Abulfeda (Geograph. p. 345. Reiske), a ſmall town of Choraſan, two days journey from

Marû, and renowned through the Eaſt for the production and manufacture of cotton.

[15] The Byzantine hiſtorians (Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 766, 767. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 255. Nicephorus Bryennius, p. 21.) have confounded, in this revolution, the truth of time and place, of names and perſons, of cauſes and events. The ignorance and errors of theſe Greeks (which I ſhall not ſtop to unravel) may inſpire ſome diſtruſt of the ſtory of Cyaxares and Cyrus, as it is told by their moſt eloquent predeceſſors.

[16] Willerm. Tyr. l. i. c. 7. p. 633. The divination by arrows is ancient and famous in the Eaſt.

[17] D'Herbelot, p 801. Yet after the fortune of his poſterity, Seljuk became the thirty-fourth in lineal deſcent from the great Afraſiab, emperor of Touran (p. 800.). The Tartar pedigree of the houſe of Zingis gave a different caſt to flattery and fable; and the hiſtorian Mirkhond derives the Seljukides from Alankavah, the virgin mother (p. 801. col. 2.). If they be the ſame as the *Zalzutes* of Abulghazi Bahadur Khan (Hiſt. Généalogique, p. 148.), we quote in their favour the moſt weighty evidence of a Tartar prince himſelf, the deſcendant of Zingis, Alankavah, or Alaucu, and Oguz Khan.

[18] By a ſlight corruption, Togrul Beg is the Tangroli-pix of the Greeks. His reign and character are faithfully exhibited by d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 1027, 1028.) and de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 189—201.).

[19] Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 774, 775. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 257. With their uſual knowledge of Oriental affairs, they deſcribe the ambaſſador as a *sherif*, who, like the ſyncellus of the patriarch, was the vicar and ſucceſſor of the caliph.

[20] From William of Tyre, I have borrowed this diſtinction of Turks and Turkmans, which at leaſt is popular and convenient. The names are the ſame, and the addition of *man*, is of the ſame import in the Perſic and Teutonic idioms. Few critics will adopt the etymology of James de Vitry (Hiſt. Hieroſol. l. i c. 11. p. 1061.), of Turcomani, quaſi *Turci* et *Comani*, a mixed people.

[21] Hiſt. Générale des Huns, tom. iii. p. 165, 166, 167. M. de Guignes quotes Abulmahaſen, an hiſtorian of Egypt.

[22] Conſult the Bibliothéque Orientale, in the articles of the *Abbaſſides*, *Caher*, and *Caiem*, and the Annals of Elmacin and Abulpharagius.

[23] For this curious ceremony I am indebted to M. de Guignes (tom. iii. p. 197, 198.), and that learned author is obliged to Bondari,

who compoſed in Arabic the hiſtory of the Seljukides (tom. v. p. 365.). I am ignorant of his age, country, and character.

[24] Eodem anno (A. H. 455.) obiit princeps Togrulbecus rex fuit clemens, prudens, et peritus regnandi, cujus terror corda mortalium invaſerat, ita ut obedirent ei reges atque ad ipſum ſcriberent Elmacin, Hiſt. Saracen. p. 342. verſ. Erpenii.

[25] For theſe wars of the Turks and Romans, ſee in general the Byzantine hiſtories of Zonaras and Cedrenus, Scylitzes the continuator of Cedrenus, and Nicephorus Bryennius Cæſar. The two firſt of theſe were monks, the two latter ſtateſmen; yet ſuch were the Greeks, that the difference of ſtyle and character is ſcarcely diſcernible. For the Orientals, I draw as uſual on the wealth of d'Herbelot (ſee titles of the firſt Seljukides) and the accuracy of de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iii. l. x.).

[26] Εθερετο γαρ εν Τυρκοις λογος, ως ειη πεπρωμενον καταςραφηναι το Τυρκων γενος απο της τοιαυτης δυναμεως, οποιαν ὁ Μακεδων Αλεξανδρος εχων κατεςρεψατο Περσας. Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 791. The credulity of the vulgar is always probable; and the Turks had learned from the Arabs the hiſtory or legend of Eſcander Dulcarnein (d'Herbelot, p. 317, etc.).

[27] Οι και Ιβηριαν και Μεσοποταμιαν, και Αρμενιαν οικησι και δι την Ιουδαικην τε Νεςοριε και των Ακεφαλων θρησκευσιν αιρεσιν (Scylitzes, ad calcem Cedreni, tom. ii. p. 834. whoſe ambiguous conſtruction ſhall not tempt me to ſuſpect that he confounded the Neſtorian and Monophyſite hereſies). He familiarly talks of the μηνις, χολος, οργη, Θεε, qualities, as I ſhould apprehend, very foreign to the perfect Being; but his bigotry is forced to confeſs, that they were ſoon afterwards diſcharged on the orthodox Romans.

[28] Had the name of Georgians been known to the Greeks (Stritter, Memoriæ Byzant. tom. iv. *Iberica*), I ſhould derive it from their agriculture, as the Σκυθαι γεωργοι of Herodotus (l. iv. c. 18. p. 289. edit. Weſſeling). But it appears only ſince the cruſades, among the Latins (Jac. a Vitriaco, Hiſt. Hieroſol. c. 79. p. 1095.) and Orientals (d'Herbelot, p. 407.), and was devoutly borrowed from St. George of Cappadocia.

[29] Mosheim, Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 632. See in Chardin's Travels (tom. i. p. 171—174.) the manners and religion of this handſome but worthleſs nation. See the pedigree of their princes from Adam to the preſent century, in the Tables of M. de Guignes (tom. i. p. 433—438.).

[30] This city is mentioned by Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus (de

Adminiſtrat. Imperii, l. ii. c. 44. p. 119.), and the Byzantines of the xith century, under the name of Mantzikierte, and by ſome is confounded with Theodoſiopolis; but Deſlile, in his notes and maps has very properly fixed the ſituation. Abulfeda (Geograph. tab. xviii. p. 310.) deſcribes Malaſgerd as a ſmall town, built with black ſtone, ſupplied with water, without trees, etc.

[31] The Uzi of the Greeks (Stritter, Memor. Byzant. tom. iii. p. 923—948.) are the Gozz of the Orientals (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 522. tom. iii. p. 133, etc.). They appear on the Danube and the Volga, in Armenia, Syria, and Choraſan, and the name ſeems to have been extended to the whole Turkman race.

[32] Urſelius (the Ruſſelius of Zonaras) is diſtinguished by Jeffrey Malaterra (l. i. c. 33.) among the Norman conquerors of Sicily, and with the ſurname of *Baliol:* and our own hiſtorians will tell how the Baliols came from Normandy to Durham, built Bernard's-caſtle on the Tees, married an heireſs of Scotland, etc. Ducange (Not. ad Nicephor. Bryennium, l. ii. N° 4.) has laboured the ſubject in honour of the preſident de Bailleul, whoſe father had exchanged the ſword for the gown.

[33] Elmacin (p. 343, 344.) aſſigns this probable number, which is reduced by Abulpharagius to 15,000 (p. 227.), and by d'Herbelot (p. 102.) to 12,000 horſe. But the ſame Elmacin gives 300,000 men to the emperor, of whom Abulpharagius ſays, cum centum hominum millibus, multiſque equis et magnâ pompâ inſtructus. The Greeks abſtain from any definition of numbers.

[34] The Byzantine writers do not ſpeak ſo diſtinctly of the preſence of the ſultan; he committed his forces to an eunuch, and retired to a diſtance, etc. Is it ignorance, or jealouſy, or truth?

[35] He was the ſon of the Cæſar John Ducas, brother of the emperor Conſtantine (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 165.). Nicephorus Bryennius applauds his virtues and extenuates his faults (l. i. p. 30. 38. l. ii. p. 53.). Yet he owns his enmity to Romanus, ὁ παυυ δὲ φιλιως ἐχων προς βασιλεα. Scylitzes ſpeaks more explicitly of his treaſon.

[36] This circumſtance, which we read and doubt in Scylitzes and Conſtantine Manaſſes, is more prudently omitted by Nicephorus and Zonaras.

[37] The ranſom and tribute are atteſted by reaſon and the Orientals. The other Greeks are modeſtly ſilent; but Nicephorus Bryennius dares to affirm, that the terms were οὐκ ἀναξιας Ῥωμαιων ἀρχης, and that the emperor would have preferred death to a shameful treaty.

[38] The defeat and captivity of Romanus Diogenes may be found in

John Scylitzes ad calcem Cedreni, tom. ii. p. 835—843. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 281—284. Nicephorus Bryennius, l. i. p. 25—32. Glycas, p. 325—327. Conſtantine Manaſſes, p. 134. Elmacin, Hiſt. Saracen. p. 343, 344. Abulpharag. Dynaſt. p. 227. d'Herbelot, p. 102, 103. de Guignes, tom. iii. p. 207—211. Beſides my old acquaintance Elmacin and Abulpharagius, the hiſtorian of the Huns has conſulted Abulfeda, and his epitomizer Benſchounah, a Chronicle of the Caliphs, by Soyouthi, Abulmahaſen of Egypt, and Novairi of Africa.

[39] This intereſting death is told by d'Herbelot (p. 103, 104.), and M. de Guignes (tom. iii. p. 212, 213.), from their oriental writers; but neither of them have tranſuſed the ſpirit of Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 344, 345.).

[40] A critic of high renown (the late Dr. Johnſon), who has ſeverely ſcrutinized the epitaphs of Pope, might cavil in this ſublime inſcription at the words "repair to Maru," ſince the reader muſt already be at Maru before he could peruſe the inſcription.

[41] The Bibliothéque Orientale has given the text of the reign of Malek (p. 542, 543, 544. 654, 655.); and the Hiſtoire Générale des Huns, tom. iii. p. 214—224. has added the uſual meaſure of repetition emendation, and ſupplement. Without thoſe two learned Frenchmen, I ſhould be blind indeed in the Eaſtern world.

[42] See an excellent diſcourſe at the end of Sir William Jones's Hiſtory of Nadir Shah, and the articles of the poets, Amak, Anvari, Raſchidi, etc. in the Bibliothéque Orientale.

[43] His name was Kheder Khan. Four bags were placed round his ſopha, and as he liſtened to the ſong, he caſt handfuls of gold and ſilver to the poets (d'Herbelot, p. 107.). All this may be true; but I do not underſtand how he could reign in Tranſoxiana in the time of Malek Shah, and much leſs how Kheder could ſurpaſs him in power and pomp. I ſuſpect that the beginning, not the end, of the xith century, is the true æra of his reign.

[44] See Chardin, Voyages en Perſe, tom. ii. p. 235.

[45] The Gelalæan æra (Gelaleddin, Glory of the Faith, was one of the names or titles of Malek Shah) is fixed to the 15th of March, A. H. 471, A. D. 1079. Dr. Hyde has produced the original teſtimonies of the Perſians and Asabians (de Religione veterum Perſarum, c. 16. p. 200—211.).

[46] She ſpeaks of this Perſian royalty as ὀπαστης κακοδαιμονεστερον πενιας. Anna Comnena was only nine years old at the end of the reign of Malek Shah (A. D. 1092.), and when she ſpeaks of his aſſaſſination, ſhe confounds the ſultan with the vizir (Alexias, l. vi. p. 177, 178.).

[47] So obſcure, that the induſtry of M. de Guignes could only copy (tom. i. p. 244. tom. iii. part. i. p. 269, etc.) the hiſtory, or rather liſt, of the Seljukides of Kerman, in Bibliothéque Orientale. They were extinguiſhed before the end of the xiith century.

[48] Tavernier, perhaps the only traveller who has viſited Kerman, deſcribes the capital as a great ruinous village, twenty-five days journey from Iſpahan, and twenty-ſeven from Ormus, in the midſt of a fertile country (Voyages en Turquie et en Perſe, p. 107. 110.).

[49] It appears from Anna Comnena, that the Turks of Aſia Minor obeyed the ſignet and chiauſs of the great ſultan (Alexias, l. vi. p. 170.); and that the two ſons of Soliman were detained in his court (p. 180).

[50] This expreſſion is quoted by Petit de la Croix (Vie de Gengiſcan, p. 161.), from ſome poet, moſt probably a Perſian.

[51] On the conqueſt of Aſia Minor, M. de Guignes has derived no aſſiſtance from the Turkiſh or Arabian writers, who produce a naked liſt of the Seljukides of Roum. The Greeks are unwilling to expoſe their ſhame, and we muſt extort ſome hints from Scylitzes (p. 860. 863.), Nicephorus Bryennius (p. 88. 91, 92, etc. 103, 104.), and Anna Comnena (Alexias, p. 91, 92, etc. 168, etc.).

[52] Such is the deſcription of Roum by Haiton the Armenian, whoſe Tartar hiſtory may be found in the collections of Ramuſio and Bergeron. (See Abulfeda, Geograph. climat. xvii. p. 301—305.).

[53] Dicit eos quendam abuſione Sodomitica intervertiſſe epiſcopum (Guibert, Abbat. Hiſt. Hieroſol. l. i. p. 468.). It is odd enough, that we ſhould find a parallel paſſage of the ſame people in the preſent age. "Il n'eſt point d'horreur que ces Turcs n'ayent commis, et "ſemblables aux ſoldats effrénés, qui dans le ſac d'une ville non "contents de diſpoſer de tout à leur gré prétendent encore aux "ſuccès les moins déſirables. Quelques Sipahis ont porté leurs atten-"tats ſur la perſonne du vieux rabbi de la ſynagogue, et celle de "l'Archevêque Grec." (Mémoires du Baron de Tott, tom. ii. p. 193.)

[54] The emperor, or abbot, deſcribe the ſcenes of a Turkiſh camp as if they had been preſent. Matres correptæ in conſpectû filiarum multipliciter repetitis diverſorum coitibus vexabantur (Is that the true reading?); cum filiæ aſſiſtentes carmina præcinere ſaltando cogerentur. Mox eadem paſſio ad filias, etc.

[55] See Antioch, and the death of Soliman, in Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. vi. p. 168, 169.), with the notes of Ducange.

[56] William of Tyre (l. i. c. 9, 10. p. 635. gives the moſt authentic and deplorable account of theſe Turkiſh conqueſts.

[57] In his epiſtle to the count of Flanders, Alexius ſeems to fall too low beneath his character and dignity: yet it is approved by Ducange (Not. ad Alexiad, p. 335, etc.), and paraphraſed by the abbot Guibert, a contemporary hiſtorian. The Greek text no longer exiſts; and each tranſlator and ſcribe might ſay with Guibert (p. 475.), verbis veſtris meis, a privilege of moſt indefinite latitude.

[58] Our beſt fund for the hiſtory of Jeruſalem from Heraclius to the cruſades, is contained in two large and original paſſages of William Archbishop of Tyre (l. i. c. 1—10. l. xviii. c. 5, 6.), the principal author of the Geſta Dei per Francos. M. de Guignes has compoſed a very learned Mémoire ſur le Commerce des Français dans le Levant avant les Croiſades, etc. (Mém. de l'Académie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxxvii. p. 467—500.).

[59] Secundum Dominorum diſpoſitionem plerumque nubila recepit intervalla, et ægrotantium more temporum præſentium gravabatur aut reſpirabat qualitate (l. i. c. iii. p. 630.). The latinity of William of Tyre is by no means contemptible: but in his account of 490 years, from the loſs to the recovery of Jeruſalem, he exceeds the true account by thirty years.

[60] For the tranſactions of Charlemagne with the Holy Land, ſee Eginhard (de Vitâ Caroli Magni, c. 16. p. 79—82.), Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus (de Adminiſtratione Imperii, l. ii. c. 26. p. 80,), and Pagi (Critica, tom. iii. A. D. 800. N° 13, 14, 15.).

[61] The caliph granted his privileges, Amalphitanis viris amicis et utilium introductoribus (Geſta Dei, p. 934.). The trade of Venice to Egypt and Paleſtine cannot produce ſo old a title, unleſs we adopt the laughable tranſlation of a Frenchman who miſtook the two factions of the circus (Veneti et Praſini) for the Venetians and Pariſians.

[62] An Arabic chronicle of Jeruſalem (apud Aſſeman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 628. tom. iv. p. 368.) atteſts the unbelief of the caliph and the hiſtorian; yet Cantacuzene preſumes to appeal to the Mahometans themſelves for the truth of this perpetual miracle.

[63] In his Diſſertations on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, the learned Mosheim has ſeparately diſcuſſed this pretended miracle (tom. ii. p. 214—308.). de lumine ſancti ſepulchri.

[64] William of Malmsbury (l. iv. c. 2. p. 209.) quotes the Itinerary of the monk Bernard, an eye-witneſs, who viſited Jeruſalem A. D. 870. The miracle is confirmed by another pilgrim ſome years older; and Mosheim aſcribes the invention to the Franks, ſoon after the deceaſe of Charlemagne.

[65] Our travellers, Sandys (p. 134.), Thevenot (p. 621—627.),

Maundrell (p. 94, 95.), etc. deſcribe this extravagant farce. The Catholics are puzzled to decide, *when* the miracle ended, and the trick began.

[66] The Orientals themſelves confeſs the fraud, and plead neceſſity and edification (Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux, tom. ii. p. 140. Joſeph. Abudacni, Hiſt. Copt. c. 20.): but I will not attempt, with Mosheim, to explain the mode. Our travellers have failed with the blood of St. Januarius at Naples.

[67] See d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 411.), Renaudot (Hiſt. Patriarch Alex. p. 390. 397. 400, 401.), Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 321—323.), and Marei (p. 384—387.), an hiſtorian of Egypt, tranſlated by Reiske from Arabic into German, and verbally interpreted to me by a friend.

[68] The religion of the Druſes is concealed by their ignorance and hypocriſy. Their ſecret doctrines are confined to the elect who profeſs a contemplative life; and the vulgar Druſes, the moſt indifferent of men, occaſionally conform to the worship of the Mahometans and Chriſtians of their neighbourhood. The little that is, or deſerves to be, known, may be ſeen in the induſtrious Nieubuhr (Voyages, tom. ii. p. 354—357.), and the ſecond volume of the recent and inſtructive Travels of M. de Volney.

[69] See Glaber, l. iii. c. 7. and the Annals of Baronius and Pagi, A. D. 1009.

[70] Per idem tempus ex univerſo orbe tam innumerabilis multitudo cœpit confluere ad ſepulchrum ſalvatoris Hieroſolimis, quantum nullus hominum prius ſperare poterat. Ordo inferioris plebis mediocres reges et comites præſules mulieres multæ nobiles cum pauperioribus Pluribus enim erat mentis deſiderium mori priuſquam ad propria reverterentur (Glaber. l. iv. c. 6. Bouquet, Hiſtorians of France, tom. x. p. 50.).

[71] Glaber. l. iii. c. 1. Katona (Hiſt. Critic. Regum Hungariæ, tom. i. p. 301—311.), examines whether St. Stephen founded a monaſtery at Jeruſalem.

[72] Baronius (A. D. 1064, N°. 43—56.) has tranſcribed the greater part of the original narratives of Ingulphus, Marianus, and Lambertus.

[73] See Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 349, 350.), and Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 237. verſ. Pocock.), M. de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iii. part. i. p. 215, 216.) adds the teſtimonies, or rather the names, of Abulfeda and Novairi.

[74] From the expedition of Iſar Atſiz (A. D. 469, A. D. 1076.), to

the expulsion of the Ortokides (A. D. 1096.). Yet William of Tyre (l. i. c. 6. p. 633.) asserts, that Jerusalem was thirty-eight years in the hands of the Turks; and an Arabic chronicle, quoted by Pagi (tom. iv. p. 202.), supposes, that the city was reduced by a Carizmian general to the obedience of the caliph of Bagdad, A. H. 463, A. D. 1070. These early dates are not very compatible with the general history of Asia; and I am sure, that as late as A. D. 1064, the regnum Babylonicum (of Cairo) still prevailed in Palestine (Baronius, A. D. 1064, N°. 56.).

[75] De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 249—252.

[76] Willerm. Tyr. l. i. c. 8. p. 634. who strives hard to magnify the Christian grievances. The Turks exacted an *aureus* from each pilgrim! The *caphar* of the Franks is now fourteen dollars: and Europe does not complain of this voluntary tax.

CHAP. LVIII.

[1] Whimsical enough is the origin of the name of *Picards*, and from thence of *Picardie*, which does not date earlier than A. D. 1200. It was an academical joke, an epithet first applied to the quarrelsome humour of those students, in the university of Paris, who came from the frontier of France and Flanders (Valesii Notitia Galliarum, p. 447. Longuerue, Description de la France, p. 54.).

[2] William of Tyre (l. i. c. 11. p. 637, 638.) thus describes the hermit: pusillus, personâ contemptibilis, vivacis ingenii, et oculum habens perspicacem gratumque, et sponte fluens ei non deerat eloquium. See Albert Aquensis, p. 185. Guibert, p. 482. Anna Comnena in Alexiad. l. x. p. 284, etc. with Ducange's notes, p. 349.

[3] Ultra quinquaginta millia, si me possint in expeditione pro duce et pontifice habere, armatâ manû volunt in inimicos Dei insurgere et ad sepulchrum Domini ipso ducente pervenire (Gregor. vii. epist. ii. 31. in tom. xii. p. 322, concil.).

[4] See the original lives of Urban II. by Pandulphus Pisanus and Bernardus Guida, in Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. tom. iii. pars i. p. 352, 353.

[5] She is known by the different names of Praxes, Eupræcia, Eufrasia, and Adelais; and was the daughter of a Russian prince, and the widow of a margrave of Brandenburgh. Struv. Corpus Hist. Germanicæ, p. 340.

[6] Henricus odio eam cœpit habere: ideo incarceravit eam, et concessit ut plerique vim ei inferrent; immo filium hortans ut eam subagitaret (Dodechin, Continuat. Marian. Scot. apud Baron. A. D.

1093, N° 4.). In the ſynod of Conſtance, ſhe is deſcribed by Bertholdus, rerum inſpector: quæ ſe tantas et tam inauditas fornicationum ſpurcitias, et a tantis paſſam fuiſſe conqueſta eſt, etc. and again at Placentia: ſatis miſericorditer ſuſcepit, eo quod ipſam tantas ſpurcitias non tam commiſiſſe quam invitam pertuliſſe pro certo cognoverit papa cum ſanctâ ſynodo. Apud Baron. A. D. 1093, N° 4. 1094, N° 3. A rare ſubject for the infallible deciſion of a pope and council. Theſe abominations are repugnant to every principle of human nature, which is not altered by a diſpute about rings and croſiers. Yet it ſhould ſeem, that the wretched woman was tempted by the prieſts to relate or ſubſcribe ſome infamous ſtories of herſelf and her husband.

[7] See the narrative and acts of the ſynod of Placentia, Concil. tom. xii. p. 821, etc.

[8] Guibert himſelf, a Frenchman, praiſes the piety and valour of the French nation, the author and example of the cruſades: Gens nobilis, prudens, bellicoſa, dapſilis et nitida . . . Quos enim Britones, *Anglos*, Ligures, ſi bonis eos moribus videamus, non illico *Francos homines* appellemus? (p. 478.). He owns, however, that the vivacity of the French degenerates into petulance among foreigners (p. 483.), and vain loquacitouſneſs (p. 502.).

[9] Per viam quam jamdudum Carolus Magnus mirificus rex Francorum aptari fecit uſque C. P. (Geſta Francorum, p. 1. Robert. Monarch. Hiſt. Hieroſ. l. i. p. 33, etc.).

[10] John Tilpinus, or Torpinus, was archbiſhop of Rheims, A. D. 773. After the year 1000, this romance was compoſed in his name, by a monk of the borders of France and Spain: and ſuch was the idea of eccleſiaſtical merit, that he deſcribes himſelf as a fighting and drinking prieſt! Yet the book of lies was pronounced authentic by pope Calixtus II. (A. D. 1122.), and is reſpectfully quoted by the abbot Suger, in the great Chronicles of St. Denys (Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. medii Ævi, edit. Manſi, tom. iv. p. 161.).

[11] See Etat de la France, by the Count de Boulainvilliers, tom. i. p. 180—182. and the ſecond volume of the Obſervations ſur l'Hiſtoire de France, by the Abbé de Mably.

[12] In the provinces to the ſouth of the Loire, the firſt *Capetians* were ſcarcely allowed a feudal ſupremacy. On all ſides, Normandy, Bretagne, Aquitain, Burgundy, Lorraine, and Flanders, contracted the name and limits of the *proper* France. See Hadrian Valeſ. Notitia Galliarum.

[13] Theſe counts, a younger branch of the dukes of Aquitain, were at length deſpoiled of the greateſt part of their country by Philip Auguſtus. The biſhops of Clermont gradually became princes of

the city. Mélanges, tirés d'une grande Bibliothéque, tom. xxxvi. p. 288, etc.

[14] See the acts of the council of Clermont, Concil. tom. xii. p. 829, etc.

[15] Confluxerunt ad concilium e multis regionibus, viri potentes et honorati, innumeri quamvis cingulo laicalis militiæ ſuperbi (Baldric, an eye witneſs, p. 86—88. Robert. Mon. p. 31, 32. Will. Tyr. i. 14, 15. p. 639—641. Guibert, p. 478—480. Fulcher Carnot. p. 382.).

[16] The Truce of God (Treva, or Treuga Dei) was firſt invented in Aquitain, A. D. 1032; blamed by ſome biſhops as an occaſion of perjury, and rejected by the Normans as contrary to their privileges (Ducange, Gloſſ. Latin. tom. vi. p. 682—685.).

[17] *Deus vult*, *Deus vult!* was the pure acclamation of the clergy who underſtood Latin (Robert. Mon. l. i. p. 32.). By the illiterate laity, who ſpoke the *Provincial* or *Limouſin* idiom, it was corrupted to *Deus lo volt*, or *Dieu el volt*. See Chron. Caſinenſe, l. iv. c. 11. p. 497. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. iv. and Ducange (Diſſertat. xi. p. 207. ſur Joinville, and Gloſſ. Latin. tom. ii. p. 690.), who, in his preface, produces a very difficult ſpecimen of the dialect of Rovergue, A. D. 1100, very near, both in time and place, to the council of Clermont (p. 15, 16.).

[18] Moſt commonly on their ſhoulders, in gold, or ſilk, or cloth ſewed on their garments. In the firſt cruſade, all were red: in the third, the French alone preſerved that colour, while green croſſes were adopted by the Flemings, and white by the Engliſh (Ducange, tom. ii. p. 651.). Yet in England, the red ever appears the favourite, and, as it were, the national, colour of our military enſigns and uniforms.

[19] Bongarſius, who has published the original writers of the cruſades, adopts, with much complacency, the fanatic title of Guibertus, Geſta DEI per Francos; though ſome critics propoſe to read Geſta *Diaboli* per Francos (Hanoviæ, 1611, two vols. in folio). I ſhall briefly enumerate, as they ſtand in this collection, the authors whom I have uſed for the firſt cruſade. I. Feſta Francorum. II. Robertus Monachus. III. Baldricus. IV. Raimundus de Agiles. V. Albertus Aquenſis. VI. Fulcherius Carnotenſis. VII. Guibertus. VIII. Willelmus Tyrienſis. Muratori has given us, IX. Radulphus Cadomenſis de Geſtis Tancredi (Script. Rer. Ital. tom. v. p. 285—333.), and, X. Bernardus Theſaurarius de Acquiſitione Terræ Sanctæ (tom. vii. p. 664—848.). The laſt of theſe was unknown to a late French hiſtorian, who has given a large and critical liſt of the writers of the cruſades (Eſprit des Croiſades, tom. i. p. 13—141.), and moſt of whoſe judgments my own

experience will allow me to ratify. It was late before I could obtain a ſight of the French hiſtorians collected by Ducheſne. I. Petri Tudebodi Sacerdotis Sivracenſis Hiſtoria de Hieroſolymitano Itinere (tom. iv. p. 773—815.), has been transfuſed into the firſt anonymous writer of Rongarſius. II. The Metrical Hiſtory of the firſt Cruſade, in vii books (p. 890—912.), is of ſmall value or account.

[20] If the reader will turn to the firſt ſcene of the firſt part of Henry the Fourth, he will ſee in the text of Shakeſpeare the natural feelings of enthuſiaſm; and in the notes of Dr. Johnſon, the workings of a bigoted though vigorous mind, greedy of every pretence to hate and perſecute thoſe who diſſent from his creed.

[21] The vith Diſcourſe of Fleury on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (p. 223—261.) contains an accurate and rational view of the cauſes and effects of the cruſades.

[22] The penance, indulgences, etc. of the middle ages are amply diſcuſſed by Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiæ medii Ævi, tom. v. differt. lxviii. p. 709—768.), and by M. Chais (Lettres ſur les Jubilés et les Indulgences, tom. ii. lettres 21 et 22. p. 478—556.), with this difference, that the abuſes of ſuperſtition are mildly, perhaps faintly, expoſed by the learned Italian, and peevishly magnified by the Dutch miniſter.

[23] Schmidt (Hiſtoire des Allemands, tom. ii. p. 211—220. 452—462.) gives an abſtract of the Penitential of Rhegino in the ninth, and of Burchard in the tenth, century. In one year five-and-thirty murders were perpetrated at Worms.

[24] Till the xiith century, we may ſupport the clear account of xii *denarii*, or pence, to the *ſolidus*, or ſhilling; and xx *ſolidi* to the pound weight of ſilver, about the pound ſterling. Our money is diminiſhed to a third, and the French to a fiftieth, of this primitive ſtandard.

[25] Each century of laſhes was ſanctified with the recital of a pſalm; and the whole Pſalter, with the accompaniment of 15,000 ſtripes, was equivalent to five years.

[26] The Life and Atchievements of St. Dominic Loricatus, was compoſed by his friend and admirer, Peter Damianus. See Fleury, Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xiii. p. 96—104. Baronius, A. D. 1056, N°. 7. who obſerves from Damianus, how faſhionable, even among ladies of quality (ſublimis generis), this expiation (purgatorii genus) was grown.

[27] At a quarter, or even half a rial a laſh, Sancho Pança was a cheaper, and poſſibly not a more diſhoneſt, workman. I remember

in Père Labat (Voyages en Italie, tom. vii. p. 16—29.) a very lively picture of the *dexterity* of one of theſe artiſts.

[28] Quicunque pro ſolâ devotione, non pro honoris vel pecuniæ adeptione, ad liberandam eccleſiam Dei Jeruſalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni pœnitentiâ reputetur. Canon. Concil. Claromont. ii. p. 829. Guibert ſtyles it novum ſalutis genus (p. 471.), and is almoſt philoſophical on the ſubject.

[29] Such at leaſt was the belief of the cruſaders, and ſuch is the uniform ſtyle of the hiſtorians (Eſprit des Croiſades (tom. iii. p. 477.; but the prayers for the repoſe of their ſouls, is inconſiſtent in orthodox theology with the merits of martyrdom.

[30] The ſame hopes were diſplayed in the letters of the adventurers ad animandos qui in Franciâ reſiderant. Hugh de Reiteſte could boaſt, that his ſhare amounted to one abbey and ten caſtles, of the yearly value of 1500 marks, and that he ſhould acquire an hundred caſtles by the conqueſt of Aleppo (Guibert, p. 554, 555.).

[31] In his genuine or fictitious letter to the count of Flanders, Alexius mingled with the danger of the church, and the relics of ſaints, the auri et argenti amor, and pulcherrimarum fœminarum voluptas (p. 476.) as if, ſays the indignant Guibert, the Greek women were handſomer than thoſe of France.

[32] See the privileges of the *Cruceſignati*, freedom from debt, uſury, injury, ſecular juſtice, etc. The pope was their perpetual guardian (Ducange, tom. ii. p. 651, 652.).

[33] Guibert (p. 481.) paints in lively colours this general emotion. He was one of the few contemporaries who had genius enough to feel the aſtoniſhing ſcenes that were paſſing before their eyes. Erat itaque videre miraculum caro omnes emere, atque vili vendere, etc.

[34] Some inſtances of theſe *ſtigmata* are given in the Eſprit des Croiſades (tom. iii. p. 169, etc.), from authors whom I have not ſeen.

[35] Fuit et aliud ſcelus deteſtabile in hâc congregatione pedeſtris populi ſtulti et veſanæ levitatis, *anſerem* quendam divino ſpiritû afflatum, et *capellam* non minus eodem repletam, et has ſibi duces ſecundæ viæ fecerant, etc. (Albert. Aquenſis, l. i. c. 31. p. 169.) Had theſe peaſants founded an empire, they might have introduced, as in Egypt, the worſhip of animals, which their philoſophic deſcendants would have gloſſed over with ſome ſpecious and ſubtle allegory.

[36] Benjamin of Tudela deſcribes the ſtate of his Jewiſh brethren from Cologne along the Rhine: they were rich, generous, learned, hoſpitable, and lived in the eager hope of the Meſſiah (Voyage,

tom. i. p. 243—245. par Baratier.) In ſeventy years (he wrote about A. D. 1170) they had recovered from theſe maſſacres.

[37] Theſe maſſacres and depredations on the Jews, which were renewed at each cruſade, are *coolly* related. It is true, that St. Bernard (epiſt. 363. tom. i. p. 329.) admoniſhes the Oriental Franks, non ſunt perſequendi Judæi, non ſunt trucidandi. The contrary doctrine had been preached by a *rival* monk.

[38] See the contemporary deſcription of Hungary in Otho of Friſingen, l. ii. c. 31. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. vi. p. 665, 666.

[39] The old Hungarians, without excepting Turotzius, are ill informed of the firſt cruſade, which they involve in a ſingle paſſage. Katona, like ourſelves, can only quote the writers of France; but he compares with local ſcience the ancient and modern geography. *Ante portam Cyperon*, is Sopron or Poſon; *Malleville*, Zemlin; *Fluvius Maroe*, Savus; *Lintax*, Leith; *Meſebrock*, or *Merſeburg*, Ouar, or Moſon; *Tollenburg*, Pragg (de Regibus Hungariæ, tom. ii. p. 19—53.).

[40] Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. x. p. 287.) deſcribes this ορων κολωνος as a mountain ὑψηλον και βαθος και πλατος αξιολογωτατον. In the ſiege of Nice, ſuch were uſed by the Franks themſelves as the materials of a wall.

[41] The particular references to the great events of the firſt cruſade are repreſented in the following table.

	The Crowd.	The Chiefs.	The Road to Conſtantinople.	Alexius.	Nice and Aſia Minor.	Edeſſa.	Antioch.	The Battle.	The Holy Lance.	Conqueſt of Jeruſalem.
I. Geſta Francorum . . .	p. 1, 2.	p. 2.	p. 2, 3.	p. 4, 5.	p. 5-7.	—	p. 9-15.	p. 15-22.	p. 18-20.	p. 26-29.
II. Robertus Monachus . .	p. 33, 34.	p. 35, 36.	p. 36, 37.	p. 37, 38.	p. 39-45.	—	p. 45-55.	p. 55-66.	p. 61, 62.	p. 74-81.
III. Baldricus.	p. 89.	—	p. 91-93.	p. 91-94.	p. 94-101.	—	p. 101, 111.	p. 111-122.	p. 116-119.	p. 130-138.
IV. Raimundus des Agiles .	—	—	p. 139, 140	p. 140, 141.	p. 142.	—	p. 142-149.	p. 149-155.	p. 150. 512. 156	p. 173 183.
V. Albertus Aquenſis. .	l. i. c. 7-31.	—	l. ii. c. 1-8.	l. ii. c. 9. 19.	l. ii. c 20-43 l. iii. c. 1-4.	l. iii. c. 5-32. l. iv. 9. 12. l. v. 15-22.	l. iii. c. 33. — 66. iv. 1-26.	l. iv. c. 7— 56.	l. iv. c. 43.	l. v. c. 45, 46 vi. c. 1-50.
VI. Fulcherius Carnotenſis.	p. 384.	—	p. 385, 386.	p. 386.	p. 387-389.	p. 389, 390.	p. 390-392.	p. 392-395.	p. 392.	p. 396-400.
VII. Guibertus	p. 482, 485.	—	p. 485, 489.	p. 485-490.	p. 491-493. 498.	p. 496, 497.	p. 498. 506. 512.	p. 512-523.	p. 520. 530-533.	p. 523-537.
VIII. Willermus Tyrenſis	l. i. c. 18-30	l. i. c. 17.	l. ii. c. 1-4. 13. 17, 22.	l. ii. c. 5-23	l. iii. c. 1-12. l. iv. 613-25	l. iv. c. 1-6.	l. iv. 9-24. l. v. 1-23.	l. vi. c. 1-23.	l. vi. c. 14.	l. vii. c. 1-25. l. viii c. 1-24.
IX. Radulphus Cadomenſis.	—	c. 1. 3 15.	c. 4-7. 17.	c. 8-13. 18, 19.	c. 14-16. 21. 47.	—	c. 48-71.	c. 72-91.	c. 100-109.	c. 111-138.
X. Bernardus Theſaurarius.	c. 7-11.	—	c. 11-20.	c. 11-20.	c. 21-25.	c. 26.	c. 27-38.	c. 39-52.	c. 45.	c. 54-77.

[42] The author of the Eſprit des Croiſades has doubted, and might have disbelieved, the cruſade and tragic death of prince Sueno, with 1500 or 15,000 Danes, who was cut off by ſultan Soliman in Cappadocia, but who ſtill lives in the poem of Taſſo (tom. iv. p. 111—115.

[43] The fragments of the kingdoms of Lotharingia, or Lorraine, were broken into the two duchies, of the Moſelle, and of the Meuſe; the firſt has preſerved its name, which in the latter has been changed into that of Brabant (Valeſ. Notit. Gall. p. 283—288.).

[44] See, in the Deſcription of France, by the Abbé de Longuerue, the articles of *Boulogne*, part. i. p. 54. *Brabant*, p. ii. p. 47, 48. *Bouillon*, p. 134. On his departure, Godfrey ſold or pawned Bouillon to the church for 1300 marks.

[45] See the family character of Godfrey, in William of Tyre, l. ix. c. 5—8.; his previous deſign on Guibert (p. 485.), his ſickneſs and vow, in Bernard Theſaur. (c. 78.).

[46] Anna Comnena ſuppoſes, that Hugh was proud of his nobility, riches, and power (l. x. p. 288.): the two laſt articles appear more equivocal; but an εὐγενεια, which ſeven hundred years ago was famous in the palace of Conſtantinople, atteſts the ancient dignity of the Capetian family of France.

[47] Whil. Gemeticenſis, l. vii. c. 7. p. 672, 673. in Camden. Normanicis. He pawned the duchy for one hundredth part of the preſent yearly revenue. Ten thouſand marks may be equal to five hundred thouſand livres, and Normandy annually yields fifty-ſeven millions to the king (Necker, Adminiſtration des Finances, tom. i. p. 287.).

[48] His original letter to his wife, is inſerted in the Spicilegium of Dom. Luc. d'Acheri, tom. iv. and quoted in the Eſprit des Croiſades, tom. i. p. 63.

[49] Unius enim, duûm, trium ſeu quatuor oppidorum dominos quis numeret? quorum tanta fuit copia, ut non vix totidem Trojana obſidio coegiſſe putetur (Ever the lively and intereſting Guibert, p. 486.).

[50] It is ſingular enough, that Raymond of St. Giles, a ſecond character in the genuine hiſtory of the cruſades, ſhould ſhine as the firſt of heroes in the writings of the Greeks (Anna Comnen. Alexiad, l. x, xi.) and the Arabians (Longueruana, p. 129.).

[51] Omnes de Burgundiâ, et Alvernia, et Vaſconiâ, et Gothi (of *Languedoc*), provinciales appellabantur, cæteri vero Francigenæ et hoc in exercitû; inter hoſtes autem Franci dicebantur. Raymond des Agiles, p. 144.

[52] The town of his birth, or firſt appanage, was conſecrated to St. Ægidius, whoſe name, as early as the firſt cruſade, was corrupted

by the French into St. Gilles, or St. Giles. It is ſituate in the Lower Languedoc, between Niſmes and the Rhône, and ſtill boaſts a collegiate church of the foundation of Raymond (Mélanges tirés d'une grande Bibliothéque, tom xxxvii. p. 51.).

53 The mother of Tancred was Emma, ſiſter of the great Robert Guiſcard; his father, the marquis Odo the Good. It is ſingular enough, that the family and country of ſo illuſtrious a perſon ſhould be unknown; but Muratori reaſonably conjectures that he was an Italian, and perhaps of the race of the marquiſſes of Montferrat in Piedmont (Script. tom. v. p. 281, 282.).

54 To gratify the childiſh vanity of the houſe of Eſte, Taſſo has inſerted in his poem, and in the firſt cruſade, a fabulous hero, the brave and amorous Rinaldo (x. 75. xvii. 66—94.). He might borrow his name from a Rinaldo, with the Aquila bianca Eſtenſe, who vanquiſhed, as the ſtandard-bearer of the Roman church, the emperor Frederic I. (Storia Imperiale di Ricobaldo, in Muratori Script. Ital. tom. ix. p. 360. Arioſto, Orlando Furioſo, iii. 30.). But, 1. The diſtance of ſixty years between the youth of the two Rinaldos, deſtroys their identity. 2. The Storia Imperiale is a forgery of the conte Boyardo at the end of the xvth century (Muratori, p. 281—289.). 3. This Rinaldo, and his exploits, are not leſs chimerical than the hero of Taſſo (Muratori, Antichità Eſtenſi, tom. i. p. 350.).

55 Of the words *gentilis*, *gentilhomme*, *gentleman*, two etymologies are produced: 1. From the Barbarians of the fifth century, the ſoldiers, and at length the conquerors of the Roman empire, who were vain of their foreign nobility; and, 2. From the ſenſe of the civilians, who conſider *gentilis* as ſynonymous with *ingenuus*. Selden inclines to the firſt, but the latter is more pure, as well as probable.

56 Framea ſcutoque juvenem ornant. Tacitus, Germania, c. 13.

57 The athletic exerciſes, particularly the cœſtus and pancratium, were condemned by Lycurgus, Philopœmen, and Galen, a law-giver, a general, and a phyſician. Againſt their authority and reaſons, the reader may weigh the apology of Lucian, in the character of Solon. See Weſt on the Olympic Games, in his Pindar, vol. ii. p. 86—96. 245—248.

58 On the curious ſubjects of knighthood, knights-ſervice, nobility, arms, cry of war, banners, and tournaments, an ample fund of information may be ſought in Selden (Opera, tom. iii. part. i. Titles of Honour, part. ii. c. 1. 3. 5. 8.), Ducange (Gloſſ. Latin. tom. iv. p. 398—412, etc. Diſſertations ſur Joinville (l. vi—xii. p. 127—142. p. 165—222.), and M. de St. Palaye (Mémoires ſur la Chevalerie).

59 The Familiæ Dalmaticæ of Ducange are meagre and imperfect;

the national hiſtorians are recent and fabulous, the Greeks remote and careleſs. In the year 1104, Coloman reduced the maritime country as far as Trau and Salona (Katona, Hiſt. Crit. tom. iii. p. 195—207.).

[60] Scodras appears in Livy as the capital and fortreſs of Gentius king of the Illyrians, arx munitiſſima, afterwards a Roman colony (Cellarius, tom. i. p. 393, 394.). It is now called Iſcodar, or Scutari (d'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 164.). The ſanjiak (now a pasha) of Scutari, or Schendeire, was the viiith under the Beglerbeg of Romania, and furniſhed 600 ſoldiers on a revenue of 78, 787 rix-dollars (Marſigli, Stato Militare del Impero Ottomano, p. 128.).

[61] In Pelagonia caſtrum hæreticum ſpoliatum cum ſuis habitatoribus igne combuſſere. *Nec id eis Injuriâ contigit:* quia illorum deteſtabilis ſirmo et cancer ſerpebat, jamque circumjacentes regiones ſuo pravo dogmate fœdaverat (Robert. Mon. p. 36, 37.). After coolly relating the fact, the archbiſhop Baldric adds, as a praiſe, Omnes ſiquidem illi viatores, Judæos, hæreticos, Saracenos æqualiter habeat exoſos; quos omnes appellant inimicos Dei (p. 92.).

[62] Ανακ:ιβομενος απο Ρωμης την χρυσην τ̃ Αγιω Πετρω σημαιαν (Alexiad, l. x. p. 288.).

[63] Ὁ Βασιλευς των βασιλεων, και αρχηγος τ̃ Φραγγικ̃ ϛρατευματος ἁπαντος. This Oriental pomp is extravagant in a count of Vermandois; but the patriot Ducange repeats with much complacency (Not. ad Alexiad. p. 352, 353. Diſſert. xxvii. ſur Joinville, p. 315.), the paſſages of Matthew Paris (A. D. 1254.) and Froiſſard (vol. iv. p. 201.), which ſtyle the king of France, rex regum, and chef de tous les rois Chrétiens.

[64] Anna Comnena was born the 1ſt of December, A. D. 1083, indiction. vii. (Alexiad, l. vi. p. 166, 167.). At thirteen, the time of the firſt cruſade, ſhe was nubile, and perhaps married to the younger Nicephorus Bryennius, whom ſhe fondly ſtyles τον εμον Καισαρα (l. x. p. 295, 296.). Some moderns have *imagined*, that her enmity to Bohemond was the fruit of diſappointed love. In the tranſactions of Conſtantinople and Nice, her partial accounts (Alex. l. x. xi. p. 283—317.) may be oppoſed to the partiality of the Latins, but in their ſubſequent exploits ſhe is brief and ignorant.

[65] In their views of the character and conduct of Alexius, Maimbourg has favoured the *Catholic* Franks, and Voltaire has been partial to the *ſchiſmatic* Greeks. The prejudice of a philoſopher is leſs excuſable than that of a Jeſuit.

[66] Between the Black Sea, the Boſphorus, and the river Barbyſes,

which is deep in ſummer, and runs fifteen miles through a flat meadow. Its communication with Europe and Conſtantinople is by the ſtone bridge of the *Blachernæ*, which in ſucceſſive ages was reſtored by Juſtinian and Baſil (Gyllius de Boſphoro Thracio, l. ii. c. 3 Ducange, C. P. Chriſtiana, l. iv. c. 2. p. 179.).

[67] There were two ſorts of adoption, the one by arms, the other by introducing the ſon between the ſhirt and ſkin of his father. Ducange (ſur Joinville, diſſ. xxii. p. 270.) ſuppoſes Godfrey's adoption to have been of the latter ſort.

[68] After his return, Robert of Flanders became the *man* of the king of England. See the firſt act in Rymer's Fœdera.

[69] Senſit vetus regnandi, falſos in amore, odia non fingere, Tacit. vi. 44.

[70] The proud hiſtorians of the cruſades ſlide and ſtumble over this humiliating ſtep. Yet, ſince the heroes knelt to ſalute the emperor as he ſat motionleſs on his throne, it is clear that they muſt have kiſſed either his feet or knees. It is only ſingular, that Anna ſhould not have amply ſupplied the ſilence or ambiguity of the Latins. The abaſement of their princes, would have added a fine chapter to the Cæremoniale Aulæ Byzantinæ.

[71] He called himſelf Φραγγος καθαρος των ευγενων (Alexias, l. x. p. 301.). What a title of *nobleſſe* of the xith century, if any one could now prove his inheritance! Anna relates, with viſible pleaſure, that the ſwelling Barbarian, Λατινος τετυφωμενος, was killed, or wounded, after fighting in the front in the battle of Dorylæum, (l. xi. p. 317.). This circumſtance may juſtify the ſuſpicion of Ducange (Not. p. 362.), that he was no other than Robert of Paris, of the diſtrict moſt peculiarly ſtyled the Duchy or Island of France (*L'Iſle de France*).

[72] With the ſame penetration, Ducange diſcovers his church to be that of St. Drauſus, or Droſin, of Soiſſons, quem duello dimicaturi ſolent invocare: pugiles qui ad memoriam ejus (*his tomb*) pernoctant invictos reddit, ut et de Burgundiâ et Italiâ tali neceſſitate confugiatur ad eum. Joan. Sariberienſis, epiſt. 139.

[73] There is ſome diverſity on the numbers of his army: but no authority can be compared with that of Ptolemy, who ſtates it at five thouſand horſe and thirty thouſand foot (ſee Usher's Annales, p. 152.).

[74] Fulcher. Carnotenſis, p. 387. He enumerates nineteen nations of different names and languages (p. 389.); but I do not clearly

apprehend his difference between the *Franci* and *Galli*, *Itali* and *Apuli*. Elſewhere (p. 385.) he contemptuouſly brands the deſerters.

[75] Guibert, p. 556. Yet even his gentle oppoſition implies an immenſe multitude. By Urban II. in the fervour of his zeal, it is only rated at 300,000 pilgrims (epiſt. xvi. Concil. tom. xii. p. 731.).

[76] Alexias, l. x. p. 283. 305. Her faſtidious delicacy complains of their ſtrange and inarticulate names, and indeed there is ſcarcely one that she has not contrived to disfigure with the proud ignorance, ſo dear and familiar to a polished people. I shall ſelect only one example, *Sangeles*, for the count of St. Giles.

[77] William of Malmsbury (who wrote about the year 1130) has inſerted in his hiſtory (l. iv. p. 130—154.) a narrative of the firſt cruſade; but I wish that, inſtead of liſtening to the tenue murmur which had paſſed the British ocean (p. 143.), he had confined himſelf to the numbers, families, and adventures of his countrymen. I find in Dugdale, that an English Norman, Stephen earl of Albemarle and Holderneſſe, led the rearguard with duke Robert, at the battle of Antioch (Baronage part. i. p. 61.).

[78] Videres Scotorum apud ſe ferocium aliàs imbellium cuneos (Guibert, p. 471.); the *crus intectum*, and *hiſpida chlamys*, may ſuit the Highlanders; but the finibus uliginoſis, may rather apply to the Irish bogs. William of Malmsbury expreſsly mentions the Welsh and Scots, etc. (l. iv. p. 133.) who quitted, the former venationem ſaltuum, the latter familiaritatem pulicum.

[79] This cannibal hunger, ſometimes real, more frequently an artifice or a lye, may be found in Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. x. p. 288.), Guibert p. 546.), Radulph. Cadom. (c. 97.) The ſtratagem is related by the author of the Geſta Francorum, the monk Robert Baldric, and Raymond des Agiles, in the ſiege and famine of Antioch.

[80] His Muſulman appellation of Soliman is uſed by the Latins, and his character is highly embellished by Taſſo. His Turkish name of Kilidge-Arſlan (A. H. 485—500. A. D. 1192—1206. See de Guignes's Tables, tom. i. p. 245.) is employed by the Orientals, and with ſome corruption by the Greeks: but little more than his name can be found in the Mahometan writers, who are dry and ſulky on the ſubject of the firſt cruſade (de Guignes, tom. iii. p. ii. p. 10—30.).

[81] On the fortifications, engines, and ſieges of the middle ages, ſee Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiæ, tom. ii. diſſert. xxvi. p. 452—524.). The *belfredus*, from whence our belfrey, was the moveable tower of the ancients (Ducange, tom. i. p. 708.).

[82] I cannot forbear remarking the reſemblance between the ſiege and

lake of Nice, with the operations of Hernan Cortez before Mexico. See Dr. Robertſon, Hiſt. of America, l. v.

[83] *Mecreant*, a word invented by the French cruſaders, and confined in that language to its primitive ſenſe. It ſhould ſeem, that the zeal of our anceſtors boiled higher, and that they branded every unbeliever as a raſcal. A ſimilar prejudice ſtill lurks in the minds of many who think themſelves Chriſtians.

[84] Baronius has produced a very doubtful letter to his brother Roger (A. D. 1098. N. 15.). The enemies conſiſted of Medes, Perſians, Chaldæans: be it ſo. The firſt attack was cum noſtro incommodo; true and tender. But why Godfrey of Bouillon and Hugh *brothers?* Tancred is ſtyled *filius*; of whom? certainly not of Roger, nor of Bohemond.

[85] Veruntamen dicunt ſe eſſe de Francorum generatione; et quia nullus homo naturaliter debet eſſe miles niſi Franci et Turci (Geſta Francorum, p. 7.). The ſame community of blood and valour is atteſted by archbiſhop Baldric (p. 99.).

[86] *Baliſta*, *Baleſtra*, *Arbaleſtre*. See Muratori, Antiq. tom. ii. p. 517—524. Ducange, Gloſſ. Latin. tom. i. p. 531, 532. In the time of Anna Comnena, this weapon, which she deſcribes under the name of *τζαγγρα*, was unknown in the Eaſt (l. x. p. 291.). By an humane inconſiſtency, the pope ſtrove to prohibit it in Chriſtian wars.

[87] The curious reader may compare the claſſic learning of Cellarius, and the geographical ſcience of d'Anville. William of Tyre is the only hiſtorian of the cruſades who has any knowledge of antiquity; and M. Otter trod almoſt in the footſteps of the Franks from Conſtantinople to Antioch (Voyage en Turquie et en Perſe, tom i. p. 35—88.).

[88] This detached conqueſt of Edeſſa is beſt repreſented by Fulcherius Carnotenſis, or of Chartres (in the collections of Bongarſius, Duchеſne, and Martenne), the valiant chaplain of count Baldwin (Eſprit des Croiſades, tom. i. p. 13, 14.). In the diſputes of that prince with Tancred, his partiality is encountered by the partiality of Radulphus Cadomenſis, the ſoldier and hiſtorian of the gallant marquis.

[89] See de Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. c. 456.

[90] For Antioch, ſee Pococke (Deſcription of the Eaſt, vol. ii. p. i. p. 188—193.), Otter (Voyage en Turquie, etc. tom. i. p. 81, etc.), the Turkiſh geographer (in Otter's notes), the Index Geographicus of Schultens (ad calcem Bohadin. Vit. Saladin.), and Abulfeda (Tabula Syriæ, p. 115, 116. verſ. Reiske).

[91] Enſem elevat, eumque a ſiniſtrâ parte ſcapularum, tantâ virtute intorſit ut quòd pectus medium disjunxit ſpinam et vitalia interrupit, et ſic lubricus enſis ſuper crus dextrum integer exivit; ſicque caput

integrum cum dextrâ parte corporis immerſit gurgite, partemque qua equo præſidebat remiſit civitati (Robert. Mon. p. 50.). Cujus enſe trajectus, Turcus duo factus eſt Turci; ut inferior alter in urbem equitaret, alter arcitenens in flumine nataret (Radulph. Cadom. c. 53. p. 304.). Yet he juſtifies the deed by the *ſtupendis* viribus of Godfrey; and William of Tyre covers it by obſtupuit populus facti novitate. . . . mirabilis (l. v. c. 6. p. 701.). Yet it muſt not have appeared incredible to the knights of that age.

[92] See the exploits of Robert, Raymond, and the modeſt Tancred, who impoſed ſilence on his ſquire (Radulph. Cadom. c. 53.).

[93] After mentioning the diſtreſs and humble petition of the Franks, Abulpharagius adds the haughty reply of Codbuka, or Kerboga; non evaſuri eſtis niſi per gladium (Dynaſt. p. 242.).

[94] In deſcribing the hoſt of Kerboga, moſt of the Latin hiſtorians, the author of the Geſta (p. 17.), Robert Monachus (p. 56.), Baldric (p. 111.), Fulcherius Carnotenſis (p. 392.), Guibert (p. 512.), William of Tyre (l. vi. c. 3. p. 714.), Bernard Theſaurarius (c. 39. p. 695.), are content with the vague expreſſions of infinita multitudo, immenſum agmen, innumeræ copiæ or gentes, which correſpond with the μετα αναριθμητων χιλιαδων of Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. xi. p. 318—320.). The numbers of the Turks are fixed by Albert Aquenſis at 200,000 (l. iv. c. 10. p. 242.), and by Radulphus Cadomenſis at 400,000 horſe (c. 72. p. 309.).

[95] See the tragic and ſcandalous fate of an archdeacon of royal birth, who was ſlain by the Turks as he repoſed in an orchard, playing at dice with a Syrian concubine.

[96] The value of an ox roſe from five ſolidi (fifteen ſhillings) at Chriſtmas to two marks (four pounds), and afterwards much higher: a kid or lamb, from one ſhilling to eighteen of our preſent money: in the ſecond famine, a loaf of bread, or the head of an animal, ſold for a piece of gold. More examples might be produced; but it is the ordinary, not the extraordinary, prices, that deſerve the notice of the philoſopher.

[97] Alii multi, quorum nomina non tenemus, quia deleta de libro vitæ præſenti operi non ſunt inſerenda (Will. Tyr. l. vi. c. 5. p. 715.). Guibert (p. 518. 523.) attempts to excuſe Hugh the Great, and even Stephen of Chartres.

[98] See the progreſs of the cruſade, the retreat of Alexius, the victory of Antioch, and the conqueſt of Jeruſalem, in the Alexiad, l. xi. p. 317—327. Anna was ſo prone to exaggeration, that ſhe magnifies the exploits of the Latins.

[99] The Mahometan Aboulmahaſen (apud de Guignes, tom. ii. p. ii.

p. 95.) is more correct in his account of the holy lance than the Chriſtians, Anna Comnena and Abulpharagius: the Greek princeſs confounds it with a nail of the croſs (l. xi. p. 326.); the Jacobite primate, with St. Peter's ſtaff (p. 242.).

[100] The two antagoniſts who expreſs the moſt intimate knowledge and the ſtrongeſt conviction of the *miracle*, and of the *fraud*, are Raymond des Agiles, and Radulphus Cadomenſis, the one attached to the count of Tholouſe, the other to the Norman prince. Fulcherius Carnotenſis preſumes to ſay, audite fraudem et non fraudem! and afterwards, invenit lanceam, fallaciter occultatam forſitan. The reſt of the herd are loud and ſtrenuous.

[101] See M. de Guignes (tom. ii. p. ii. p. 223, etc.); and the articles of *Barkiarok*, *Mohammed*, *Sangiar*, in d'Herbelot.

[102] The emir, or ſultan Aphdal, recovered Jeruſalem and Tyre, A. H. 489. (Renaudot, Hiſt. Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 478. de Guignes, tom. i. p. 249. from Abulfeda and Ben Schounah). Jeruſalem ante adventum veſtrum recuperavimus, Turcos ejecimus, ſay the Fatimite ambaſſadors.

[103] See the tranſactions between the caliph of Egypt and the cruſaders, in William of Tyre (l. iv. c. 24. l. vi. c. 19.) and Albert Aquenſis (l. iii. c. 59.), who are more ſenſible of their importance, than the contemporary writers.

[104] The greateſt part of the march of the Franks is traced, and moſt accurately traced, in Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem (p. 11—67.), un des meilleurs morceaux, ſans contredit, qu'on ait dans ce genre (d'Anville, Mémoire ſur Jeruſalem, p. 27.).

[105] See the maſterly deſcription of Tacitus (Hiſt. v. 11, 12, 13.), who ſuppoſes, that the Jewish lawgivers had provided for a perpetual ſtate of hoſtility againſt the reſt of mankind.

[106] The lively ſcepticiſm of Voltaire is balanced with ſenſe and erudition by the French author of the Eſprit des Croiſades (tom. iv. p. 386—388.), who obſerves, that according to the Arabians, the inhabitants of Jeruſalem muſt have exceeded 200,000; that in the ſiege of Titus, Joſephus collects 1,300,000 Jews; that they are ſtated by Tacitus himſelf at 600,000, and that the largeſt defalcation, that his *accepimus* can juſtify, will ſtill leave them more numerous than the Roman army.

[107] Maundrell, who diligently perambulated the walls, found a circuit of 4630 paces, or 4167 English yards (p. 109, 110.): from an authentic plan, d'Anville concludes a meaſure nearly ſimilar of 1960 French *toiſes* (p. 23—29.), in his ſcarce and valuable tract. For the

topography of Jeruſalem, ſee Reland (Paleſtina, tom. ii. p. 832—860.).

[108] Jeruſalem was poſſeſſed only of the torrent of Kedron, dry in ſummer, and of the little ſpring or brook of Siloe (Reland, tom. i. p. 294. 300.). Both ſtrangers and natives complained of the want of water, which in time of war was ſtudiouſly aggravated. Within the city, Tacitus mentions a perennial fountain, an aqueduct, and ciſterns for rain water. The aqueduct was conveyed from the rivulet Tekoe or Etham, which is likewiſe mentioned by Bohadin (in Vit. Saladin. p. 238.).

[109] Gieruſalemme Liberata, canto xiii. It is pleaſant enough to obſerve how Taſſo has copied and embellished the minuteſt details of the ſiege.

[110] Beſides the Latins, who are not aſhamed of the maſſacre, ſee Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 363.), Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 243.), and M. de Guignes (tom. ii. p. ii. p. 99.), from Aboulmahaſen.

[111] The old tower Pſephina, in the middle ages Nebloſa, was named Caſtellum Piſanum, from the patriarch Daimbert. It is ſtill the citadel, the reſidence of the Turkish aga, and commands a proſpect of the Dead Sea, Judea, and Arabia (d'Anville, p. 19—23.). It was likewiſe called the Tower of David, πυργος παμμεγεθεστατος.

[112] Hume, in his Hiſtory of England, vol. i. p. 311, 312. octavo edition.

[113] Voltaire, in his Eſſai ſur l'Hiſtoire Générale, tom. ii. c. 54. p. 345, 346.

[114] The English aſcribe to Robert of Normandy, and the Provincials to Raymond of Thouloufe, the glory of refuſing the crown; but the honeſt voice of tradition has preſerved the memory of the ambition and revenge (Villehardouin, N° 136.) of the count of St. Giles. He died at the ſiege of Tripoli, which was poſſeſſed by his deſcendants.

[115] See the election, the battle of Aſcalon, etc. in William of Tyre, l. ix. c. 1—12. and in the concluſion of the Latin hiſtorians of the firſt cruſade.

[116] Renaudot, Hiſt. Patriarch. Alex. p. 479.

[117] See the claims of the patriarch Daimbert, in William of Tyre (l. ix. c. 15—18. x. 4. 7. 9.), who aſſerts with marvellous candour the independence of the conquerors and kings of Jeruſalem.

[118] Willerm. Tyr. l. x. 19. The Hiſtoria Hieroſolimitana of Jacobus à Vitriaco (l. i. c. 21—50.), and the Secreta Fidelium Crucis of Marinus Sanatus (l. iii. p. i.), deſcribe the ſtate and conqueſts of the Latin kingdom of Jeruſalem.

[119] An actual muſter, not including the tribes of Levi and Benjamin, gave David an army of 1,300,000, or 1,574,000 fighting men; which, with the addition of women, children, and ſlaves, may imply a population of thirteen millions, in a country ſixty leagues in length, and thirty broad. The honeſt and rational Le Clerc (Comment. on 2d Samuel xxiv. and 1ſt Chronicles xxi. æſtuat anguſto in limite, and mutters his ſuſpicion of a falſe tranſcript; a dangerous ſuſpicion!

[120] Theſe ſieges are related, each in its proper place, in the great hiſtory of William of Tyre, from the ixth to the xviiith book, and more briefly told by Bernardus Theſaurarius (de Acquiſitione Terræ Sanctæ, c. 89—98. p. 732—740.). Some domeſtic facts are celebrated in the Chronicles of Piſa, Genoa, and Venice, in the vith, ixth, and xiith tomes of Muratori.

[121] Quidam populus de inſulis occidentis egreſſus, et maxime de eâ parte quæ Norvegia dicitur. William of Tyre (l. xi. c. 14. p. 804.) marks their courſe per Britannicum mare et Calpen to the ſiege of Sidon.

[122] Benelathir, apud de Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. ii. part. ii. p. 150, 151. A. D. 1127. He muſt ſpeak of the inland country.

[123] Sanut very ſenſibly deſcants on the miſchiefs of female ſucceſſion, in a land hoſtibus circumdata, ubi cuncta virilia et virtuoſa eſſe deberent. Yet, at the ſummons, and with the approbation, of her feudal lord, a noble damſel was obliged to chuſe a husband and champion (Aſſiſes de Jeruſalem, c. 242, etc. See in M. de Guignes (tom. i. p. 441—471.) the accurate and uſeful tables of theſe dynaſties, which are chiefly drawn from the *Lignages d'Outremer*.

[124] They were called by deriſion *Poullains*, *Pullani*, and their name is never pronounced without contempt (Ducange, Gloſſ. Latin. tom. v. p. 535. and Obſervations ſur Joinville, p. 84, 85. Jacob à Vitriaco, Hiſt. Hieroſol. l. i. c. 67. 72. and Sanut, l. iii. p. viii. c. 2. p. 182.). Illuſtrium virorum qui ad Terræ Sanctæ liberationem in ipſâ manſerunt degeneres filii in deliciis enutriti, molles et effœminati, etc.

[125] This authentic detail is extracted from the Aſſiſes de Jeruſalem (c. 324. 326—331.). Sanut (l. iii. p. iii. c. 1. p. 174.) reckons only 518 knights, and 5775 followers.

[126] The ſum total, and the diviſion, aſcertain the ſervice of the three great baronies at 100 knights each; and the text of the Aſſiſes, which extends the number to 500, can only be juſtified by this ſuppoſition.

[127] Yet on great emergencies (ſays Sanut) the barons brought a voluntary aid, decentem comitivam militum juxta ſtatum ſuum.

[228] William of Tyre (l. xviii. c. 3, 4, 5.) relates the ignoble origin, and early inſolence, of the Hoſpitalers, who ſoon deſerted their humble patron, St. John the Eleemoſynary, for the more auguſt character of St. John the Baptiſt (ſee the ineffectual ſtruggles of Pagi, Critica, A. D. 1099, N° 14—18.). They aſſumed the profeſſion of arms about the year 1120; the Hoſpital was *mater*, the Temple, *filia*; the Teutonic order was founded A. D. 1190, at the ſiege of Acre (Mosheim, Inſtitut. p. 389, 390.).

[229] See St. Bernard de Laude Novæ Militiæ Templi, compoſed A. D. 1132—1136, in Opp. tom. i. p. ii. p. 547—563. edit. Mabillon, Venet. 1750. Such an encomium, which is thrown away on the dead Templars, would be highly valued by the hiſtorians of Malta.

[230] Matthew Paris, Hiſt. Major, p. 544. He aſſigns to the Hoſpitalers 19,000, to the Templars 9,000 *maneria*, a word of much higher import (as Ducange has rightly obſerved) in the Engliſh than in the French idiom. *Manor* is a lordſhip, *manoir* a dwelling.

[231] In the three firſt books of the Hiſtoire des Chevaliers de Malthe, par l'Abbé de Vertot, the reader may amuſe himſelf with a fair, and ſometimes flattering, picture of the order, while it was employed for the defence of Paleſtine. The ſubſequent books purſue their emigrations to Rhodes and Malta.

[232] The Aſſiſes de Jeruſalem, in old law French, were printed with Beaumanoir's Coutumes de Beauvoiſis (Bourges and Paris, 1690, in folio), and illuſtrated by Gaſpard Thaumas de la Thaumaſſiere, with a comment and gloſſary. An Italian verſion had been published in 1535, at Venice, for the uſe of the kingdom of Cyprus.

[233] A la terre perdue, tout fut perdu, is the vigorous expreſſion of the Aſſize (c. 281.). Yet Jeruſalem capitulated with Saladin; the queen and the principal Chriſtians departed in peace; and a code ſo precious and ſo portable could not provoke the avarice of the conquerors. I have ſometimes ſuſpected the exiſtence of this original copy of the Holy Sepulchre, which might be invented to ſanctify, and authenticate the traditionary cuſtoms of the French in Paleſtine.

[234] A noble lawyer, Raoul de Tabarie, denied the prayer of king Amauri (A. D. 1195—1205), that he would commit his knowledge to writing, and frankly declared, que de ce qu'il ſavoit, ne feroit-il ja nul borjois ſon pareill, ne nul ſage homme lettré (c. 281.).

[235] The compiler of this work, Jean d'Ibelin, was count of Jaffa and Aſcalon, lord of Baruth (Berytus) and Rames, and died A. D. 1266 (Sanut, l. iii. p. ii. c. 5. 8.). The family of Ibelin, which deſcended from a younger brother of a count of Chartres in France, long flouriſhed in Paleſtine and Cyprus (ſee the Lignages de deça Mer,

or d'Outremer, c. 6. at the end of the Aſſiſes de Jeruſalem, an original book, which records the pedigrees of the French adventurers).

[136] By ſixteen commiſſioners choſen in the ſtates of the iſland: the work was finiſhed the 3d of November 1369, ſealed with four ſeals, and depoſited in the cathedral of Nicoſia (ſee the preface to the Aſſiſes).

[137] The cautious John d'Ibelin argues, rather than affirms, that Tripoli is the fourth barony, and expreſſes ſome doubt concerning the right or pretenſion of the conſtable and marſhal (c. 323.).

[138] Entre ſeignor et homme ne n'a que la foi; mais tant que l'homme doit à ſon ſeignor reverence en toutes choſes (c. 206.). Tous les hommes dudit royaume ſont par ladite Aſſiſe tenus les uns aus autres et en celle maniere que le ſeignor mette main ou facè mettre au cors ou au fié d'aucun d'yaus ſans eſgard et ſans connoiſſance de court, que tous les autres doivent venir devant le ſeignor, etc. (212.). The form of their remonſtrances is conceived with the noble ſimplicity of freedom.

[139] See l'Eſprit des Lois, l. xxviii. In the forty years ſince its publication, no work has been more read and criticiſed; and the ſpirit of enquiry which it has excited, is not the leaſt of our obligations to the author.

[140] For the intelligence of this obſcure and obſolete juriſprudence (c. 80 — 111.), I am deeply indebted to the friendſhip of a learned lord, who, with an accurate and diſcerning eye, has ſurveyed the philoſophic hiſtory of law. By his ſtudies, poſterity might be enriched: the merit of the orator and the judge can be *felt* only by his contemporaries.

[141] Louis le Gros, who is conſidered as the father of this inſtitution in France, did not begin his reign till nine years (A. D. 1108.) after Godfrey of Bouillon (Aſſiſes, c. 2. 324.). For its origin and effects, ſee the judicious remarks of Dr. Robertſon (Hiſtory of Charles V. vol. i. p. 30—36. 251—265. quarto edition).

[142] Every reader converſant with the hiſtorians of the cruſades, will underſtand by the peuple des Suriens, the Oriental Chriſtians, Melchites, Jacobites, or Neſtorians, who had all adopted the uſe of the Arabic language (vol. iv. p. 593.).

[143] See the Aſſiſes de Jeruſalem (310, 311, 312.). Theſe laws were enacted as late as the year 1350, in the kingdom of Cyprus. In the ſame century, in the reign of Edward I. I underſtand, from a late publication (of his Book of Account), that the price of a war-horſe was not leſs exorbitant in England.

CHAP. LIX.

[1] Anna Comnena relates her father's conquests in Asia Minor, Alexiad. l. xi. p. 321—325. l. xiv. p. 419.; his Cilician war against Tancred and Bohemond, p. 328—342.; the war of Epirus, with tedious prolixity, l. xii, xiii. p. 345—406.; the death of Bohemond, l. xiv. p. 419.

[2] The kings of Jerusalem submitted however to a nominal dependence, and in the dates of their inscriptions (one is still legible in the church of Bethlem), they respectfully placed before their own, the name of the reigning emperor (Ducange, Dissertations sur Joinville, xxvii. p. 319.).

[3] Anna Comnena adds, that to complete the imitation, he was shut up with a dead cock; and condescends to wonder how the Barbarian could endure the confinement and putrefaction. This absurd tale is unknown to the Latins.

[4] Απο Θυλης, in the Byzantine Geography, must mean England; yet we are more credibly informed, that our Henry I. would not suffer him to levy any troops in his kingdom (Ducange, Not. ad Alexiad, p. 41.).

[5] The copy of the treaty (Alexiad, l. xiii. p. 406—416.) is an original and curious piece, which would require, and might afford, a good map of the principality of Antioch.

[6] See in the learned work of M. de Guignes (tom. ii. part. ii.), the history of the Seljukians of Iconium, Aleppo, and Damascus, as far as it may be collected from the Greeks, Latins, and Arabians. The last are ignorant or regardless of the affairs of *Roum*.

[7] Iconium is mentioned as a station by Xenophon, and by Strabo, with the ambiguous title of Κωμοπολις (Cellarius, tom. ii. p. 121.). Yet St. Paul found in that place a multitude (πληθος) of Jews and Gentiles. Under the corrupt name of *Kunijah*, it is described as a great city, with a river and gardens, three leagues from the mountains, and decorated (I know not why) with Plato's tomb (Abulfeda, tabul. xvii. p. 303. vers. Reiske; and the Index Geographicus of Schultens from Ibn Said).

[8] For this supplement to the first crusade, see Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. xi. p. 331, etc. and the viiith book of Albert Aquensis).

[9] For the second crusade of Conrad III. and Lewis VII. see William of Tyre (l. xvi. c. 18—29.), Otho of Frisingen (l. i. c. 34—45. 51, 60.), Matthew Paris (Hist. Major. p. 68.), Struvius (Corpus, Hist. Germanicæ, p. 372, 373.), Scriptores Rerum Francicarum à Duchesne, tom. iv. Nicetas, in Vit. Manuel, l. i. c. 4, 5, 6. p. 41—48. Cinnamus, l. ii. p. 41—49.

[10] For the third cruſade, of Frederic Barbaroſſa, ſee Nicetas in Iſaac. Angel. l. ii. c. 3—8. p. 257—266. Struv. (Corpus, Hiſt. Germ. p. 414.), and two hiſtorians, who probably were ſpectators, Tagino (in Scriptor. Freher. tom. i. p. 406—416. edit. Struv.), and the Anonymus de Expeditione Aſiaticâ, Fred. I. (in Caniſii, Antiq. Lection. tom. iii. p. ii. p. 498—526. edit. Baſnage).

[11] Anne, who ſtates theſe later ſwarms at 40,000 horſe, and 100,000 foot, calls them Normans, and places at their head two brothers of Flanders. The Greeks were ſtrangely ignorant of the names, families and poſſeſſion of the Latin princes.

[12] William of Tyre, and Matthew Paris, reckon 70,000 loricati in each of the armies.

[13] The imperfect enumeration is mentioned by Cinnamus (συνεπτηχοντα μυριαδες), and confirmed by Odo de Diogilo apud Ducange ad Cinnamum, with the more preciſe ſum of 900,556. Why muſt therefore the verſion and comment ſuppoſe the modeſt and inſufficient reckoning of 90,000? Does not Godfrey of Viterbo (Pantheon, p. xix. in Muratori, tom. vii. p. 462.) exclaim?

— Numerum ſi poſcere quæras,
Millia millena milites agmen erat.

[14] This extravagant account is given by Albert of Stade (apud Struvium, p. 414.); my calculation is borrowed from Godfrey of Viterbo, Arnold of Lubeck, apud eundem, and Bernard Theſaur. (c. 169. p. 804.). The original writers are ſilent. The Mahometans gave him 200,000, or 260,000 men (Bohadin, in Vit. Saladin. p. 110.).

[15] I muſt obſerve, that in the ſecond and third cruſades, the ſubjects of Conrad and Frederic are ſtyled by the Greeks and Orientals *Alamanni*. The Lechi and Tzechi of Cinnamus, are the Poles and Bohemians; and it is for the French, that he reſerves the ancient appellation of Germans. He likewiſe names the Βρίτος, or Βρεττανοι.

[16] Nicetas was a child at the ſecond cruſade, but in the third he commanded againſt the Franks the important poſt of Philippopolis. Cinnamus is infected with national prejudice and pride.

[17] The conduct of the Philadelphians is blamed by Nicetas, while the anonymous German accuſes the rudeneſs of his countrymen (culpâ noſtrâ). Hiſtory would be pleaſant, if we were embarraſſed only by *ſuch* contradictions. It is likewiſe from Nicetas, that we learn the pious and humane ſorrow of Frederic.

[18] Χθαμαλη εδρα, which Cinnamus tranſlates into Latin by the word Σελλιον. Ducange works very hard to ſave his king and country from ſuch ignominy (ſur Joinville, diſſertat. xxvii. p. 317—320.). Louis

afterwards inſiſted on a meeting in mari ex æquo, not ex equo according to the laughable readings of ſome MSS.

[19] Ego Romanorum imperator ſum, ille Romaniorum (Anonym. Caniſ. p. 512.). The public and hiſtorical ſtyle of the Greeks was Ρηξ . . . *princeps*. Yet Cinnamus owns, that Ιμπεραϖορ is ſynonymous to Βασιλευς.

[20] In the Epiſtles of Innocent III. (xiii. p. 184.), and the Hiſtory of Bohadin (p. 129, 130.), ſee the views of a pope and a cadhi on this *ſingular* toleration.

[21] As counts of Vexin, the kings of France were the vaſſals and advocates of the monaſtery of St. Denys. The ſaint's peculiar banner, which they received from the abbot, was of a ſquare form, and a red or *flaming* colour. The *oriflamme* appeared at the head of the French armies from the xiith to the xvth century (Ducange ſur Joinville, diſſert. xviii. p. 244—253.).

[22] The original French hiſtories of the ſecond cruſade, are the Geſta Ludovici VII. published in the ivth volume of Ducheſne's Collection. The ſame volume contains many original letters of the king, of Suger his miniſter, etc. the beſt documents of authentic hiſtory.

[23] Terram horroris et ſalſuginis, ſiccam, ſterilem inamœnam. Anonym. Caniſ. p. 517. The emphatic language of a ſufferer.

[24] Gens innumera, ſylveſtris, indomita, prædones ſine ductore. The ſultan of Cogni might ſincerely rejoice in their defeat. Anonym. Caniſ. p. 517, 518.

[25] See in the anonymous writer in the collection of Caniſius, Tagino, and Bohadin (Vit. Saladin. p. 119, 120.), the ambiguous conduct of Kilidge Arſlan, ſultan of Cogni, who hated and feared both Saladin and Frederic.

[26] The deſire of comparing two great men, has tempted many writers to drown Frederic in the river Cydnus, in which Alexander ſo imprudently bathed (Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 4, 5.). But from the march of the emperor, I rather judge, that his Saleph is the Calycadnus, a ſtream of leſs fame, but of a longer courſe.

[27] Marinus Sanutus, A. D. 1321, lays it down as a precept. Quod ſtolus Eccleſiæ per terram nullatenus eſt ducenda. He reſolves, by the Divine aid, the objection, or rather exception, of the firſt cruſade (Secreta Fidelium Crucis, l. ii. p. ii. c. ii. p. 37.).

[28] The moſt authentic information of St. Bernard muſt be drawn from his own writing, published in a correct edition by Pére Mabillon, and reprinted at Venice 1750, in ſix volumes in folio. Whatever friendſhip could recollect, or ſuperſtition could add, is contained in the two lives,

lives; by his disciples, in the vith volume: whatever learning and criticism could ascertain, may be found in the prefaces of the Benedictine editor.

[29] Clairvaux, surnamed the Valley of Absynth, is situate among the woods near Bar sur Aube in Champagne. St. Bernard would blush at the pomp of the church and monastery; he would ask for the library, and I know not whether he would be much edified by a tun of 800 muids (914½ hogsheads), which almost rivals that of Heidelberg (Mélanges tirés d'une Grande Bibliothéque tom. xlvi. p. 15—20.).

[30] The disciples of the saint (Vit. Ima, l. iii. c. 2. p. 1232. Vit. iida, c. 16. N° 45. p. 1383.) record a marvellous example of his pious apathy. Juxta lacum etiam Lausannensem totius diei itinere pergens, penitus non attendit aut se videre non vidit. Cum enim vespere facto, de eodem lacû socii colloquerentur, interrogabat eos ubi lacus ille esset; et mirati sunt universi. To admire or despise St. Bernard as he ought, the reader, like myself, should have before the windows of his library the beauties of that incomparable landskip.

[31] Otho Frising. l. i. c. 4. Bernard, Epist. 363. ad Francos Orientales, Opp. tom. i. p. 328. Vit. Ima, l. iii. c. 4. tom. vi p. 1235.

[32] Mandatis et obedivi multiplicati sunt, super numerum; vacuantur urbes et castella; et *pene* jam non inveniunt quem apprehendant septem mulieres unum virum; adeo ubique viduæ vivis remanent viris. Bernard. Epist. p. 247. We must be careful not to construe *pene* as a substantive.

[33] Quis ego sum ut disponam acies, ut egrediar ante facies armatorum, aut quid tam remotum a professione meâ, si vires, si peritia, etc. epist. 256. tom. i. p. 259. He speaks with contempt of the hermit Peter, vir quidam, epist. 363.

[34] Sic dicunt forsitan isti, unde scimus quod a Domino sermo egressus sit? Quæ signa tu facis ut credamus tibi? Non est quod ad ista ipse respondeam; parcendum verecundiæ meæ, responde tu pro me, et pro te ipso secundum quæ vidisti et audisti, et secundum quod te inspiraverit Deus. Consolat. l. ii. c. 1. Opp. tom. ii. p 421—423.

[35] See the testimonies in Vitâ Imâ l. iv. c. 5, 6. Opp. tom. vi. p. 1258—1261. l. vi. c. 1—17. p 1286—1314.

[36] Abulmahasen apud de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. p. ii. p. 99.

[37] See his *article* in the Bibliothéque Orientale of d'Herbelot, and de Guignes, tom. ii. p. i. p. 230—261. Such was his valour, that he was styled the second Alexander; and such the extravagant love of his subjects, that they prayed for the sultan a year after his decease. Yet Sangiar might have been made prisoner by the Franks, as well as by the Uzes He reigned near fifty years (A. D. 1103—1152), and was a munificent patron of Persian poetry.

[38] See the Chronology of the Atabeks of Irak and Syria, in de Guignes, tom. i. p. 254; and the reigns of Zenghi and Noureddin in the ſame writer (tom. ii. P. ii. p. 147—221.), who uſes the Arabic text of Benelathir, Ben Schounah, and Abulfeda; the Bibliothéque Orientale, under the articles *Atabeks* and *Noureddin*, and the Dynaſties of Abulpharagius, p. 250—267. verſ. Pocock

[39] William of Tyre (l. xvi. c. 4, §. 7.) deſcribes the loſs of Edeſſa, and the death of Zenghi. The corruption of his name into *Sanguin*, afforded the Latins a comfortable alluſion to his *ſanguinary* character and end, ſit ſanguine ſanguinolentus.

[40] Noradinus (ſays William of Tyre, l. xx. 33.) maximus nominis et fidei Chriſtianæ perſecutor; princeps tamen juſtus, vafer, providus, et ſecundum gentis ſuæ traditiones religioſus. To this catholic witneſs, we may add the primate of the Jacobites (Abulpharag. p. 267.), quo non alter erat inter reges vitæ ratione magis laudabili, aut quæ pluribus juſtitiæ experimentis abundaret. The true praiſe of kings is after their death, and from the mouth of their enemies.

[41] From the ambaſſador, William of Tyre (l. xix. c. 17, 18.) deſcribes the palace of Cairo. In the caliph's treaſure were found a pearl as large as a pigeon's egg, a ruby weighing ſeventeen Egyptian drams, an emerald a palm and an half in length, and many vaſes of chryſtal and porcelain of China (Renaudot, p. 536.).

[42] *Mamluc*, plur. *Mamalic*, is defined by Pocock (Prolegom. ad Abulpharag. p. 7.), and d'Herbelot (p. 545.), ſervum emptitium, ſeu qui pretio numerato in domini poſſeſſionem cedit. They frequently occur in the wars of Saladin (Bohadin, p. 236, etc.); and it was only the *Bahartie* Mamalukes that were firſt introduced into Egypt by his deſcendants.

[43] Jacobus à Vitriaco (p. 1116) gives the king of Jeruſalem no more than 374 knights. Both the Franks and the Moſlems report the ſuperior numbers of the enemy; a difference which may be ſolved by counting or omitting the unwarlike Egyptians.

[44] It was the Alexandria of the Arabs, a middle term in extent and riches between the period of the Greeks and Romans, and that of the Turks (Savary, Lettres ſur l'Egypte, tom. i. p. 25, 26).

[45] For this great revolution of Egypt, ſee William of Tyre (l. xix §, 6, 7. 12—31. xx. §—12), Bohadin (in Vit. Saladin p. 30—39.), Abulfeda (in Excerpt. Schultens, p. 1—12.), d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. *Abhed*, *Fathemah*, but very incorrect), Renaudot (Hiſt. Patriarch. Alex. p. 522—525. 532—537.), Vertot (Hiſt. des Chevaliers de Malthe, tom. i. p. 141—163. in 4to), and M. de Guignes (tom. ii. p. ii. p. 185—215.).

[46] For the Curds, ſee de Guignes, tom. i. p. 416, 417. the Index

Geographicus of Schultens, and Tavernier, Voyages, p. i. p. 308, 309. The Ayoubites descended from the tribe of the Rawadiæi, one of the noblest; but as *they* were infected with the heresy of the Metemspychosis, the orthodox sultans insinuated, that their descent was only on the mother's side; and that their ancestor was a stranger who settled among the Curds.

[47] See the the ivth book of the Anabasis of Xenophon. The ten thousand suffered more from the arrows of the free Carduchians, than from the splendid weakness of the great king.

[47] We are indebted to the professor Schultens (Lugd. Bat. 1755, in folio) for the richest and most authentic materials, a life of Saladin by his friend and minister the Cadhi Bohadin, and copious extracts from the history of his kinsman the prince Abulfeda of Hamah. To these we may add, the article of *Salahaddin* in the Bibliothéque Orientale, and all that may be gleaned from the Dynasties of Abulpharagius.

[49] Since Abulfeda was himself an Ayoubite, he may share the praise, for imitating, at least tacitly, the modesty of the founder.

[50] Hist. Hierosol. in the Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 1152. A similar example may be found in Joinville (p. 42. edition du Louvre); but the pious St. Louis refused to dignify infidels with the order of Christian knighthood (Ducange, Observations, p. 70.).

[51] In these Arabic titles, *religionis* must always be understood: *Noureddin*, lumen r.; *Ezzodin*, decus; *Amadoddin*, columen: our hero's proper name was Joseph, and he was styled *Salahoddin*, salus; *Al Malichus*, *Al Nasirus*, rex defensor; *Abu Modaffir*, pater victoriæ. Schultens, Præfat.

[52] Abulfeda, who descended from a brother of Saladin, observes from many examples, that the founders of dynasties took the guilt for themselves, and left the reward to their innocent collaterals (Excerpt. p. 10.).

[53] See his life and character in Renaudot, p. 537—548.

[54] His civil and religious virtues are celebrated in the first chapter of Bohadin (p. 4 — 30.), himself an eye-witness, and an honest bigot.

[55] In many works, particularly Joseph's well in the castle of Cairo, the sultan and the patriarch have been confounded by the ignorance of natives and travellers.

[58] Anonym. Canisii, tom. iii. p. ii. p. 404.

[57] Bohadin, p. 129, 130.

[58] For the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, see William of Tyre, from the ixth to the xxiid book. Jacob. à Vitriaco, Hist. Hierosolym. l. i. and Sanutus, Secreta Fidelium Crucis, l. iii. p. vi, vii, viii, ix.

[59] Templarii ut apes bombabant et Hospitalarii ut venti stridebant.

et barones ſe exitio offerebant, et Turcopoli (the Chriſtian light troops) ſemet ipſi in ignem injiciebant (Iſpahani de Expugnatione Kudſiticâ, p. 18. apud Schultens); a ſpecimen of Arabian eloquence, ſomewhat different from the ſtyle of Xenophon!

[60] The Latins affirm, the Arabians inſinuate, the treaſon of Raymond; but had he really embraced their religion, he would have been a ſaint and a hero in the eyes of the latter.

[61] Renaud, Reginald, or Arnold de Chatillon, is celebrated by the Latins in his life and death; but the circumſtances of the latter are more diſtinctly related by Bohadin and Abulfeda; and Joinville (Hiſt. de St. Louis, p. 70.) alludes to the practice of Saladin, of never putting to death a priſoner who had taſted his bread and ſalt. Some of the companions of Arnold had been ſlaughtered, and almoſt ſacrificed, in a valley of Mecca, ubi ſacrificia mactantur (Abulfeda, p. 32.)

[62] Vertot, who well deſcribes the loſs of the kingdom and city (Hiſt. des Chevaliers de Malthe, tom. i. l. ii. p. 226—278.), inſerts two original epiſtles of a knight templar.

[63] Renaudot, Hiſt. Patriarch. Alex. p. 545.

[64] For the conqueſt of Jeruſalem, Bohadin (p. 67—75.) and Abulfeda (p. 40—43.) are our Moſlem witneſſes. Of the Chriſtian, Bernard Theſaurarius (c. 151—167.) is the moſt copious and authentic; ſee likewiſe Matthew Paris (p. 120—124.).

[65] The ſieges of Tyre and Acre are moſt copiously deſcribed by Bernard Theſaurarius (de Acquiſitione Terræ Sanctæ, c. 167—179.), the author of the Hiſtoria Hieroſolymitana (p. 1150—1172. in Bongarſius), Abulfeda (p. 43—50.), and Bohadin (p. 75—179.).

[66] I have followed a moderate and probable repreſentation of the fact: by Vertot, who adopts without reluctance a romantic tale, the old marquis is actually expoſed to the darts of the beſieged.

[67] Northmanni et Gothi, et cæteri populi inſularum quæ inter occidentem et ſeptemtrionem ſitæ ſunt, gentes bellicoſæ, corporis proceri, mortis intrepidæ, bipennibus armatæ, navibus rotundis quæ Yſnachiæ dicuntur advectæ.

[68] The hiſtorian of Jeruſalem (p. 1108.) adds the nations of the Eaſt from the Tigris to India, and the ſwarthy tribes of Moors and Getulians, ſo that Aſia and Africa fought againſt Europe.

[69] Bohadin, p. 180.; and this maſſacre is neither denied nor blamed by the Chriſtian hiſtorians. Alacriter juſſa complentes (the Engliſh ſoldiers), ſays Galfridus à Viniſauf (l. iv. c. 4. p. 346.), who fixes at 2700 the number of victims; who are multiplied to 5000 by Roger Hoveden (p. 697, 698.). The humanity or avarice of Philip Auguſtus was perſuaded to ranſom his priſoners (Jacob. à Vitriaco, l. i. c. 98. p. 1122.).

[70] Bohadin, p. 14. He quotes the judgment of Balianus, and the prince of Sidon, and adds, ex illo mundo quaſi hominum pauciſſimi redierunt. Among the Chriſtians who died before St. John d'Acre, I find the English names of de Ferrers earl of Derby (Dugdale, Baronage, part i. p. 260.), Mowbray (idem, p. 124.), de Mandevil, de Fiennes, St. John, Scrope, Pigot, Talbot, etc.

[71] Magnus hic apud eos, interque reges eorum tum virtute, tum majeſtate eminens ſummus rerum arbiter (Bohadin, p. 159.). He does not ſeem to have known the names either of Philip or Richard.

[72] Rex Angliæ, præſtrenuus rege Gallorum minor apud eos cenſebatur ratione regni atque dignitatis; ſed tum divitiis florentior, tum bellicâ virtute multo erat celebrior (Bohadin, p. 161.). A ſtranger might admire thoſe riches; the national hiſtorians will tell with what lawleſs and waſteful oppreſſion they were collected.

[73] Joinville, p. 17. Cuides-tu que ce ſoit le roi Richart?

[74] Yet he was guilty in the opinion of the Moslems, who atteſt the confeſſion of the aſſaſſins, that they were ſent by the king of England (Bohadin, p. 225.): and his only defence is an abſurd and palpable forgery (Hiſt. de l'Académie des Inſcriptions, tom. xvi. p. 155—163.), a pretended letter from the prince of the aſſaſſins, the Sheich, or old man of the mountain, who juſtified Richard, by aſſuming to himſelf the guilt or merit of the murder.

[75] See the diſtreſs and pious firmneſs of Saladin, as they are deſcribed by Bohadin (p. 7—9. 235—237.), who himſelf harangued the defenders of Jeruſalem; their fears were not unknown to the enemy (Jacob. à Vitriaco, l. i. c. 100. p. 1123. Vinisauf, l. v. c. 50. p. 399.).

[76] Yet unleſs the ſultan, or an Ayoubite prince, remained in Jeruſalem, nec Curdi Turcis, nec Turci eſſent obtemperaturi Curdis (Bohadin, p. 236.). He draws aſide a corner of the political curtain.

[77] Bohadin (p. 237.) and even Jeffrey de Viniſauf (l. vi. c. 1—8. p. 403—409.) aſcribe the retreat to Richard himſelf; and Jacobus à Vitriaco obſerves, that in his impatience to depart, in alterum virum mutatus eſt (p. 1123.). Yet Joinville, a French knight, accuſes the envy of Hugh duke of Burgundy (p. 116.), without ſuppoſing, like Matthew Paris, that he was bribed by Saladin.

[78] The expeditions to Aſcalon, Jeruſalem, and Jaffa, are related by Bohadin (p. 184—249.) and Abulfeda (p. 51, 52.). The author of the Itinerary, or the monk of St. Alban's, cannot exaggerate the Cadhi's account of the proweſs of Richard (Viniſauf, l. vi. c. 14—24. p. 412—421. Hiſt. Major, p. 137—143.); and on the whole of this war, there is a marvellous agreement between the Chriſtian and Mahometan writers, who mutually praiſe the virtues of their enemies.

[79] See the progreſs of negociation and hoſtility in Bohadin (p. 207—260.), who was himſelf an actor in the treaty. Richard declared his intention of returning with new armies to the conqueſt of the Holy Land; and Saladin anſwered the menace with a civil compliment (Vinisauf, l. vi. c. 28. p. 423.).

[80] The moſt copious and original account of this holy war, is Galfridi à Vinisauf Itinerarium Regis Anglorum Richardi et aliorum in Terram Hieroſolymarum, in ſix books, published in the iid volume of Gale's Scriptores Hiſt. Anglicanæ (p. 247—439.). Roger Hoveden and Matthew Paris afford likewiſe many valuable materials; and the former deſcribes, with accuracy, the diſcipline and navigation of the English fleet.

[81] Even Vertot (tom. i. p. 251.) adopts the foolish notion of the indifference of Saladin, who profeſſed the Koran with his laſt breath.

[82] See the ſucceſſion of the Ayoubites, in Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 277, etc.), and the tables of M. de Guignes, l'art de Verifier les Dates, and the Bibliothéque Orientale.

[83] Thomaſſin (Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. iii. p. 311—374.) has copiouſly treated of the origin, abuſes, and reſtrictions of theſe *tenths*. A theory was ſtarted, but not purſued, that they were rightfully due to the pope, a tenth of the Levites' tenth to the high prieſt (Selden on Tithes; ſee his Works, vol. iii. p. ii. p. 1083.).

[84] See the Geſta Innocentii III. in Muratori, Script. Rer. Ital. (tom. iii. p. i. p. 486—568.).

[85] See the vth cruſade, and the ſiege of Damietta, in Jacobus à Vitriaco (l. iii. p. 1125—1149. in the Geſta Dei of Bongarſius), an eye-witneſs, Bernard Theſaurarius in Script. Muratori, tom. vii. p. 825—846. c. 190—207.), a contemporary, and Sanutus (Secreta Fidel. Crucis, l. iii. p. xi. c. 4—9.), a diligent compiler; and of the Arabians, Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 294.), and the Extracts at the end of Joinville (p. 533. 537. 540. 547. etc.).

[86] To thoſe who took the croſs againſt Mainfroy, the pope (A. D. 1255) granted pleniſſimam peccatorum remiſſionem. Fideles mirabantur quod tantum eis promitteret pro ſanguine Chriſtianorum effundendo, quantum pro cruore infidelium aliquando (Matthew Paris, p. 785.). A high flight for the reaſon of the xiiith century.

[87] This ſimple idea is agreeable to the good ſenſe of Moſheim (Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 332.) and the fine philoſophy of Hume (Hiſt. of England, vol. i. p. 330.).

[88] The original materials for the cruſade of Frederic II. may be drawn from Richard de St. Germano (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. vii. p. 1002—1013.) and Matthew Paris (p. 286. 291. 300. 302. 304.). The moſt rational moderns are, Fleury (Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xvi.), Vertot (Chevaliers de Malthe, tom. i. l. iii.), Giannone

Iſtoria Civile di Napoli, tom. ii. l. xvi., and Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. x.).

[89] Poor Muratori knows what to think, but knows not what to ſay, "Chino qui il capo," etc. p. 322.

[90] The clergy artfully confounded the moſch or church of the temple with the holy ſepulchre, and their wilful error has deceived both Vertot and Muratori.

[91] The irruption of the Carizmians, or Coraſmins, is related by Matthew Paris (p. 546, 547), and by Joinville, Nangis, and the Arabians (p. 111, 112, 191, 192. 528. 530.).

[92] Read, if you can, the life and miracles of St. Louis, by the confeſſor of queen Margaret p. 291—323. Joinville, du Louvre.)

[93] He believed all that mother church taught (Joinville, p. 10.), but he cautioned Joinville againſt diſputing with infidels. "L'omme "lay (ſaid he in his old language) quand il ot medire de la loy "Creſtienne, ne doit pas deffendre la loy Creſtienne ne mais que "de l'eſpée, dequoi il doit donner parmi le ventre dedens, tant "comme elle y peut entrer" (p. 12.).

[94] I have two editions of Joinville, the one (Paris, 1668) moſt valuable for the obſervations of Ducange; the other (Paris au Louvre, 1761) moſt precious for the pure and authentic text, a MS. of which has been recently diſcovered. The laſt editor proves, that the hiſtory of St. Louis was finiſhed A. D. 1309, without explaining, or even admiring, the age of the author, which muſt have exceeded ninety years (Préface, p. xi. Obſervations de Ducange, p. 17.).

[95] Joinville, p. 32. Arabic Extracts, p. 549.

[96] The laſt editors have enriched their Joinville with large and curious extracts from the Arabic hiſtorians, Macrizi, Abulfeda, etc. See likewiſe Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 322—325.), who calls him by the corrupt name of *Redefrans*. Matthew Paris (p. 683, 684.) has deſcribed the rival folly of the French and English who fought and fell at Maſſoura.

[97] Savary, in his agreeable Lettres ſur l'Egypte, has given a deſcription of Damietta (tom. i. lettre xxiii. p. 274—290.), and a narrative of the expedition of St. Louis (xxv. p. 306—350.).

[98] For the ranſom of St. Louis, a million of byzants was asked and granted; but the ſultan's generoſity reduced that ſum to 800,000 byzants, which are valued by Joinville at 400,000 French livres of his own time, and expreſſed by Matthew Paris by 100,000 marks of ſilver (Ducange, Diſſertation xx. ſur Joinville.)

[99] The idea of the emirs to chuſe Louis for their ſultan, is ſeriouſly atteſted by Joinville (p. 77, 78.), and does not appear to me ſo

abſurd as to M. de Voltaire (Hiſt. Générale, tom. ii. p. 386, 387.). The Mamalukes themſelves were ſtrangers, rebels, and equals; they had felt his valour, they hoped his converſion; and ſuch a motion, which was not ſeconded, might be made, perhaps by a ſecret Chriſtian, in their tumultuous aſſembly.

[100] See the expedition in the Annals of St. Louis, by William de Nangis, p. 270—287. and the Arabic Extracts, p. 545. 555. of the Louvre edition of Joinville.

[101] Voltaire, Hiſt. Générale, tom. ii. p. 391.

[102] The chronology of the two dynaſties of Mamalukes, the Baharites, Turks or Tartars of Kipzack, and the Borgites, Circaſſians, is given by Pocock (Prolegom. ad Abulpharag. p. 6—31.) and de Guignes (tom. i. p. 264—270.); their hiſtory from Abulfeda, Macrizi, etc. to the beginning of the xvth century, by the ſame M. de Guignes (tom. iv. p. 110—328).

[103] Savary, Lettres ſur l'Egypte, tom. ii. lettre xv. p. 189—208. I much queſtion the authenticity of this copy; yet it is true, that ſultan Selim concluded a treaty with the Circaſſians, or Mamalukes of Egypt, and left them in poſſeſſion of arms, riches, and power. See a new Abrégé de l'Hiſtoire Ottomane, compoſed in Egypt, and tranſlated by M. Digeon (tom. i. p. 55—58 Paris 1781.), a curious, authentic, and national hiſtory.

[104] Si totum quo regnum occupârunt tempus reſpicias, præſertim quod fini propius, reperies illud bellis, pugnis, injuriis, ac rapinis refertum (Al Jannabi, apud Pocock, p. 31.). The reign of Mohammed (A.D 1311—1341.) affords an happy exception (de Guignes, tom. iv. p 208—210.).

[105] They are now reduced to 8500: but the expence of each Mamaluke may be raced at 100 louis; and Egypt groans under the avarice and inſolence of theſe ſtrangers (Voyages de Volney, tom. i. p. 89—187.).

[106] See Carte's Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 165—175. and his original authors, Thomas Wikes and Walter Hemingford (l. iii. c. 34, 35.), in Gale's Collection (tom. ii p. 97. 589—592.). They are both ignorant of the princeſs Eleanor's piety in ſucking the poiſoned wound, and ſaving her husband at the risk of her own life.

[107] Sanutus, Secret. Fidelium Crucis, l. iii. p. xii. c. 9. and de Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iv. p. 143. from the Arabic hiſtorians.

[108] The ſtate of Acre is repreſented in all the chronicles of the times, and moſt accurately in John Villani, l. vii. c. 144. in Muratori, Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. xiii p. 337, 338.

[109] See the final expulſion of the Franks, in Sanutus, l. iii. p. xii. c. 11—22. Abulfeda, Macrizi, etc. in de Guignes, tom. iv. p. 162, 164. and Vertot, tom. i. l. iii. p. 407—428.

NOTES

TO THE

ELEVENTH VOLUME.

CHAP. LX.

[2] In the ſucceſſive centuries, from the ixth to the xviiith, Moſheim traces the ſchiſm of the Greeks, with learning, clearneſs, and impartiality: the *filioque*, (Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 277.), Leo III. p. 303, Photius, p. 307, 308. Michael Cerularius, p. 370, 371, etc.

[2] Ανδρες δυσσεβεις και αποτροπαιοι, ανδρες εκ σκοτους αναδυντες, της γαρ Εσπεριας μοιρας ὑπηρχον γεννηματα (Phot. Epiſt. p. 47. edit. Montacut.) The Oriental patriarch continues to apply the images of thunder, earthquake, hail, wild boar, præcurſors of Antichriſt, etc. etc.

[3] The myſterious ſubject of the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, is diſcuſſed in the hiſtorical, theological, and controverſial ſenſe, or nonſenſe, by the Jeſuit Petavius (Dogmata Theologica, tom. ii. l. vii. p. 362—440.).

[4] Before the ſhrine of St. Peter, he placed two ſhields of the weight of 94½ pounds of pure ſilver; on which he inſcribed the text of both creeds (utroque ſymbolo), pro amore et *cautelâ* orthodoxæ fidei (Anaſtaſ. in Leon. III. in Muratori, tom. iii. pars i. p. 208.). His language moſt clearly proves, that neither the filioque, nor the Athanaſian creed, were received at Rome about the year 830.

[5] The Miſſi of Charlemagne preſſed him to declare, that all who rejected the *filioque*, at leaſt the doctrine, muſt be damned. All, replies the pope, are not capable of reaching the altiora myſteria; qui potuerit, et non voluerit, ſalvus eſſe non poteſt (Collect. Concil. tom. ix. p. 277—286.). The *potuerit* would leave a large loop hole of ſalvation!

[6] In France, after ſome harſher laws, the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline is now relaxed: milk, cheeſe, and butter, are become a perpetual, and eggs an annual, indulgence in Lent (Vie privée des Français, tom. ii. p. 27—38.).

[7] The original monuments of the ſchiſm, of the charges of the Greeks againſt the Latins, are depoſited in the Epiſtles of Photius (Epiſt. Encyclica, ii. p. 47—61.) and of Michael Cerularius, (Caniſii Antiq.

Lectiones, tom. iii. p. i. p. 281—324. edit. Baſnage, with the prolix anſwer of cardinal Humbert).

[8] The xth volume of the Venice edition of the Councils, contains all the acts of the ſynods, and hiſtory of Photius: they are abridged, with a faint tinge of prejudice or prudence, by Dupin and Fleury.

[9] The ſynod of Conſtantinople, held in the year 869, is the viiith of the general councils, the laſt aſſembly of the Eaſt which is recogniſed by the Roman church. She rejects the ſynods of Conſtantinople of the years 867 and 879, which were, however, equally numerous and noiſy; but they were favourable to Photius.

[10] See this anathema in the Councils, tom. xi. p. 1457—1460.

[11] Anna Comnena (Alexiad, l. i. p. 31 — 33.) repreſents the abhorrence, not only of the church, but of the palace, for Gregory VII. the popes, and the Latin communion. The ſtyle of Cinnamus and Nicetas is ſtill more vehement. Yet how calm is the voice of hiſtory compared with that of polemics!

[12] His anonymous hiſtorian (de Expedit. Aſiat. Fred. I. in Caniſii Lection. Antiq. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 511. edit. Baſnage) mentions the ſermons of the Greek patriarch, quomodo Græcis injunxerat in remiſſionem peccatorum peregrinos occidere et delere de terrâ. Tagino obſerves (in Scriptores Freher tom. i. p. 409. edit. Struv.), Græci hæreticos nos appellant: clerici et monachi dictis et factis perſequuntur. We may add the declaration of the emperor Baldwin fifteen years afterwards: Hæc eſt (*gens*) quæ Latinos omnes non hominum nomine, ſed canum dignabatur; quorum ſanguinem effundere penè inter merita reputabant (Geſta Innocent. III. c. 92. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum. tom. iii. pars i. p. 536. . There may be ſome exaggeration, but it was as effectual for the action and re-action of hatred.

[13] See Anna Comnena (Alexiad, l. vi. p. 161, 162.), and a remarkable paſſage of Nicetas (in Manuel. l. v. c. 9.), who obſerves of the Venetians, μετα σμηνη και φρατριας την Κωνσταντινου πολιν της οικειας ηλλαξαντο, etc.

[14] Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 186, 187.

[15] Nicetas in Manuel. l. vii. c. 2. Regnante enim (Manuele) apud eum tantam Latinus populus repererat gratiam ut neglectis Græculis ſuis tanquam viris mollibus et effœminatis, ... ſolis Latinis grandia committeret negotia erga eos profuſa liberalitate abundabat ex omni orbe ad eum tanquam ad benefactorem nobiles et ignobiles concurrebant. Willerm. Tyr. xxii. c. 10.

[16] The ſuſpicions of the Greeks would have been confirmed, if they had ſeen the political epiſtles of Manuel to pope Alexander III.

the enemy of his enemy Frederic I. in which the emperor declares his wish of uniting the Greeks and Latins as one flock under one shepherd, etc. (See Fleury, Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xv. p. 187. 213. 243.).

[17] See the Greek and Latin narratives in Nicetas (in Alexio Comneno, c. 10.) and William of Tyre (l. xxii. c. 10, 11, 12, 13.); the firſt ſoft and conciſe, the ſecond loud, copious, and tragical.

[18] The hiſtory of the reign of Iſaac Angelus is compoſed, in three books, by the ſenator Nicetas (p. 228—290.); and his offices of logothete, or principal ſecretary, and judge of the veil or palace, could not bribe the impartiality of the hiſtorian. He wrote, it is true, after the fall and death of his benefactor.

[19] See Bohadin, Vit. Saladin. p. 129—131. 226. verſ. Schultens. The ambaſſador of Iſaac was equally verſed in the Greek, French, and Arabic languages; a rare inſtance in thoſe times. His ambaſſies were received with honour, diſmiſſed without effect, and reported with ſcandal in the Weſt.

[20] Ducange, Familiæ Dalmaticæ, p. 318. 319, 320. The original correſpondence of the Bulgarian king and the Roman pontiff, is inſcribed in the Geſta Innocent. III. c. 66—82. p. 513—525.

[21] The pope acknowledges his pedigree, a nobili urbis Romæ proſapiâ genitores tui originem traxerunt. This tradition, and the ſtrong reſemblance of the Latin and Walachian idioms, is explained by M. d'Anville (Etats de l'Europe, p. 258—262.). The Italian colonies of the Dacia of Trajan, were ſwept away by the tide of emigration from the Danube to the Volga, and brought back by another wave from the Volga to the Danube. Poſſible, but ſtrange!

[22] This parable is in the beſt ſavage ſtyle; but I wiſh the Walach had not introduced the claſſic name of Myſians, the experiment of the magnet or loadſtone, and the paſſage of an old comic poet (Nicetas, in Alex. Comnena, l. i. p. 299, 300.).

[23] The Latins aggravate the ingratitude of Alexius, by ſuppoſing that he had been releaſed by his brother Iſaac from Turkiſh captivity. This pathetic tale had doubtleſs been repeated at Venice and Zara: but I do not readily diſcover its grounds in the Greek hiſtorians.

[24] See the reign of Alexius Angelus, or Comnenus, in the three books of Nicetas, p. 291—352.

[25] See Fleury, Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xvi. p. 26, etc. and Villehardouin, N° 1. with the obſervations of Ducange, which I always mean to quote with the original text.

[26] The contemporary life of pope Innocent III. published by Baluze and Muratori (Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. pars i. p. 486—568.), is moſt valuable for the important and original documents

which are inſerted in the text. The bull of the cruſade may be read, c. 84, 85.

[27] Por-ce que cil pardon fut iſſi gran, ſi s'en eſmeurent moult li cuers des genz, et mult s'en croiſierent, por-ce que li pardons ere ſi gran. Villehardouin, N° 1. Our philoſophers may refine on the cauſes of the cruſades, but ſuch were the genuine feelings of a French knight.

[28] This number of fiefs (of which 1800, owed liege homage) was enrolled in the church of St. Stephen at Troyes, and atteſted A. D. 1213, by the marſhal and butler of Champagne (Ducange, Obſervat. p. 254.).

[29] Campania militiæ privilegio ſingularius excellit in tyrociniis proluſione armorum, etc. Ducange, p. 249. from the old Chronicle of Jeruſalem, A. D. 1177—1199.

[30] The name of Ville-hardouin, was taken from a village and caſtle in the dioceſe of Troyes, near the river Aube, between Bar and Arceis. The family was ancient and noble; the elder branch of our hiſtorian exiſted after the year 1400; the younger, which acquired the principality of Achaia, merged in the houſe of Savoy (Ducange, p. 235—245.).

[31] This office was held by his father and his deſcendants, but Ducange has not hunted it with his uſual ſagacity. I find that, in the year 1356, it was in the family of Conflans; but theſe provincial, have been long ſince eclipſed by the national, marſhals of France.

[32] This language, of which I ſhall produce ſome ſpecimens, is explained by Vigenere and Ducange in a verſion and gloſſary. The preſident des Broſſes (Méchaniſme des Langues, tom. ii. p. 83.) gives it as the example of a language which has ceaſed to be French, and is underſtood only by grammarians.

[33] His age, and his own expreſſion, moi qui ceſte œuvre *dicta* (N° 62, etc.), may juſtify the ſuſpicion (more probable than M. Wood's on Homer), that he could neither read nor write. Yet Champagne may boaſt of the two firſt hiſtorians, the noble authors of French proſe, Villehardouin and Joinville.

[34] The cruſade and reigns of the counts of Flanders, Baldwin and his brother Henry, are the ſubject of a particular hiſtory by the Jeſuit Doutremens (Conſtantinopolis Belgica; Turnaci, 1638, in 4to), which I have only ſeen with the eyes of Ducange.

[35] Hiſtory, etc. vol. iii. p. 420—422.

[36] The foundation and independence of Venice, and Pepin's invaſion, are diſcuſſed by Pagi (Critica, tom. iii. A. D. 810, N° 4, etc.) and Beretti (Diſſert. Chorograph. Italiæ medii Ævi, in Muratori, Script.

tom. x. p. 153.) The two critics have a slight bias, the Frenchman adverse, the Italian favourable, to the republic.

[37] When the son of Charlemagne asserted his right of sovereignty, he was answered by the loyal Venetians, ὁτι ἡμεις δουλοι θελομεν ειναι τῶ Ρωμαιων βασιλεως (Constantin. Porphyrogenit. de Administrat. Imperii, pars ii. c. 28. p. 85.); and the report of the ixth, establishes the fact of the xth century, which is confirmed by the embassy of Liutprand of Cremona. The annual tribute, which the emperor allows them to pay to the king of Italy, alleviates, by doubling, their servitude; but the hateful word δουλοι must be translated, as in the charter of 827 (Laugier, Hist. de Venise, tom. i. p. 67, etc.), by the softer appellation of *subditi*, or *fideles*.

[38] See the xxvth and xxxth dissertations of the Antiquitates medii Ævi of Muratori. From Anderson's History of Commerce, I understand that the Venetians did not trade to England before the year 1323. The most flourishing state of their wealth and commerce in the beginning of the xvth century, is agreeably described by the Abbé Dubos (Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, tom. ii. p. 443—480.).

[39] The Venetians have been slow in writing and publishing their history. Their most ancient monuments are, 1. The rude Chronicle (perhaps) of John Sagorninus (Venezia, 1765, in octavo,) which represents the state and manners of Venice in the year 1008. 2. The larger history of the doge (1342—1354) Andrew Dandolo, published for the first time in the xiith tom. of Muratori, A. D. 1728. The History of Venice by the Abbé Laugier (Paris, 1728), is a work of some merit, which I have chiefly used for the constitutional part.

[40] Henry Dandolo was eighty-four at his election (A. D. 1192), and ninety-seven at his death (A. D. 1205). See the Observations of Ducange sur Villehardouin, N° 204. But this *extraordinary* longevity is not observed by the original writers, nor does there exist another example of an hero near an hundred years of age. Theophrastus might afford an instance of a writer of ninety nine; but instead of εννενηκοντα (Procem. ad Character.), I am much inclined to read ἐβδομηκοντα, with his last editor Fischer, and the first thoughts of Casaubon. It is scarcely possible that the powers of the mind and body should support themselves till such a period of life.

[41] The modern Venetians (Laugier, tom. ii. p. 119.) accuse the emperor Manuel: but the calumny is refuted by Villehardouin and the older writers, who suppose that Dandolo lost his eyes by a wound (N° 34. and Ducange.)

[41] See the original treaty in the Chronicle of Andrew Dandalo, p. 323—326.

[43] A reader of Villehardouin muſt obſerve the frequent tears of the marſhal and his brother knights. Sachiez que la ot mainte lerme plorée de pitié (N° 17.); mut plorant (ibid.); mainte lerme ploſe (N° 31.); ſi orent mult pitié et plorerent mult durement (N° 60.); i et maint lerme plorée de pitié (N° 62.). They weep on every occaſion of grief, joy, or devotion.

[44] By a victory (A. D. 1191) over the citizens of Aſti, by a cruſade to Paleſtine, and by an embaſſy from the pope to the German princes (Muratori, Annali d'Italia tom. x. p. 163. 202.).

[45] See the cruſade of the Germans in the Hiſtoria C. P. of Gunther (Canifii Antiq. Lect. tom. iv. p. v—viii.), who celebrates the pilgrimage of his abbot Martin, one of the preaching rivals of Fulk of Neuilly. His monaſtery, of the Ciſtercian order, was ſituate in the dioceſe of Baſil.

[46] Jadera, now Zara, was a Roman colony, which acknowledged Auguſtus for its parent. It is now only two miles round, and contains five or ſix thouſand inhabitants; but the fortifications are ſtrong, and it is joined to the main land by a bridge. See the travels of the two companions, Spon and Wheeler (Voyage de Dalmatie, de Grèce, etc. tom. i. p. 64—70. Journey into Greece, p. 8—14.); the laſt of whom, by miſtaking *Seſtertia* for *Seſtertii*, values an arch with ſtatues and columns at twelve pounds. If, in his time, there were no trees near Zara, the cherry trees were not yet planted which produce our incomparable *maraſquin*.

[47] Katona (Hiſt. Critica Reg. Hungariæ, Stirpis Arpad. tom. iv p. 536—558.) collects all the facts and teſtimonies moſt adverſe to the conquerors of Zara.

[48] See the whole tranſaction, and the ſentiments of the pope, in the Epiſtles of Innocent III. Geſta, c. 86, 87, 88.

[49] A modern reader is ſurpriſed to hear of the valet de Conſtantinople, as applied to young Alexius, on account of his youth, like the *infants* of Spain, and the *nobiliſſimus puer* of the Romans. The pages and *valets* of the knights were as noble as themſelves (Villehardouin and Ducange, N° 36.).

[50] The emperor Iſaac is ſtyled by Villehardouin, *Surſac* (N° 35, etc.), which may be derived from the French *Sire*, or the Greek Κυρ (κυριος) melted into his proper name; the farther corruptions of Turſac and Conſerac will inſtruct us what licence may have been uſed in the old dynaſties of Aſſyria and Egypt.

[51] Relnier and Conrad; the former married Maria, daughter of the emperor Manuel Comnenus; the latter was the husband of Theodora Angela, ſiſter of the emperors Iſaac and Alexius. Conrad abandoned the Greek court and princeſs for the glory of defending Tyre againſt Saladin (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 187. 203.).

[52] Nicetas (in Alexio Comneno, l. iii. c. 9.) accuſes the doge and Venetians as the firſt authors of the war againſt Conſtantinople, and conſiders only as a κυμα ὑπερ κυματι, the arrival and ſhameful offers of the royal exile.

[53] Villehardouin and Gunther repreſent the ſentiments of the two parties. The abbot Martin left the army at Zara, proceeded to Paleſtine, was ſent ambaſſador to Conſtantinople, and became a reluctant witneſs of the ſecond ſiege.

[54] The birth and dignity of Andrew Dandolo gave him the motive and the means of ſearching in the archives of Venice the memorable ſtory of his anceſtor. His brevity ſeems to accuſe the copious and more recent narratives of Sanudo (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xxii.), Blondus, Sabellicus, and Rhamnuſius.

[55] Villehardouin, N° 62. His feelings and expreſſions are original; he often weeps, but he rejoices in the glories and perils of war with a ſpirit unknown to a ſedentary writer.

[56] In this voyage, almoſt all the geographical names are corrupted by the Latins. The modern appellation of Chalcis, and all Eubœa, is derived from its *Euripus*, *Evripo*, *Negri-po*, *Negropont*, which diſhonours our maps (d'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 263).

[57] Et ſachiez que il ne ot ſi hardi cui le cuer ne fremiſt (c. 87.) Chaſcuns regardoit ſes armes que par tems en aront meſtier (c. 68.). Such is the honeſty of courage

[58] Eandem urbem plus in ſolis navibus piſcatorum abundare, quam illos in toto navigio. Habebat enim mille et ſexcentas piſcatorias naves Bellicas autem ſive mercatorias habebant infinitæ multitudinis et portum tutiſſimum. Gunther, Hiſt. C P. c. 8. p. 10.

[59] Καθαπερ ἱερων αλτεων, τιμιον δε και θεοφυτευτων παραδεισων ἐφειδοντο τυτων. Nicetas in Alex. Comneno, l. iii. c. 9. p. 348.

[60] From the verſion of Vignere I adopt the well-ſounding word *palander*, which is ſtill uſed, I believe, in the Mediterranean. But had I written in French, I ſhould have preferred the original and expreſſive denomination of *uſſiers* or *huiſſiers*, from the *huis*, or door, which was let down as a draw-bridge; but which, at ſea, was cloſed into the ſide of the ſhip (ſee Ducange au Villehardouin, N° 14. and Joinville, p. 27, 28. edit. du Louvre).

[61] To avoid the vague expreſſions of followers, etc. I uſe, after Villehardouin, the word *ſerjeants* for all horſemen who were not knights. There were ſerjeants at arms, and ſerjeants at law; and if we viſit the parade and Weſtminſter-hall, we may obſerve the ſtrange reſult of the diſtinction (Ducange, Gloſſar Latin. *Servientes*, etc. tom. vi. p. 22 —231.).

[62] It is needleſs to obſerve, that on the ſubject of Galata, the chain, etc. Ducange is accurate and full. Conſult likewiſe the proper chapters of the C. P. Chriſtiana of the ſame author. The inhabitants of Galata were ſo vain and ignorant, that they applied to themſelves St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Galatians.

[63] The veſſel that broke the chain was named the Eagle, *Aquila* (Dandol. Chronicon. p. 322.), which Blondus (de Geſtis Venet.) has changed into *Aquilo* the northwind. Ducange, Obſervations, N° 83. maintains the latter reading; but he had not ſeen the reſpectable text of Dandolo, nor did he enough conſider the topography of the harbour. The ſouth-eaſt would have been a more effectual wind.

[64] Quatre cens mil homes ou plus (Villehardouin, N° 134.), muſt be underſtood of *men* of a military age. Le Beau (Hiſt. du Bas Empire, tom. xx p. 417.) allows Conſtantinople a million of inhabitants, of whom 60,000 horſe, and an infinite number of foot ſoldiers. In its preſent decay, the capital of the Ottoman empire may contain 400,000 ſouls (Bell's Travels, vol ii. p. 401, 402.); but as the Turks keep no regiſters, and as circumſtances are fallacious, it is impoſſible to aſcertain (Niebuhr, Voyage en Arabie, tom. i. p. 18, 19.) the real populouſneſs of their cities.

[65] On the moſt correct plans of Conſtantinople, I know not how to meaſure more than 4000 paces. Yet Villehardouin computes the ſpace at three leagues N° 86.). If his eye were not deceived, he muſt reckon by the old Gallic league of 1500 paces, which might ſtill be uſed in Champagne.

[66] The guards, the Varangi, are ſtyled by Villehardouin (N° 89, 95, etc.), Englois et Danois avec leurs haches. Whatever had been their origin, a French pilgrim could not be miſtaken in the nations of which they were at that time compoſed.

[67] For the firſt ſiege and conqueſt of Conſtantinople, we may read the original letter of the cruſaders to Innocent III. Geſta, c. 91, p. 533, 534. Villehardouin, N° 75—99. Nicetas in Alexio Comnen. l. iii. c. 10. p. 349—352. Dandolo, in Chron. p. 322. Gunther, and his abbot Martin, were not yet returned from their obſtinate pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, or St. John d'Acre, where the greateſt part of the company had died of the plague.

[68] Compare,

[68] Compare, in the rude energy of Villehardouin (N° 66. 100.), the inſide and outſide views of Conſtantinople, and their impreſſion on the minds of the pilgrims: cette ville (ſays he) que de totes les autres ére ſouveraine. See the parallel paſſages of Fulcherius Carnotenſis, Hiſt. Hieroſol. l. i. c. 4. and Will. Tyr. ii. 3. xx. 26.

[69] As they played at dice, the Latins took off his diadem, and clapped on his head a woollen or hairy cap, το μεγαλοπρεπες και παγκλεϊσον κατερρωπαινεν ονομα (Nicetas, p. 358.). If theſe merry companions were Venetians, it was the inſolence of trade and a commonwealth.

[70] Villehardouin, N° 101. Dandolo, p. 322. The doge affirms, that the Venetians were paid more ſlowly than the French; but he owns, that the hiſtories of the two nations differed on that ſubject. Had he read Villehardouin? The Greeks complained, however, quòd totius Græciæ opes tranſtuliſſet (Gunther, Hiſt. C. P. c. 13.). See the lamentations and invectives of Nicetas (p. 355.).

[71] The reign of Alexius Comnenus occupies three books in Nicetas, p. 291—352. The ſhort reſtoration of Iſaac and his ſon is diſpatched in five chapters, p. 352—362.

[72] When Nicetas reproaches Alexius for his impious league, he beſtows the harſheſt names on the pope's new religion: μειζον και ακοπωτατον . . . παρεκτροπην πιζεως . . . των τε Παπα προνομιων καινισμον . . . μεταθεσιν τε και μεταποιησιν των παλαιων Ραμαιοις εθων (p. 348.). Such was the ſincere language of every Greek to the laſt gaſp of the empire.

[73] Nicetas (p. 355.) is poſitive in the charge, and ſpecifies the Flemings (Φλαμιονες), though he is wrong in ſuppoſing it an ancient name. Villehardouin (N° 107.) exculpates the barons, and is ignorant (perhaps affectedly ignorant) of the names of the guilty.

[74] Compare the ſuſpicions and complaints of Nicetas (p. 359—362.) with the blunt charges of Baldwin of Flanders (Geſta Innocent. III. c. 92. p. 534.), cum patriarchâ et mole nobilium, nobis promiſſis perjurus et mendax.

[75] His name was Nicholas Canabus; he deſerved the praiſe of Nicetas and the vengeance of Mourzouſle (p. 362.).

[76] Villehardouin (N° 116.) ſpeaks of him as a favourite, without knowing that he was a prince of the blood, *Angelus* and *Ducas*. Ducange, who pries into every corner, believes him to be the ſon of Iſaac Ducas Sebaſtocrator, and ſecond couſin of young Alexius.

[77] This negociation, probable in itſelf, and atteſted by Nicetas

(p. 365.), is omitted as ſcandalous by the delicacy of Dandolo and Villehardouin.

[78] Baldwin mentions both attempts to fire the fleet (Geſt. c. 92. p. 534, 535.); Villehardouin (N° 113—115.) only deſcribes the firſt. It is remarkable, that neither of theſe warriors obſerve any peculiar properties in the Greek fire.

[79] Ducange (N° 119.) pours forth a torrent of learning on the *Gonfanon Imperial*. This banner of the Virgin is ſhewn at Venice as a trophy and relic: if it be genuine, the pious doge muſt have cheated the monks of Citeaux.

[80] Villehardouin (N° 126.) confeſſes, that mult ere grant peril; and Guntherus (Hiſt. C. P. c. 13.) affirms, that nulla ſpes victoriæ arridere poterat. Yet the knight deſpiſes thoſe who thought of flight, and the monk praiſes his countrymen who were reſolved on death.

[81] Baldwin, and all the writers, honour the names of theſe two gallies, felici auſpicio.

[82] With an alluſion to Homer, Nicetas calls him ἔννεα ὀργυιάς, nine orgyæ, or eighteen yards high, a ſtature which would indeed have excuſed the terror of the Greek. On this occaſion, the hiſtorian ſeems fonder of the marvellous, than of his country, or perhaps of truth. Baldwin exclaims in the words of the pſalmiſt, perſequitur unus ex nobis centum alienos.

[83] Villehardouin (N° 130.) is again ignorant of the authors of *this* more legitimate fire, which is aſcribed by Gunther to a quidam comes Teutonicus (c. 14.). They ſeem aſhamed, the incendiaries!

[84] For the ſecond ſiege and conqueſt of Conſtantinople, ſee Villehardouin (N° 113—132.), Baldwin's iid Epiſtle to Innocent III. (Geſta, c. 92. p. 534—537.), with the whole reign of Mourzouſle, in Nicetas (p. 363—375.); and borrow ſome hints from Dandolo (Chron. Venet. p. 323—330.) and Gunther (Hiſt. C. P. c. 14—18.), who add the decorations of prophecy and viſion. The former produces an oracle of the Erythræan ſybil, of a great armament on the Adriatic, under a blind chief, againſt Byzantium, etc. Curious enough, were the prediction anterior to the fact.

[85] Ceciderunt tamen cà die civium quaſi duo millia, etc. (Gunther, c. 18.). Arithmetic is an excellent touchſtone to try the amplifications of paſſion and rhetoric.

[86] Quidam (ſays Innocent III. Geſta, c. 94. p. 538.) nec religioni, nec ætati, nec ſexui pepercerunt: ſed fornicationes, adulteria, et inceſtus in oculis omnium exercentes, non ſolum maritatas et viduas, ſed et matronas et virgines Deoque dicatas, expoſuerunt ſpur-

citiis garcionum. Villehardouin takes no notice of theſe common incidents.

[87] Nicetas ſaved, and afterwards married, a noble virgin (p. 380.), whom a ſoldier επι μαρτυσι πολλοις ονηδον επιβρωμωμενος, had almoſt violated in ſpite of the εντολαι, ενταλματα ευ γεγονοτων.

[88] Of the general maſs of wealth, Gunther obſerves, ut de pauperibus et advenis cives ditiſſimi redderentur (Hiſt. C. P. c. 18.) Villehardouin (N° 132.), that ſince the creation, ne fu tant gaaignié dans une ville; Baldwin (Geſta, c. 92.), ut tantum tota non videatur poſſidere Latinitas.

[89] Villehardouin, N° 133—135. Inſtead of 400,000, there is a various reading of 500,000. The Venetians had offered to take the whole booty, and to give 400 marks to each knight, 200 to each prieſt and horſeman, and 100 to each foot-ſoldier: they would have been great loſers (Le Beau, Hiſt. du Bas-Empire, tom. xx. p. 506. I know not from whence).

[90] At the council of Lyons (A. D. 1245.), the English ambaſſadors ſtated the revenue of the crown as below that of the foreign clergy, which amounted to 60,000 marks a year (Matthew Paris, p. 451. Hume's Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 170.).

[91] The diſorders of the ſack of Conſtantinople, and his own adventures, are feelingly deſcribed by Nicetas, p. 367—369. and in the Status Urb. C. P. p. 375—384. His complaints even of ſacrilege are juſtified by Innocent III. (Geſta, c. 92.); but Villehardouin does not betray a ſymptom of pity or remorſe.

[92] If I rightly apprehend the Greek of Nicetas's, receipts, their favourite diſhes were boiled buttocks of beef, ſalt pork and peaſe, and ſoup made of garlic and ſharp or ſour herbs (p. 382.).

[93] Nicetas uſes very harſh expreſſions, παρ' αγραμματοις Βαρβαροις, και τελεον αναλφαβητοις (Fragment. apud Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 414.). This reproach, it is true, applies moſt ſtrongly to their ignorance of Greek and of Homer. In their own language, the Latins of the xiith and xiiith centuries were not deſtitute of literature. See Harris's Philological Inquiries, p. iii. c. 9, 10, 11.

[94] Nicetas was of Chonæ in Phrygia (the old Coloſſæ of St. Paul): he raiſed himſelf to the honours of ſenator, judge of the veil, and great logothete; beheld the fall of the empire, retired to Nice, and compoſed an elaborate hiſtory from the death of Alexius Comnenus to the reign of Henry.

[95] A manuſcript of Nicetas in the Bodleian library, contains this curious fragment on the ſtatues of Conſtantinople, which fraud, or

shame, or rather careleſſneſs, has dropt in the common editions. It is published by Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 405—416), and immoderately praiſed by the late ingenious M. Harris of Salisbury (Philological Inquiries, p. iii. c. 5. p. 301—312.).

96 To illuſtrate the ſtatue of Hercules, M. Harris quotes a Greek epigram, and engraves a beautiful gem, which does not however copy the attitude of the ſtatue: in the latter, Hercules had not his club, and his right leg and arm were extended.

97 I tranſcribe theſe proportions, which appear to me inconſiſtent with each other; and may poſſibly ſhew, that the boaſted taſte of Nicetas was no more than affectation and vanity.

98 Nicetas in Iſaaco Angelo et Alexio, c. 3. p. 359. The Latin editor very properly obſerves, that the hiſtorian, in his bombaſt ſtyle, produces ex pulice elephantem.

99 In two paſſages of Nicetas (edit. Paris, p. 360. Fabric. p. 408.), the Latins are branded with the lively reproach of ὁι τῳ χαλῳ ανεραγοι βαρβαροι, and their avarice of braſs is clearly expreſſed. Yet the Venetians had the merit of removing four bronze horſes from Conſtantinople to the place of St. Mark (Sanuto, Vite dei Dogi, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xxii. p. 534.).

100 Winckelman, Hiſt. de l'Art, tom. iii. p. 269, 270.

101 See the pious robbery of the abbot Martin, who transferred a rich cargo to his monaſtery of Paris, dioceſe of Baſil (Gunther, Hiſt. C. P. c. 19. 23, 24.). Yet in ſecreting this booty, the ſaint incurred an excommunication, and perhaps broke his oath.

102 Fleury, Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xvi. p. 139—145.

103 I ſhall conclude this chapter with the notice of a modern hiſtory, which illuſtrates the taking of Conſtantinople by the Latins; but which has fallen ſomewhat late into my hands. Paolo Ramuſio, the ſon of the compiler of voyages, was directed by the ſenate of Venice to write the hiſtory of the conqueſt; and this order, which he received in his youth, he executed in a mature age, by an elegant Latin work, de Bello Conſtantinopolitano et Imperatoribus Comnenis per Gallos et Venetos reſtitutis (Venet. 1635, in folio). Ramuſio, or Rhamnuſius, tranſcribes and tranſlates, ſequitur ad unguem, a MS. of Villehardouin, which he poſſeſſed; but he enriches his narrative with Greek and Latin materials, and we are indebted to him for a correct ſtate of the fleet, the names of the fifty Venetian nobles who commanded the gallies of the republic, and the patriot oppoſition of Pantaleon Barbus to the choice of the doge for emperor.

CHAP. LXI.

[1] See the original treaty of partition, in the Venetian Chronicle of Andrew Dandolo, p. 326—330. and the ſubſequent election in Villehardouin, N° 136—140. with Ducange in his Obſervations, and the iſt book of his Hiſtoire de Conſtantinople ſous l'Empire des François.

[2] After mentioning the nomination of the doge by a French elector, his kinſman Andrew Dandolo approves his excluſion, quidam Venetorum fidelis et nobilis ſenex, uſus oratione ſatis probabili, etc. which has been embroidered by modern writers from Blondus to Le Beau.

[3] Nicetas (p. 384.), with the vain ignorance of a Greek, deſcribes the marquis of Montferrat as a *maritime* power. Λαμπαρδίαν δὲ οἰκειοῦται παράλιον. Was he deceived by the Byzantine theme of Lombardy, which extended along the coaſt of Calabria?

[4] They exacted an oath from Thomas Moroſini to appoint no canons of St. Sophia, the lawful electors, except Venetians who had lived ten years at Venice, etc. But the foreign clergy was envious, the pope diſapproved this national monopoly, and of the ſix Latin patriarchs of Conſtantinople, only the firſt and the laſt were Venetians.

[5] Nicetas, p. 383.

[6] The Epiſtles of Innocent III. are a rich fund for the eccleſiaſtical and civil inſtitution of the Latin empire of Conſtantinople; and the moſt important of theſe epiſtles (of which the collection in 2 vols. in folio, is published by Stephen Baluze) are inſerted in his Geſta, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. p. i. c. 94—105.

[7] In the treaty of partition, moſt of the names are corrupted by the ſcribes: they might be reſtored, and a good map ſuited to the laſt age of the Byzantine empire, would be an improvement of geography. But, alas! d'Anville is no more!

[8] Their ſtyle was dominus quartæ partis et dimidiæ imperii Romani, till Giovanni Dolfino who was elected doge in the year 1356. (Sanuto, p. 530. 641.). For the government of Conſtantinople, ſee Ducange, Hiſtoire de C. P. i. 37.

[9] Ducange (Hiſt. de C. P. ii. 6.) has marked the conqueſts made by the ſtate or nobles of Venice of the iſlands of Candia, Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Naxos, Paros, Melos, Andros, Mycone, Scyro, Cea, and Lemnos.

[10] Boniface ſold the iſle of Candia, Auguſt 12, A. D. 1204. See the act in Sanuto, p. 533.: but I cannot underſtand how it could be his mother's portion, or how she could be the daughter of an emperor Alexius.

[11] In the year 1212, the doge Peter Zani ſent a colony to Candia,

drawn from every quarter of Venice. But in their ſavage manners and frequent rebellions, the Candiots may be compared to the Corſicans under the yoke of Genoa: and when I compare the accounts of Belon and Tournefort, I cannot diſcern much difference between the Venetian and the Turkiſh Island.

[12] Villehardouin (N° 159, 160. 173—177.) and Nicetas (p. 387—394.) deſcribe the expedition into Greece of the marquis Boniface. The Choniate might derive his information from his brother Michael, archbiſhop of Athens, whom he paints as an orator, a ſtateſman, and a ſaint. His encomium of Athens, and the deſcription of Tempe, ſhould be published from the Bodleian MS. of Nicetas (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 405.), and would have deſerved Mr. Harris's inquiries.

[13] Napoli di Romania, or Nauplia, the ancient ſea-port of Argos, is ſtill a place of ſtrength and conſideration, ſituate on a rocky peninſula, with a good harbour (Chandler's Travels into Greece, p. 227.).

[14] I have ſoftened the expreſſion of Nicetas, who ſtrives to expoſe the preſumption of the Franks. See de Rebus poſt C. P. expugnatam, p. 375—384.

[15] A city ſurrounded by the river Hebrus, and ſix leagues to the ſouth of Adrianople, received from its double wall the Greek name of Didymoteichos, inſenſibly corrupted into Demotica and Dimot. I have preferred the more convenient and modern appellation of Demotica. This place was the laſt Turkiſh reſidence of Charles XII.

[16] Their quarrel is told by Villehardouin (N° 146—158.) with the ſpirit of freedom. The merit and reputation of the marſhal are acknowledged by the Greek hiſtorian (p. 387.), μεγα παρα τοις Λατινων δυναμενω στρατευμασι: unlike ſome modern heroes, whoſe exploits are only viſible in their own memoirs.

[17] See the fate of Mourzouſle, in Nicetas (p. 393.), Villehardouin (N° 141—145. 163.), and Guntherus (c. 20, 21.). Neither the marſhal nor the monk afford a grain of pity for a tyrant or rebel, whoſe puniſhment, however, was more unexampled than his crime.

[18] The column of Arcadius, which repreſents in baſſo-relievo his victories, or thoſe of his father Theodoſius, is ſtill extant at Conſtantinople. It is deſcribed and meaſured, Gyllius (Topograph. iv. 7.), Banduri (ad l. i. Antiquit. C. P. p. 507, etc.), and Tournefort (Voyage du Levant, tom. ii. lettre xii. p. 231.).

[19] The nonſenſe of Gunther and the modern Greeks concerning this *columna fatidica*, is unworthy of notice: but it is ſingular enough, that fifty years before the Latin conqueſt, the poet Tzetzes (Chiliad, ix. 277.) relates the dream of a matron, who ſaw an army in the forum,

and a man ſitting on the column, clapping his hands, and uttering a loud exclamation.

[20] The dynaſties of Nice, Trebizond, and Epirus (of which Nicetas ſaw the origin without much pleaſure or hope), are learnedly explored, and clearly repreſented, in the Familiæ Byzantinæ of Ducange.

[21] Except ſome facts in Pachymer and Nicephorus Gregoras, which will hereafter be uſed, the Byzantine writers diſdain to ſpeak of the empire of Trebizond, or principality of the *Lazi*; and among the Latins, it is conſpicuous only in the romances of the xivth or xvth centuries. Yet the indefatigable Ducange has dug out (Fam. Byz. p. 192.) two authentic paſſages in Vincent of Beauvais (l. xxxi. c. 144.), and the protonotary Ogerius (apud Wading, A. D. 1279. N° 4.).

[22] The portrait of the French Latins, is drawn in Nicetas by the hand of prejudice and reſentment: ηδεν των αλλων εθνων εις Αρεος εργα παρασυμβεβλησθαι ηνειχοντο, αλλ' ηδε τας των χαριτων η των μουσων παρα τοις βαρβαροις τυτοις επεξενιζετο, και παρα τυτο οιμαι την Φυσιν ησαν ανημεροι, και τον χολον ειχον τω λογω προτρεχοντα.

[23] I here begin to uſe, with freedom and confidence, the eight books of the Hiſtoire de C. P. ſous l'Empire des François, which Ducange has given as a ſupplement to Villehardouin; and which, in a barbarous ſtyle, deſerves the praiſe of an original and claſſic work.

[24] In Calo-John's anſwer to the pope, we may find his claims and complaints (Geſta Innocent. III. c. 108, 109.); he was cherished at Rome as the prodigal ſon.

[25] The Comans were a Tartar or Turkman hord, which encamped in the xiiith and xiiith centuries on the verge of Moldavia. The greater part were pagans, but ſome were Mahometans, and the whole hord was converted to Chriſtianity (A. D. 1370.) by Lewis king of Hungary.

[26] Nicetas, from ignorance or malice, imputes the defeat to the cowardice of Dandolo (p. 383.); but Villehardouin ſhares his own glory with his venerable friend, qui viels home ére et gote ne veoit, mais mult ére ſages et preus et vigueros (N° 193.).

[27] The truth of geography, and the original text of Villehardouin (N° 194.), place Rodoſto three days journey (trois jornées) from Adrianople; but Vigenere, in his verſion, has moſt abſurdly ſubſtituted *trois heures*; and this error, which is not corrected by Ducange, has entrapped ſeveral moderns, whoſe names I ſhall ſpare.

[28] The reign and end of Baldwin are related by Villehardouin and Nicetas (p. 386—416.): and their omiſſions are ſupplied by Ducange in his Obſervations, and to the end of his firſt book.

[29] After brushing away all doubtful and improbable circumſtances,

we may prove the death of Baldwin, 1. By the firm belief of the French barons (Villehardouin, N° 230.). 2. By the declaration of Calo-John himſelf, who excuſes his not releaſing the captive emperor, quia debitum carnis exſolverat cum carcere teneretur (Geſta Innocent. III. c. 109.).

[30] See the ſtory of this impoſtor from the French and Flemish writers in Ducange, Hiſt. de C. P. iii. 9. and the ridiculous fables that were believed by the monks of St. Alban's, in Matthew Paris, Hiſt. Major, p. 271, 272.

[31] Villehardouin, N° 257. I quote with regret, this lamentable concluſion, where we loſe at once the original hiſtory, and the rich illuſtrations of Ducange. The laſt pages may derive ſome light from Henry's two Epiſtles to Innocent III. (Geſta, c. 106, 107.).

[32] The marshal was alive in 1212, but he probably died ſoon afterwards, without returning to France (Ducange, Obſervations ſur Villehardouin, p. 238.). His fief of Meſſinople, the gift of Boniface, was the ancient Maximianopolis, which flouriſhed in the time of Ammianus Marcellinus, among the cities of Thrace (N° 141.).

[33] The church of this patron of Theſſalonica was ſerved by the canons of the holy ſepulchre, and contained a divine ointment which diſtilled daily and ſtupendous miracles (Ducange, Hiſt. de C. P. ii. 4.).

[34] Acropolita (c. 17.) obſerves the perſecution of the legate, and the toleration of Henry (Ἔρη as he calls him), χλυδωνα κατεχορεσε.

[35] See the reign of HENRY, in Ducange (Hiſt. de C. P. l. i. c. 35—41. l. ii. c. 1—22.), who is much indebted to the Epiſtles of the Popes. Le Beau (Hiſt. du Bas-Empire, tom. xxi. p. 120—122.) has found, perhaps in Doutreman, ſome laws of Henry, which determined the ſervice of fiefs, and the prerogatives of the emperor.

[36] Acropolita (c. 14.) affirms, that Peter of Courtenay died by the ſword (ἐργον μαχαιρας γενεσθαι): but from his dark expreſſions, I ſhould conclude a previous captivity, ὡς παντας αρδην δεσμωτας συν πασι σκευεσι. The Chronicle of Auxerre delays the emperor's death till the year 1219; and Auxerre is in the neighbourhood of Courtenay.

[37] See the reign and death of Peter of Courtenay, in Ducange (Hiſt. de C. P. l. ii. c. 22—28.), who feebly ſtrives to excuſe the neglect of the emperor by Honorius III.

[38] Marinus Sanutus (Secreta Fidelium Crucis, l. ii. p. iv. c. 18. p. 73.) is ſo much delighted with this bloody deed, that he has tranſcribed it in his margin as a bonum exemplum. Yet he acknowledges the damſel for the lawful wife of Robert.

[39] See the reign of Robert, in Ducange (Hiſt. de C. P. l. iii. c. 1—12.).

[40] Rex igitur Francie, deliberatione habitâ reſpondit nuntiis, ſe daturum hominem Syrie partibus aptum; in armis probum (*preux*), in bellis ſecurum, in agendis providum, Johannem comitem Brennenſem. Sanut. Secret. Fidelium, l. iii. p. xi. c. 4. p. 205. Matthew Paris, p. 159.

[41] Giannone (Iſtoria Civile, tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 380—385.) diſcuſſes the marriage of Frederic II. with the daughter of John of Brienne, and the double union of the crowns of Naples and Jeruſalem.

[42] Acropolita, c. 27. The hiſtorian was at that time a boy, and educated at Conſtantinople. In 1233, when he was eleven years old, his father broke the Latin chain, left a ſplendid fortune, and eſcaped to the Greek court of Nice, where his ſon was raiſed to the higheſt honours.

[43] Philip Mouskes, biſhop of Tournay (A. D. 1274—1282), has compoſed a poem, or rather a ſtring of verſes, in bad old Flemiſh French, on the Latin emperors of Conſtantinople, which Ducange has published at the end of Villehardouin; ſee p. 224. for the proweſs of John of Brienne.

N'Aie, Ector, Roll' ne Ogiers
Ne Judas Machabeus li fiers
Tant ne fit d'armes en eſtors
Com fiſt li Rois Jehans cel jors
Et il defors et il dedans
La paru ſa force et ſes ſens
Et li hardiment qu'il avoit.

[44] See the reign of John de Brienne, in Ducange, Hiſt. de C. P. l. iii. c. 13—26.

[45] See the reign of Baldwin II. till his expulſion from Conſtantinople, in Ducange, Hiſt. de C. P. l. iv. c. 1—34. the end l. v. c. 1—33.

[46] Matthew Paris relates the two viſits of Baldwin II. to the English court, p. 396. 637.: his return to Greece armatâ manû, p. 407.: his letters of his nomen formidabile, etc. p. 481. (a paſſage which had eſcaped Ducange): his expulſion, p. 850.

[47] Louis IX. diſapproved and ſtopped the alienation of Courtenay (Ducange, l. iv. c. 23.). It is now annexed to the royal demeſne, but granted for a term (*engagé*) to the family of Boulainvilliers. Courtenay, in the election of Nemours in the Iſle de France, is a town of 900 inhabitants with the remains of a caſtle (Mélanges tirés d'une grand Bibliothéque, tom. xlv. p. 74—77.

[48] Joinville, p. 104. edit. du Louvre. A Coman prince, who died

without baptiſm, was buried at the gates of Conſtantinople with a live retinue of ſlaves and horſes.

[49] Sanut. Secret. Fidel. Crucis, l. ii. p. iv. c. 18. p. 73.

[50] Under the words, *Perparus*, *Perpera*, *Hyperperum*, Ducange is ſhort and vague: Monetæ genus. From a corrupt paſſage of Guntherus (Hiſt. C. P. c. 8. p. 10.), I gueſs, that the Perpera was the nummus aureus, the fourth part of a mark of ſilver, or about ten ſhillings ſterling in value. In lead, it would be too contemptible.

[51] For the tranſlation of the holy crown, etc. from Conſtantinople to Paris, ſee Ducange (Hiſt. de C. P. l. iv. c. 11—14. 24. 35.) and Fleury (Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xvii. p. 201—204.).

[52] Mélanges tirés d'une grande Bibliothéque, tom. xliii. p. 201—205. The Lutrin of Boileau exhibits the inſide, the ſoul and manners of the *Sainte Chapelle*; and many facts relative to the inſtitution are collected and explained by his commentators, Broſſette and de St. Marc.

[53] It was performed A. D. 1656. March 24. on the niece of Paſcal; and that ſuperior genius, with Arnauld, Nicole, etc. were on the ſpot to believe and atteſt a miracle which confounded the Jeſuits, and ſaved Port Royal (Oeuvres de Racine, tom. vi. p. 176—187. in his eloquent Hiſtory of Port Royal.).

[54] Voltaire (Siècle de Louis XIV. c. 37. Oeuvres, tom. ix. p. 178, 179.) ſtrives to invalidate the fact: but Hume (Eſſays, vol. ii. p. 483, 484), with more ſkill and ſucceſs, ſeizes the battery, and turns the cannon againſt his enemies.

[55] The gradual loſſes of the Latins may be traced in the third, fourth, and fifth books of the compilation of Ducange: but of the Greek conqueſts he has dropped many circumſtances, which may be recovered from the larger hiſtory of George Acropolita, and the three firſt books of Nicephorus Gregoras, two writers of the Byzantine ſeries, who have had the good fortune to meet with learned editors, Leo Allatius at Rome, and John Boivin in the Academy of Inſcriptions of Paris.

[56] George Acropolita, c. 78. p. 89, 90. edit. Paris.

[57] The Greeks, aſhamed of any foreign aid, diſguiſe the alliance and ſuccour of the Genoeſe; but the fact is proved by the teſtimony of J. Villani (Chron. l. vi. c. 71. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xiii. p. 202, 203.) and William de Nangis (Annales de St. Louis, p. 248. in the Louvre Joinville), two impartial foreigners; and Urban IV. threatened to deprive Genoa of her archbiſhop.

[58] Some precautions muſt be uſed in reconciling the diſcordant numbers; the 800 ſoldiers of Nicetas, the 25,000 of Spandugino

(apud Ducange, l. v. c. 24.); the Greeks and Scythians of Acropolita, and the numerous army of Michael, in the Epiſtles of Pope Urban IV. (i. 129.).

[59] Θεληματαριοι. They are deſcribed and named by Pachymer (l. ii. c. 14.).

[60] It is needleſs to ſeek theſe Comans in the deſerts of Tartary, or even of Moldavia. A part of the hord had ſubmitted to John Vataces, and was probably ſettled as a nurſery of ſoldiers on ſome waſte lands of Thrace (Cantacuzen, l. i. c. 2.).

[61] The loſs of Conſtantinople is briefly told by the Latins: the conqueſt is deſcribed with more ſatisfaction by the Greeks; by Acropolita (c. 85.), Pachymer (l. ii. c. 26, 27.), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. iv. c. 1, 2.). See Ducange, Hiſt. de C. P. l. v. c. 19—27.

[62] See the three laſt books (l. v—viii.), and the genealogical tables of Ducange. In the year 1382, the titular emperor of Conſtantinople was James de Baux, duke of Andria in the kingdom of Naples, the ſon of Margaret, daughter of Catherine de Valois, daughter of Catherine, daughter of Philip, ſon of Baldwin II. (Ducange, l. viii. c. 37, 38.). It is uncertain whether he left any poſterity.

[63] Abulfeda, who ſaw the concluſion of the cruſades, ſpeaks of the kingdoms of the Franks, and thoſe of the Negroes, as equally unknown (Prolegom. ad Geograph.). Had he not diſdained the Latin language, how eaſily might the Syrian prince have found books and interpreters?

[64] A ſhort and ſuperficial account of theſe verſions from Latin into Greek, is given by Huet (de Interpretatione et de claris Interpretibus, p. 131—135.). Maximus Planudes, a monk of Conſtantinople (A. D. 1327—1353.), has tranſlated Cæſar's Commentaries, the Somnium Scipionis, the Metamorphoſes and Heroïdes of Ovid, etc. (Fabric. Bibl. Græc. tom. x. p. 533.).

[65] Windmills, firſt invented in the dry country of Aſia Minor, were uſed in Normandy as early as the year 1105. (Vie privée des François, tom. i. p. 42, 43. Ducange, Gloſſ. Latin. tom. iv. p. 474.).

[66] See the complaints of Roger Bacon (Biographia Britannica, vol. i. p. 418. Kippis's edition). If Bacon himſelf, or Gerbert, underſtood *ſome* Greeks, they were prodigies, and owed nothing to the commerce of the Eaſt.

[67] Such was the opinion of the great Leibnitz (Oeuvres de Fontenelle, tom. v. p. 458.), a maſter of the hiſtory of the middle ages. I ſhall only inſtance the pedigree of the Carmelites, and the flight of the houſe of Loretto; which were both derived from Paleſtine.

[68] If I rank the Saracens with the Barbarians, it is only relative to

their wars, or rather inroads, in Italy and France, where their ſole purpoſe was to plunder and deſtroy.

[69] On this intereſting ſubject, the progreſs of ſociety in Europe, a ſtrong ray of philoſophic light has broke from Scotland in our own times; and it is with private, as well as public regard, that I repeat the names of Hume, Robertſon, and Adam Smith.

[70] I have applied, but not confined, myſelf to *A genealogical Hiſtory of the noble and illuſtrious Family of Courtenay, by Exra Cleaveland, Tutor to Sir William Courtenay, and Rector of Honiton; Exon.* 1735. *in folio.* The firſt part is extracted from William of Tyre, the ſecond from Bouchet's French hiſtory; and the third from various memorials, public, provincial, and private, of the Courtenays of Devonſhire. The rector of Honiton has more gratitude, than induſtry, and more induſtry than criticiſm.

[71] The primitive record of the family, is a paſſage of the continuator of Aimoin, a monk of Fleury, who wrote in the xiith century. See his Chronicle, in the Hiſtorians of France (tom. xi. p. 276.).

[72] Turbeſſel, or as it is now ſtyled Telbesher, is fixed by d'Anville four-and-twenty miles from the great paſſage over the Euphrates at Zeugma.

[73] His poſſeſſions are diſtinguished in the Aſſizes of Jeruſalem (c. 326.) among the feudal tenures of the kingdom, which muſt therefore have been collected between the years 1153 and 1187. His pedigree may be found in the Lignages d'Outremer, c. 16.

[74] The rapine and ſatisfaction of Reginald de Courtenay, are prepoſterouſly arranged in the Epiſtles of the abbot and regent Suger (cxiv. cxvi.), the beſt memorials of the age (Ducheſne, Scriptores Hiſt. Franc. tom. iv. p. 530.).

[75] In the beginning of the xith century, after naming the father and grandfather of Hugh Capet, the monk Glaber is obliged to add, cujus genus valde in-ante reperitur obſcurum. Yet we are aſſured that the great grandfather of Hugh Capet was Robert the Strong, count of Anjou (A. D. 863—873.), a noble Frank of Neuſtria, Neuſtricus generoſæ ſtirpis, who was ſlain in the defence of his country againſt the Normans, dum patriæ fines tuebatur. Beyond Robert, all is conjecture or fable. It is a probable conjecture, that the third race deſcended from the ſecond by Childebrand, the brother of Charles Martel. It is an abſurd fable, that the ſecond was allied to the firſt by the marriage of Anſbert, a Roman ſenator and the anceſtor of St. Arnoul, with Blitilde, a daughter of Clotaire I. The Saxon origin of the houſe of France is an ancient but incredible opinion. See a judicious memoir of M. de Foncemagne (Mémoires de

l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xx. p. 548—579.). He had promiſed to declare his own opinion in a ſecond memoir, which has never appeared.

[76] Of the various petitions, apologies, etc. published by the *princes* of Courtenay, I have ſeen the three following, all in octavo: 1. De Stirpe et Origine Domûs de Courtenay: addita ſunt Reſponſa celeberrimorum Europæ Juriſconſultorum: Paris, 1607. 2. Repreſentation du Procedé tenû a l'inſtance faicte devant le Roi, par Meſſieurs de Courtenay, pour la conſervation de l'Honneur et Dignité de leur Maiſon, branche de la royalle Maiſon de France: à Paris, 1613. 3. Repreſentation du ſubject qui a porté Meſſieurs de Salles et de Fraville, de la Maiſon de Courtenays, à ſe retirer hors du Royaume, 1614. It was an homicide, for which the Courtenays expected to be pardoned, or tried, as princes of the blood.

[77] The ſenſe of the parliaments is thus expreſſed by Thuanus: Principis nomen nuſquam in Gallia tributum, niſi iis qui per mares e regibus noſtris originem repetunt: qui nunc tantum a Ludovico nono beatæ memoriæ numerantur: nam *Cortinæi* et Drocenſes, a Ludovico craſſo genus ducentes, hodie inter eos minime recenſentur. A diſtinction of expediency, rather than juſtice. The ſanctity of Louis IX. could not inveſt him with any ſpecial prerogative, and all the deſcendants of Hugh Capet muſt be included in his original compact with the French nation.

[78] The laſt male of the Courtenays was Charles Roger, who died in the year 1730, without leaving any ſons. The laſt female was Helene de Courtenay, who married Louis de Beaufremont. Her title of Princeſſe du Sang Royal de France, was ſuppreſſed (February 7th, 1737) by an *arrêt* of the parliament of Paris.

[79] The ſingular anecdote to which I allude, is related in the Recueil des Pièces intereſſantes et peu connues (Maeſtricht, 1786, in 4 vols, 12mo); and the unknown editor quotes his author, who had received it from Helene de Courtenay, marquiſe de Beaufremont.

[80] Dugdale, Monaſticon Anglicanum, vol. i. p. 786. Yet this fable muſt have been invented before the reign of Edward III. The profuſe devotion of the three firſt generations to Ford Abbey, was followed by oppreſſion on one ſide and ingratitude on the other; and in the ſixth generation, the monks ceaſed to regiſter the births, actions, and deaths of their patrons.

[81] In his Britannia, in the liſt of the earls of Devonshire. His expreſſion, e regio ſanguine ortos credunt, betrays however ſome doubt or ſuſpicion.

[82] In his Baronage, P. i. p. 634. he refers to his own Monaſticon.

Should he not have corrected the regiſter of Ford abbey, and annihilated the phantom Florus, by the unqueſtionable evidence of the French hiſtorians?

[83] Beſides the third and moſt valuable book of Cleaveland's Hiſtory, I have conſulted Dugdale, the father of our genealogical ſcience (Baronage, p. i. p. 634—643.).

[84] This great family, de Ripuariis, de Redvers, de Rivers, ended, in Edward the Firſt's time, in Iſabella de Fortibus, a famous and potent dowager, who long ſurvived her brother and husband (Dugdale, Baronage, p. i. p. 254—257.).

[85] Cleaveland, p. 142. By ſome, it is aſſigned to a Rivers earl of Devon: but the English denotes the xvth, rather than the xiiith, century.

[86] *Ubi lapſus! Quid feci?* a motto which was probably adopted by the Powderham branch, after the loſs of the earldom of Devonshire, etc. The primitive arms of the Courtenays were, *or, three torteaux, gules*, which ſeem to denote their affinity with Godfrey of Bouillon, and the ancient counts of Boulogne.

CHAP. LXII.

[1] For the reigns of the Nicene emperors, more eſpecially of John Vataces and his ſon, their miniſter, George Acropolita, is the only genuine contemporary: but George Pachymer returned to Conſtantinople with the Greeks, at the age of nineteen (Hanckius, de Script. Byzant. c. 33, 34. p. 564—578. Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 448—460.). Yet the hiſtory of Nicephorus Gregoras, though of the xivth century, is a valuable narrative from the taking of Conſtantinople by the Latins.

[2] Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ii. c. 1.) diſtinguiſhes between the ὀξεια ὁρμη of Laſcaris, and the ευραθεια of Vataces. The two portraits are in a very good ſtyle.

[3] Pachymer, l. i. c. 23, 24. Nic. Greg. l. ii. c. 6. The reader of the Byzantines muſt obſerve how rarely we are indulged with ſuch precious details.

[4] Μονοι γαρ ἁπαντων ανθρωπων ονομαζοτατοι βασιλευς και Φιλοσοφος (Greg. Acropol. c. 32.). The emperor, in a familiar converſation, examined and encouraged the ſtudies of his future logothete.

[5] Compare Acropolita (c. 18. 52.), and the two firſt books of Nicephorus Gregoras.

[6] A Perſian ſaying, that Cyrus was the *father*, and Darius the *maſter*, of his ſubjects, was applied to Vataces and his ſon. But Pachymer

(l. i. c. 23.) has miſtaken the mild Darius for the cruel Cambyſes, deſpot or tyrant of his people. By the inſtitution of taxes, Darius had incurred the leſs odious, but more contemptible, name of Καπηλος, merchant or broker (Herodotus, iii. 89.).

[7] Acropolita (c. 63.) ſeems to admire his own firmneſs in ſuſtaining a beating, and not returning to council till he was called. He relates the exploits of Theodore, and his own ſervices, from c. 53. to c. 74. of his hiſtory. See the third book of Nicephorus Gregoras.

[8] Pachymer (l. i. c. 21.) names and diſcriminates fifteen or twenty Greek families, και ὅσοι ἀλλοι, οἷς ἡ μεγαλογενης σειρα και χρυση συγκεκροτητο. Does he mean, by this decoration, a figurative, or a real golden chain? Perhaps, both.

[9] The old geographers, with Cellarius and d'Anville, and our travellers, particularly Pocock and Chandler, will teach us to diſtinguiſh the two Magneſias of Aſia Minor, of the Mæander and of Sipylus. The latter, our preſent object, is ſtill flouriſhing for a Turkiſh city, and lies eight hours, or leagues, to the north-eaſt of Smyrna (Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, tom. iii. lettre xxii. p. 365—370. Chandler's Travels into Aſia Minor, p. 267.).

[10] See Acropolita (c. 75, 76, etc.), who lived too near the times; Pachymer (l. i. c. 13—25.), Gregoras (l. iii. c. 3, 4, 5.).

[11] The pedigree of Palæologus is explained by Ducange (Famil. Byzant. p. 230, etc.): the events of his private life are related by Pachymer (l. i. c. 7—12.) and Gregoras (l. ii. 8. l. iii. 2. 4. l. iv. 1.), with viſible favour to the father of the reigning dynaſty.

[12] Acropolita (c. 50.) relates the circumſtances of this curious adventure, which ſeem to have eſcaped the more recent writers.

[13] Pachymer (l. i. c. 12.), who ſpeaks with proper contempt of this barbarous trial, affirms, that he had ſeen in his youth many perſons who had ſuſtained, without injury, the fiery ordeal. As a Greek, he is credulous; but the ingenuity of the Greeks might furniſh ſome remedies of art or fraud againſt their own ſuperſtition, or that of their tyrant.

[14] Without comparing Pachymer to Thucydides or Taciſtus, I will praiſe his narrative (l. i. c. 13—32. l. ii. c. 1—9.), which purſues the aſcent of Palæologus with eloquence, perſpicuity, and tolerable freedom. Acropolita is more cautious, and Gregoras more conciſe.

[15] The judicial combat was abolished by St. Louis in his own territories; and his example and authority were at length prevalent in France (Eſprit des Loix, l. xxviii. c. 29.).

[16] In civil caſes Henry II. gave an option to the defendant: Glanville prefers the proof by evidence, and that by judicial combat is reprobated

in the Fleta. Yet the trial by battle has never been abrogated in the English law, and it was ordered by the judges as late as the beginning of the laſt century.

[17] Yet an ingenious friend has urged to me in mitigation of this practice, 1. *That* in nations emerging from barbariſm, it moderates the licence of private war and arbitrary revenge. 2. *That* it is leſs abſurd than the trials by the ordeal, or boiling water, or the croſs, which it has contributed to abolish. 3. *That* it ſerved at leaſt as a teſt of perſonal courage; a quality ſo ſeldom united with a baſe diſpoſition, that the danger of the trial might be ſome check to a malicious proſecutor, and an uſeful barrier againſt injuſtice ſupported by power. The gallant and unfortunate earl of Surrey might probably have eſcaped his unmerited fate, had not his demand of the combat againſt his accuſer been over-ruled.

[18] The ſite of Nymphæum is not clearly defined in ancient or modern geography. But from the laſt hours of Vataces (Acropolita, c. 52.), it is evident the palace and gardens of his favourite reſidence were in the neighbourhood of Smyrna. Nymphæum might be looſely placed in Lydia (Gregoras, l. vi. 6.).

[19] This ſceptre, the emblem of juſtice and power, was a long ſtaff, ſuch as was uſed by the heroes in Homer. By the latter Greeks it was named *Dicanice*, and the Imperial ſceptre was diſtinguished as uſual by the red or purple colour.

[20] Acropolita affirms (c. 87.), that this bonnet was after the French fashion; but from the ruby at the point or ſummit, Ducange (Hiſt. de C. P. l. v. c. 28, 29.) believes that it was the high-crowned hat of the Greeks. Could Acropolita miſtake the dreſs of his own court?

[21] See Pachymer (l. ii. c. 28—33.), Acropolita (c. 88.), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. iv. 7.), and for the treatment of the ſubject Latins, Ducange (l. v. c. 30, 31.).

[22] This milder invention for extinguiſhing the ſight, was tried by the philoſopher Democritus on himſelf, when he fought to withdraw his mind from the viſible world: a foolish ſtory! The word *abbacinare*, in Latin and Italian, has furniſhed Ducange (Gloſſ. Latin.) with an opportunity to review the various modes of blinding: the more violent were ſcooping, burning with an iron, or hot vinegar, and binding the head with a ſtrong cord till the eyes burſt from their ſockets. Ingenious tyrants!

[23] See the firſt retreat and reſtoration of Arſenius, in Pachymer (l. ii. c. 15. l. iii. c. 1, 2.), and Nicephorus Gregoras (l. iii. c. 1. l. iv. c. 1.). Poſterity juſtly accuſed the ἀφέλεια and ῥαθυμία of Arſenius, the virtues of an hermit, the vices of a miniſter (l. xii. c. 2.).

[24] The

[24] The crime and excommunication of Michael are fairly told by Pachymer (l. iii. c. 10. 14 19, etc) and Gregoras (l. iv. c. 4.). His confeſſion and penance reſtored their freedom.

[25] Pachymer relates the exile of Arſenius (l. iv. c. 1—16.): he was one of the commiſſaries who viſited him in the deſert iſland. The laſt teſtament of the unforgiving patriarch is ſtill extant (Dupin, Bibliothéque Eccléſiaſtique, tom. x. p. 95.).

[26] Pachymer (l. vii. c. 22.) relates this miraculous trial like a philoſopher, and treats with ſimilar contempt a plot of the Arſenites, to hide a revelation in the coffin of ſome old ſaint (l. vii. c. 13.). He compenſates this incredulity by an image that weeps, another that bleeds (l. vii. c. 30.), and the miraculous cures of a deaf and a mute patient (l. xi. c. 32.).

[27] The ſtory of the Arſenites is ſpread through the thirteen books of Pachymer. Their union and triumph are reſerved for Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vii. 9.), who neither loves nor eſteems theſe ſectaries.

[28] Of the xiii books of Pachymer, the firſt ſix (as the ivth and vth of Nicephorus Gregoras) contain the reign of Michael, at the time of whoſe death he was forty years of age. Inſtead of breaking, like his editor the Père Pouſſin, his hiſtory into two parts, I follow Ducange and Couſin, who number the xiii books in one ſeries.

[29] Ducange, Hiſt. de C. P. l. v. c. 33, etc. from the Epiſtles of Urban IV.

[30] From their mercantile intercourſe with the Venetians and Genoeſe, they branded the Latins as καπηλοι and βανανσοι (Pachymer, l. v. c. 10.). "Some are heretics in name; others, like the Latins, in "fact," ſaid the learned Veccus (l. v. c. 12.); who ſoon afterwards became a convert (c. 15, 16.) and a patriarch (c. 24.).

[31] In this claſs, we may place Pachymer himſelf; whoſe copious and candid narrative occupies the vth and vith books of his hiſtory. Yet the Greek is ſilent on the council of Lyons, and ſeems to believe that the popes always reſided in Rome and Italy (l. v. c. 17. 21.).

[32] See the acts of the council of Lyons in the year 1274. Fleury, Hiſt. Eccléſiaſtique, tom. xviii. p. 181—199. Dupin, Bibliot. Eccleſ. tom. x. p. 135.

[33] This curious inſtruction; which has been drawn with more or leſs honeſty by Wading and Leo Allatius from the archives of the Vatican, is given in an abſtract or verſion by Fleury (tom. xviii. p. 252—258.).

[34] This frank and authentic confeſſion of Michael's diſtreſs, is exhibited in barbarous Latin by Oyerius, who ſigns himſelf Protonotarius Interpretum, and tranſcribed by Wading from the MSS. of the Vatican

(A. D. 1278. N° 3.). His Annals of the Franciſcan order, the Fratres Minores, in xvii volumes in folio (Rome, 1741.), I have now accidentally ſeen among the waſte paper of a bookſeller.

35 See the vith book of Pachymer, particularly the chapters, I. II. 16. 18. 24—27. He is the more credible, as he ſpeaks of this perſecution with leſs anger than ſorrow.

36 Pachymer, l. vii. c. 1—11. 17. The ſpeech of Andronicus the elder (l. xii. c. 2.) is a curious record, which proves, that if the Greeks were the ſlaves of the emperor, the emperor was not leſs the ſlave of ſuperſtition and the clergy.

37 The beſt accounts, the neareſt the time, the moſt full and entertaining, of the conqueſt of Naples by Charles of Anjou, may be found in the Florentine Chronicles of Ricordano Malaſpina (c. 175—193.) and Giovanni Villani (l. vii. c. 1—10. 25—30.), which are publiſhed by Muratori in the viiith and xiiith volumes of the hiſtorians of Italy. In his Annals (tom. xi. p. 56—72.), he has abridged theſe great events, which are likewiſe deſcribed in the Iſtoria Civile of Giannone, tom. ii. l. xix. tom. iii. l. xx.

38 Ducange, Hiſt. de C. P. l. v. c. 49—56. l. vi. c. 1—13. See Pachymer, l. iv. c. 29. l. v. c. 7—10. 25. l. vi. c. 30. 32, 33. and Nicephorus Gregoras, l. iv. 5. l. v. 1. 6.

39 The reader of Herodotus will recollect how miraculouſly the Aſſyrian hoſt of Sennacherib was diſarmed and deſtroyed (l. ii. c. 141.).

40 According to Sabas Malaſpina (Hiſt. Sicula, l. iii. c. 16. in Muratori, tom. viii. p. 832.), a zealous Guelph, the ſubjects of Charles, who had reviled Mainfroy as a wolf, began to regret him as a lamb, and he juſtifies their diſcontent by the oppreſſions of the French government (l. vi. c. 2. 7.). See the Sicilian manifeſto in Nicholas Specialis (l. i. c. 11. in Muratori, tom. x. p. 930.).

41 See the character and counſels of Peter king of Arragon, in Mariana (Hiſt. Hiſpan. l. xiv. c. 6. tom. ii. p. 133.). The reader forgives the Jeſuit's defects, in favour, always of his ſtyle, and often of his ſenſe.

42 After enumerating the ſufferings of his country, Nicholas Specialis adds, in the true ſpirit of Italian jealouſy, Quæ omnia et graviora quidem, ut arbitror, patienti animo Siculi toleraſſent, niſi (quod primum cunctis dominantibus cavendum eſt), alienas fœminas invaſiſſent (l. i. c. 2. p. 924.).

43 The French were long taught to remember this bloody leſſon: "If I am provoked (ſaid Henry the fourth), I will breakfaſt at Milan, "and dine at Naples. Your majeſty (replied the Spaniſh ambaſſador) "may perhaps arrive in Sicily for veſpers."

[44] This revolt, with the ſubſequent victory, are related by two national writers, Bartholemy à Neocaſtro (in Muratori, tom. xiii.) and Nicholas Specialis (in Muratori, tom. x.), the one a contemporary, the other of the next century. The patriot Specialis diſclaims the name of rebellion, and all previous correſpondence with Peter of Arragon (nullo communicato conſilio), who *happened* to be with a fleet and army on the African coaſt (l. i. c. 4. 9.).

[45] Nicephorus Gregoras (l. v. c. 6.) admires the wiſdom of Providence in this equal balance of ſtates and princes. For the honour of Palæologus, I had rather this balance had been obſerved by an Italian writer.

[46] See the Chronicle of Villani, the xith volume of the Annali d'Italia of Muratori, and the xxth and xxiſt books of the Iſtoria Civile of Giannone.

[47] In this motley multitude, the Catalans and Spaniards, the braveſt of the ſoldiery, were ſtyled, by themſelves and the Greeks, *Amogavares*. Moncada derives their origin from the Goths, and Pachymer (l. xi. c. 22.) from the Arabs; and in ſpite of national and religious pride, I am afraid the latter is in the right.

[48] Some idea may be formed of the population of theſe cities, from the 36,000 inhabitants of Tralles, which, in the preceding reign, was rebuilt by the emperor, and ruined by the Turks (Pachymer, l. vi. c. 20, 21.).

[49] I have collected theſe pecuniary circumſtances from Pachymer (l. xi. c. 21. l. xii. c. 4, 5. 8. 14. 19.), who deſcribes the progreſſive degradation of the gold coin. Even in the proſperous times of John Ducas Vataces, the byzants were compoſed in equal proportions of the pure and the baſer metal. The poverty of Michael Palæologus compelled him to ſtrike a new coin, with nine parts, or carats, of gold, and fifteen of copper alloy. After his death, the ſtandard roſe to ten carats, till in the public diſtreſs it was reduced to the moiety. The prince was relieved for a moment, while credit and commerce were for ever blaſted. In France, the gold coin is of twenty-two carats (one twelfth alloy), and the ſtandard of England and Holland is ſtill higher.

[50] The Catalan war is moſt copiouſly related by Pachymer, in the xith, xiith, and xiiith books, till he breaks off in the year 1308. Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vii. 3—6.) is more conciſe and complete. Ducange, who adopts theſe adventurers as French, has hunted their footſteps with his uſual diligence (Hiſt. de C. P. l. vi. c. 22—46.). He quotes an Arragoneſe hiſtory, which I have read with pleaſure, and which the Spaniards extol as a model of ſtyle and compoſition

(Expedicion de los Catalanos y Arragoneſes contra los Turcos y Griegos, Barcelona, 1623, in quarto; Madrid, 1777, in octavo.) Don Franciſco de Moncada, Conde de Oſona, may imitate Cæſar or Salluſt; he may tranſcribe the Greek or Italian contemporaries: but he never quotes his authorities, and I cannot diſcern any national records of the exploits of his countrymen.

[51] See the laborious hiſtory of Ducange, whoſe accurate table of the French dynaſties, recapitulates the thirty-five paſſages in which he mentions the dukes of Athens.

[52] He is twice mentioned by Villehardouin with honour (N° 151. 235.); and under the firſt paſſage, Ducange obſerves all that can be known of his perſon and family.

[53] From theſe Latin princes of the xivth century, Boccace, Chaucer, and Shakeſpeare, have borrowed their Theſeus *duke* of Athens. An ignorant age transfers its own language and manners to the moſt diſtant times.

[54] The ſame Conſtantine gave to Sicily a king, to Ruſſia the *magnus dapifer* of the empire, to Thebes the *primicerius*: and theſe abſurd fables are properly laſhed by Ducange (ad Nicephor. Greg. l. vii. c. 5.). By the Latins, the Lord of Thebes was ſtyled by corruption the Megas Kurios, or Grand Sire!

[55] *Quodam miraculo*, ſays Alberic. He was probably received by Michael Choniates, the archbiſhop who had defended Athens againſt the tyrant Leo Sgurus (Nicetas in Baldwino.) Michael was the brother of the hiſtorian Nicetas; and his encomium of Athens is ſtill extant in MS. in the Bodleian library (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 405.).

[56] The modern account of Athens, and the Athenians, is extracted from Spon (Voyage en Grèce, tom. ii. p. 79—190.) and Wheeler (Travels into Greece, p. 337—414.), Stuart (Antiquities of Athens, paſſim) and Chandler (Travels into Greece, p. 23—172.). The firſt of theſe travellers viſited Greece in the year 1676, the laſt 1765; and ninety years had not produced much difference in the tranquil ſcene.

[57] The ancients, or at leaſt the Athenians, believed that all the bees in the world had been propagated from mount Hymettus. They taught, that health might be preſerved, and life prolonged, by the external uſe of oil, and the internal uſe of honey (Geoponica, l. xv. c. 7. p. 1089—1094. edit. Niclas.)

[58] Ducange, Gloſſar. Græc. Præfat. p. 8. who quotes for his author Theodoſius Zygomalas, a modern grammarian. Yet Spon (tom. ii.

p. 194.) and Wheeler (p. 355.), no incompetent judges, entertain a more favourable opinion of the Attic dialect.

[59] Yet we muſt not accuſe them of corrupting the name of Athens, which they ſtill call Athini. From the εις την Αθηνην, we have formed our own barbariſm of *Setines*.

CHAP. LXIII.

[1] Andronicus himſelf will juſtify our freedom in the invective (Nicephorus Gregoras, l. i. c. 1.), which he pronounced againſt hiſtoric falſehood. It is true, that his cenſure is more pointedly urged againſt calumny than againſt adulation.

[2] For the anathema in the pigeon's neſt, ſee Pachymer (l. ix. c. 24.), who relates the general hiſtory of Athanaſius (l. viii. c. 13—16. 20—24. l. x. c. 27—29. 31—36. l. xi. c. 1—3. 5, 6. l. xiii. c. 8. 10. 23. 35.), and is followed by Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vi. 5. 7. l. vii. c. 1. 9.), who includes the ſecond retreat of this ſecond Chryſoſtom.

[3] Pachymer, in ſeven books, 377 folio pages, deſcribes the firſt twenty-ſix years of Andronicus the Elder; and marks the date of his compoſition by the current news or lye of the day (A. D. 1308.). Either death or diſguſt prevented him from reſuming the pen.

[4] After an interval of twelve years, from the concluſion of Pachymer, Cantacuzenus takes up the pen; and his firſt book (c. 6—59. p. 9—150.) relates the civil war, and the eight laſt years of the elder Andronicus. The ingenious compariſon with Moſes and Cæſar, is fancied by his French tranſlator, the preſident Couſin.

[5] Nicephorus Gregoras more briefly includes the entire life and reign of Andronicus the Elder (l. vi. c. 1—l. x. c. 1. p. 96—291.). This is the part of which Cantacuzene complains as a falſe and malicious repreſentation of his conduct.

[6] He was crowned May 21ſt, 1295, and died October 12th, 1320. (Ducange, Fam. Byz. p. 239.). His brother Theodore, by a ſecond marriage, inherited the marquiſate of Montferrat, apoſtatized to the religion and manners of the Latins (ὁτι και γνωμη και πιστει και σχηματι, και γενειων κομῃ και πασιν εθεσι Λατινος ην ακριβως. Nic. Greg. l. ix. c. 1.), and founded a dynaſty of Italian princes, which was extinguiſhed A. D. 1533. (Ducange, Fam. Byz. p. 249—253.).

[7] We are indebted to Nicephorus Gregoras (l. viii. c. 1.) for the knowledge of this tragic adventure; while Cantacuzene more diſcreetly conceals the vices of Andronicus the younger, of which he was the witneſs, and perhaps the aſſociate (l. i. c. 1, etc.).

[8] His deſtined heir was Michael Catharus, the baſtard of Conſtantine his ſecond ſon. In this project of excluding his grandſon Andronicus, Nicephorus Gregoras (l. viii. c. 3.) agrees with Cantacuzene (l. i. c. 1, 2.).

[9] See Nicephorus Gregoras, l. viii. c. 6. The younger Andronicus complained, that in four years and four months, a ſum of 350,000 byzants of gold was due to him for the expences of his houſehold (Cantacuzen. l. i. c. 48.). Yet he would have remitted the debt, if he might have been allowed to ſqueeze the farmers of the revenue.

[10] I follow the chronology of Nicephorus Gregoras, who is remarkably exact. It is proved, that Cantacuzene has miſtaken the dates of his own actions, or rather that his text has been corrupted by ignorant tranſcribers.

[11] I have endeavoured to reconcile the 24,000 pieces of Cantacuzene (l. ii. c. 1.) with the 10,000 of Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ix. c. 2.); the one of whom wished to ſoften, the other to magnify, the hardships of the old emperors.

[12] See Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ix. c. 6, 7, 8. 10. 14. l. x. c. 1.). The hiſtorian had taſted of the proſperity, and ſhared the retreat, of his benefactor; and that friendſhip, which "waits or to the ſcaffold or "the cell," ſhould not lightly be accuſed as "a hireling, a proſtitute "to praiſe."

[13] The ſole reign of Andronicus the younger is deſcribed by Cantacuzene (l. ii. c. 1—40. p. 191—339.) and Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ix. c. 7—l. xi. c. 11. p. 262—361.).

[14] Agnes, or Irene, was the daughter of duke Henry the Wonderful, the chief of the houſe of Brunſwick, and the fourth in deſcent from the famous Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, and conqueror of the Slavi on the Baltic coaſt. Her brother Henry was ſurnamed the *Greek*, from his two journies into the Eaſt: but theſe journies were ſubſequent to his ſiſter's marriage; and I am ignorant *how* Agnes was diſcovered in the heart of Germany, and recommended to the Byzantine court (Rimius, Mémoires of the Houſe of Brunſwick, p. 126—127.).

[15] Henry the Wonderful was the founder of the branch of Grubenhagen, extinct in the year 1596 (Rimius, p. 287.). He reſided in the caſtle of Wolfenbuttel, and poſſeſſed no more than a ſixth part of the allodial eſtates of Brunſwick and Luneburgh, which the Guelph family had ſaved from the confiſcation of their great fiefs. The frequent partitions among brothers, had almoſt ruined the princely houſes of Germany, till that juſt, but pernicious, law was ſlowly ſuperſeded by the right of primogeniture. The principality of Grubenhagen, one of

the laſt remains of the Hercynian foreſt, is a woody, mountainous, and barren tract (Buſching's Geography, vol. vi. p. 270—286. English tranſlation).

[16] The royal author of the Memoirs of Brandenburgh will teach us, how juſtly, in a much later period, the north of Germany deſerved the epithets of poor and barbarous (Eſſai ſur les Mœurs, etc.). In the year 1304, in the woods of Luneburgh, ſome wild people of the Vened race were allowed to bury alive their infirm and uſeleſs parents (Rimius, p. 136.).

[17] The aſſertion of Tacitus, that Germany was deſtitute of the precious metals, muſt be taken, even in his own time, with ſome limitation (Germania, c. 5. Annal. xi. 20.). According to Spener (Hiſt. Germaniæ Pragmatica, tom. i. p. 351.), *Argentifodinæ* in Hercyniis montibus, imperante Othone magno (A. D. 968.) primum apertæ, largam etiam opes augendi dederunt copiam: but Rimius (p. 258, 259.) defers till the year 1016 the diſcovery of the ſilver mines of Grubenhagen, or the Upper Hartz, which were produotive in the beginning of the xivth century, and which ſtill yield a conſiderable revenue to the houſe of Brunſwick.

[18] Cantacuzene has given a moſt honourable teſtimony, *την δ' εις Γερμανων αὐτη θυγατηρ δεκος ντι μπρυζικ* (the modern Greeks employ the *ντ* for the *δ*, and the *μπ* for the *β*, and the whole will read in the Italian idiom di Brunzuic), *τα παρ' αυτοις επιφανεςατα, και λαμπροτητι παντας τους ὁμοφυλους ὑπερβαλλοντος τα γενης.* The praiſe is juſt in itſelf, and pleaſing to an English ear.

[19] Anne, or Jane, was one of the four daughters of Amedée the Great, by a ſecond marriage, and half ſiſter of his ſucceſſor Edward count of Savoy (Anderſon's Tables, p. 650.). See Cantacuzene (l. i. c. 40—42.).

[20] That king, if the fact be true, muſt have been Charles the Fair, who in five years (1321—1326.) was married to three wives (Anderſon, p. 628.). Anne of Savoy arrived at Conſtantinople in February 1326.

[21] The noble race of the Cantacuzeni (illuſtrious from the xith century in the Byzantine annals) was drawn from the Paladins of France, the heroes of thoſe romances which in the xiiith century were tranſlated and read by the Greeks (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 258).

[22] See Cantacuzene (l. iii. c. 24. 30. 36.).

[23] Saſerna, in Gaul, and Columella, in Italy or Spain, allow two yoke of oxen, two drivers, and ſix labourers, for two hundred jugera (125 English acres) of arable land, and three more men muſt be

added if there be much underwood (Columella de Re Ruſticâ, l. iii. c. 13. p. 441. edit. Geſner).

[24] In this enumeration (l. iii. c. 30), the French tranſlation of the preſident Couſin is blotted with three palpable and eſſential errors. 1. He omits the 1000 yoke of working oxen. 2. He interprets the πεντακοσιαι προς δισχιλιαις, by the number of fifteen hundred. 3. He confounds myriads with chiliads, and gives Cantacuzene no more than 500 hogs. Put not your truſt in tranſlations!

[25] See the regency and reign of John Cantacuzenus, and the whole progreſs of the civil war, in his own hiſtory (l. iii. c. 1—100. p. 348—700.), and in that of Nicephorus Gregoras (l. xii. c. 1—l. xv. c. 9. p. 353—492.).

[26] He aſſumed the royal privilege of red ſhoes or buſkins; placed on his head a mitre of ſilk and gold; ſubſcribed his epiſtles with hyacinth or green ink, and claimed for the new, whatever Conſtantine had given to the ancient, Rome (Cantacuzen. l. iii. c. 36. Nic. Gregoras, l. xiv, c. 3.).

[27] Nic. Gregoras (l. xii. c. 5.) confeſſes the innocence and virtues of Cantacuzenus, the guilt and flagitious vices of Apocaucus; nor does he diſſemble the motive of his perſonal and religious enmity to the former; μυν δε δια μαχιαν αλλων, αιτιος ὁ πρωτατος της των ὁλων εδοξεν ειναι Φθορας.

[28] The princes of Servia (Ducange, Famil. Dalmaticæ, etc. c. 2, 3, 4. 9.) were ſtyled Deſpots in Greek, and Cral, in their native idiom (Ducange, Gloſſ. Græc. p. 751.). That title, the equivalent of king, appears to be of Sclavonic origin, from whence it has been borrowed by the Hungarians, the modern Greeks, and even by the Turks (Leunclavius, Pandect. Turc. p. 422.), who reſerve the name of Padiſhah for the emperor. To obtain the latter inſtead of the former, is the ambition of the French at Conſtantinople (Avertiſſement à l'Hiſtoire de Timur Bec, p. 39.).

[29] Nic. Gregoras, l. xii. c. 14. It is ſurpriſing, that Cantacuzene has not inſerted this juſt and lively image in his own writings.

[30] The two avengers were both Palæologi, who might reſent, with royal indignation, the ſhame of their chains. The tragedy of Apocaucus may deſerve a peculiar reference to Cantacuzene (l. iii. c. 86.) and Nic. Gregoras (l. xiv. c. 10.).

[31] Cantacuzene accuſes the patriarch, and ſpares the empreſs, the mother of his ſovereign (l. iii. 33, 34.), againſt whom Nic. Gregoras expreſſes a particular animoſity (l. xiv. 10, 11. xv. 5.). It is true, that they do not ſpeak exactly of the ſame time.

[32] The traitor and treaſon are revealed by Nic Gregoras (l. xv. c. 8.); but the name is more diſcreetly ſuppreſſed by his great accomplice (Cantacuzen. l. iii. c. 99.).

[33] Nic. Greg. l. xv. 11. There were however ſome true pearls, but very thinly ſprinkled. The reſt of the ſtones had only παντοδαπην χροιαν προς το διαυγες.

[34] From his return to Conſtantinople, Cantacuzene continues his hiſtory, and that of the empire, one year beyond the abdication of his ſon Matthew, A. D. 1357. (l. iv. c. 1—50. p. 705—911.). Nicephorus Gregoras ends with the ſynod of Conſtantinople, in the year 1351. (l. xxii. c. 3. p. 660. the reſt to the concluſion of the xxivth book, p. 717. is all controverſy); and his fourteen laſt books are ſtill MSS. in the king of France's library.

[35] The emperor (Cantacuzen. l. iv. c. 1.) repreſents his own virtues, and Nic. Gregoras (l. xv. c. 11.) the complaints of his friends, who ſuffered by it's effects. I have lent them the words of our poor cavaliers after the reſtoration.

[36] The awkward apology of Cantacuzene (l. iv. c. 39—42.), who relates, with viſible confuſion, his own downfall, may be ſupplied by the leſs accurate, but more honeſt narratives of Matthew Villani (l. iv. c. 46. in the Script. Rerum Ital. tom. xiv. p. 268.) and Ducas (c. 10, 11.).

[37] Cantacuzene, in the year 1375, was honoured with a letter from the pope (Fleury, Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xx. p. 250.). His death is placed by reſpectable authority on the 20th of November 1411. (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 260.). But if he were of the age of his companion Andronicus the younger, he muſt have lived 116 years; a rare inſtance of longevity, which in ſo illuſtrious a perſon would have attracted univerſal notice.

[38] His four diſcourſes, or books, were printed at Baſil 1543. (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 473.). He compoſed them to ſatisfy a proſelyte who was aſſaulted with letters from his friends of Iſpahan. Cantacuzene had read the Koran; but I underſtand from Maracci, that he adopts the vulgar prejudices and fables againſt Mahomet and his religion.

[39] See the Voyages de Bernier, tom. i. p. 127.

[40] Mosheim, Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 522, 523. Fleury, Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xx. p. 22. 24. 107—114, etc. The former unfolds the cauſes with the judgment of a philoſopher, the latter tranſcribes and translates with the prejudices of a Catholic prieſt.

[41] Baſnage (in Canifii Antiq. Lectiones, tom. iv. p. 363—368.) has inveſtigated the character and ſtory of Barlaam. The duplicity of

his opinions had inſpired ſome doubts of the identity of his perſon. See likewiſe Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 427—432.).

[42] See Cantacuzene (l. ii. c. 39, 40. l. iv. c. 3. 23, 24, 25.), and Nic. Gregoras (l. xi. c. 10. l. xv. 3. 7, etc.), whoſe laſt books, from the xixth to the xxivth, are almoſt confined to a ſubject ſo intereſting to the authors. Boivin (in Vit. Nic. Gregoræ), from the unpublished books, and Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 462—473.), or rather Montfaucon, from the MSS. of the Coiſlin library, have added ſome facts and documents.

[43] Pachymer (l. v. c. 10.) very properly explains λιζιους (*ligios*) by ἀδικους. The uſe of theſe words in the Greek and Latin of the feudal times, may be amply underſtood from the Gloſſaries of Ducange (Græc. p. 811, 812. Latin. tom. iv. p. 109—111.).

[44] The eſtabliſhment and progreſs of the Genoeſe at Pera, or Galata, is deſcribed by Ducange (C. P. Chriſtiana, l. i. p. 68, 69.) from the Byzantine hiſtorians, Pachymer (l. ii. c. 35. l. v. 10. 30. l. ix. 15. l. xii. 6. 9.), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. v. c. 4. l. vi. c. 11. l. ix. c. 5. l. xi. c. 1. l. xv. c. 1. 6.), and Cantacuzene (l. i. c. 12. l. ii. c. 29, etc.).

[45] Both Pachymer (l. iii. c. 3, 4, 5.) and Nic. Gregoras (l. iv. c. 7.) underſtand and deplore the effects of this dangerous indulgence. Bibaras, ſultan of Egypt, himſelf a Tartar, but a devout Muſulman, obtained from the children of Zingis the permiſſion to build a ſtately moſch in the capital of Crimæa (de Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 343.).

[46] Chardin (Voyages en Perſe, tom. i. p. 48.) was aſſured at Caffa, that theſe fiſhes were ſometimes twenty-four or twenty-ſix feet long, weighed eight or nine hundred pounds, and yielded three or four quintals of caviar. The corn of the Boſphorus had ſupplied the Athenians in the time of Demoſthenes.

[47] De Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 343, 344. Viaggi di Ramuſio, tom. i. fol. 400. But this land or water carriage could only be practicable when Tartary was united under a wiſe and powerful monarch.

[48] Nic. Gregoras (l. xiii. c. 12.) is judicious and well-informed on the trade and colonies of the Black Sea. Chardin deſcribes the preſent ruins of Caffa, where, in forty days, he ſaw above 400 ſail employed in the corn and fiſh trade (Voyages en Perſe, tom. i. p. 46—48.).

[49] See Nic. Gregoras, l. xvii. c. 1.

[50] The events of this war are related by Cantacuzene (l. iv. c. 11.) with obſcurity and confuſion, and by Nic. Gregoras (l. xvii. c. 1—7.) in a clear and honeſt narrative. The prieſt was leſs reſponſible than the prince for the defeat of the fleet.

[51] This ſecond war is darkly told by Cantacuzene (l. iv. c. 18.

p. 24, 25. 28—32.), who wishes to diſguiſe what he dares not deny. I regret this part of Nic. Gregoras, which is ſtill in MS. at Paris.

[52] Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. p. 144.) refers to the moſt ancient Chronicles of Venice (Careſinus, the continuator of Andrew Dandulus, tom. xii. p. 421, 422.) and Genoa (George Stella, Annales Genuenſes, tom. xvii. p. 1091, 1092.); both which I have diligently conſulted in his great Collection of the Hiſtorians of Italy.

[53] See the Chronicle of Matteo Villani of Florence, l. ii. c. 59, 60. p. 145—147. c. 74, 75. p. 156, 157. in Muratori's Collection, tom. xiv.

[54] The Abbé de Sade (Mémoires ſur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 257—263.) tranſlates this letter, which he had copied from a MS. in the king of France's library. Though a ſervant of the duke of Milan, Petrarch pours forth his aſtoniſhment and grief at the defeat and deſpair of the Genoeſe in the following year (p. 323—332.).

CHAP. LXIV.

[1] The reader is invited to review the chapters of the fourth and ſixth volumes; the manners of paſtoral nations, the conqueſts of Attila and the Huns, which were compoſed at a time when I entertained the wiſh, rather than the hope, of concluding my hiſtory.

[2] The khans of the Keraites were moſt probably incapable of reading the pompous epiſtles compoſed in their name by the Neſtorian miſſionaries, who endowed them with the fabulous wonders of an Indian kingdom. Perhaps theſe Tartars (the Presbyter or Prieſt John) had ſubmitted to the rites of baptiſm and ordination (Aſſeman, Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 487—503.).

[3] Since the hiſtory and tragedy of Voltaire, *Gengis*, at leaſt in French, ſeems to be the more faſhionable ſpelling: but Abulghazi Khan muſt have known the true name of his anceſtor. His etymology appears juſt: *Zin*, in the Mogul tongue, ſignifies *great*, and *gis* is the ſuperlative termination (Hiſt. Généalogique des Tatars, p. iii. p. 194, 195.). From the ſame idea of magnitude, the appellation of *Zingis* is beſtowed on the ocean.

[4] The name of Moguls has prevailed among the Orientals, and ſtill adheres to the titular ſovereign, the Great Mogul, of Hindoſtan.

[5] The Tartars (more properly Tatars) were deſcended from Tatar Khan, the brother of Mogul Khan (ſee Abulghazi, part i. and ii.), and once formed a horde of 70,000 families on the borders of Kitay (p. 103—112.). In the great invaſion of Europe (A. D. 1238.), they ſeem to have led the vanguard; and the ſimilitude of the name of *Tartarei*, recommended that of Tartars to the Latins (Matt. Paris, p. 398, etc.).

[6] A ſingular conformity may be found between the religious laws of Zingis Khan and of Mr. Locke (Conſtitutions of Carolina, in his works, vol. iv. p. 535. 4to edition, 1777.)

[7] In the year 1294, by the command of Cazan, khan of Perſia, the fourth in deſcent from Zingis. From theſe traditions, his vizir Fadlallah compoſed a Mogul hiſtory in the Perſian language, which has been uſed by Petit de la Croix (Hiſt. de Genghizcan, p. 537—539.). The Hiſtoire Généalogique des Tatars (à Leyde, 1726, in 12mo, 2 tomes) was tranſlated by the Swedish priſoners in Siberia from the Mogul MS. of Abulgaſi Bahadur Khan, a deſcendant of Zingis, who reigned over the Uſbeks of Charaſm, or Carizme (A. D. 1644—1663.). He is of moſt value and credit for the names, pedigrees, and manners of his nation. Of his nine parts, the iſt deſcends from Adam to Mogul Khan; the iid, from Mogul to Zingis; the iiid, is the life of Zingis, the ivth, vth, vith, and viith, the general hiſtory of his four ſons, and their poſterity; the viiith and ixth, the particular hiſtory of the deſcendants of Sheibani Khan, who reigned in Maurenahar and Charaſm.

[8] Hiſtoire de Gentchiſcan, et de toute la Dynaſtie des Mongous ſes Succeſſeurs, Conquerans de la Chine; tirée de l'Hiſtoire de la Chine, par le R. P. Gaubil, de la Société de Jeſus, Miſſionaire à Peking; à Paris, 1739, in 4to. This tranſlation is ſtamped with the Chineſe character of domeſtic accuracy and foreign ignorance.

[9] See the Hiſtoire du Grand Genghizcan, premier Empereur des Mogols et Tartares, par M. Petit de la Croix, à Paris, 1710, in 12mo: a work of ten years labour, chiefly drawn from the Perſian writers, among whom Niſavi, the ſecretary of ſultan Gelaleddin, has the merit and prejudices of a contemporary. A ſlight air of romance is the fault of the originals, or the compiler. See likewiſe the articles of *Genghizcan*, *Mohammed*, *Gelaleddin*, etc. in the Bibliothéque Orientale of d'Herbelot.

[10] Haithonus, or Aithonus, an Armenian prince, and afterwards a monk of Premontré (Fabric. Bibliot. Lat. medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 34.), dictated in the French language, his book de *Tartaris*, his old fellow-ſoldiers. It was immediately tranſlated into Latin, and is inſerted in the Novus Orbis of Simon Grynæus (Baſil, 1555, in folio.)

[11] Zingis Khan, and his firſt ſucceſſors, occupy the concluſion of the ixth Dynaſty of Abulpharagius (verſ. Pocock, Oxon. 1663, in 4to); and his xth Dynaſty is that of the Moguls of Perſia. Aſſemannus (Biblipt. Orient. tom. ii.) has extracted ſome facts from his Syriac

writings, and the lives of the Jacobite maphrians, or primates of the East.

[12] Among the Arabians, in language and religion, we may diſtinguiſh Abulfeda, ſultan of Hamah in Syria, who fought in perſon, under the Mamaluke ſtandard, againſt the Moguls.

[13] Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ii. c. 5, 6.) has felt the neceſſity of connecting the Scythian and Byzantine hiſtories. He deſcribes with truth and elegance the ſettlement and manners of the Moguls of Perſia, but he is ignorant of their origin, and corrupts the names of Zingis and his ſons.

[14] M. Leveſque (Hiſtoire de Ruſſie, tom. ii.) has deſcribed the conqueſt of Ruſſia by the Tartars; from the patriarch Nicon, and the old chronicles.

[15] For Poland, I am content with the Sarmatia Aſiatica et Europea of Matthew à Michou, or de Michovia, a canon and phyſician of Cracow (A. D. 1506), inſerted in the Novus Orbis of Grynæus. Fabric. Bibliot. Latin mediæ et infimæ Ætatis, tom. v. p. 56.

[16] I ſhould quote Thuroczius, the oldeſt general hiſtorian (pars. ii. c. 74. p. 150.); in the iſt volume of the Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum, did not the ſame volume contain the original narrative of a contemporary, an eye-witneſs, and a ſufferer (M. Rogerii, Hungari, Varidienſis Capituli Canonici, Carmen miſerabile, ſeu Hiſtoria ſuper Deſtructione Regni Hungariæ, Temporibus Belæ IV. Regis per Tartaros facta, p. 292—321.): the beſt picture that I have ever ſeen of all the circumſtances of a Barbaric invaſion.

[17] Matthew Paris has repreſented, from authentic documents, the danger and diſtreſs of Europe (conſult the word *Tartari* in his copious Index.) From motives of zeal and curioſity, the court of the great Khan, in the xiiith century, was viſited by the two friars, John de Plano Carpini, and William Rubruquis, and by Marco Polo, a Venetian gentleman. The Latin relations of the two former are inſerted in the iſt volume of Hackluyt; the Italian original or verſion of the third (Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. medii Ævi, tom. ii. p. 198. tom. v. p. 25.) may be found in the iid tome of Ramuſio.

[18] In his great Hiſtory of the Huns, M. de Guignes has moſt amply treated of Zingis Khan and his ſucceſſors. See tom. iii. l. xv—xix. and in the collateral articles of the Seljukians of Roum, tom. ii. l. xi. the Carizmians, l. xiv. and the Mamalukes, tom. iv. l. xxi.: conſult likewiſe the tables of the iſt volume. He is ever learned and accurate; yet I am only indebted to him for a general view, and ſome paſſages of Abulfeda, which are ſtill latent in the Arabic text.

[19] More properly *Yen-king*, an ancient city, whoſe ruins ſtill appear.

ſome furlongs to the ſouth-eaſt of the modern *Pekin*, which was built by Cublai Khan (Gaubel, p. 146.). Pe-king and Nan-king are vague titles, the courts of the north and of the ſouth. The identity and change of names perplex the moſt skilful readers of the Chineſe geography (p. 177.).

[20] M. de Voltaire, Eſſai ſur l'Hiſtoire Générale, tom. iii. c. 60. p. 8. His account of Zingis and the Moguls contains, as uſual, much general ſenſe and truth, with ſome particular errors.

[21] Zagatai gave his name to his dominions of Maurenahar, or Tranſoxiana; and the Moguls of Hindoſtan, who emigrated from that country, are ſtyled Zagatais by the Perſians. This certain etymology, and the ſimilar example of Uzbek, Nogai, etc. may warn us not abſolutely to reject the derivations of a national, from a perſonal, name.

[22] In Marco Polo, and the Oriental geographers, the names of Cathay and Mangi diſtinguiſh the northern and ſouthern empires, which, from A. D. 1234 to 1279, were thoſe of the Great Khan, and of the Chineſe. The ſearch of Cathay, after China had been found, excited and miſled our navigators of the ſixteenth century, in their attempts to diſcover the north-eaſt paſſage.

[23] I depend on the knowledge and fidelity of the Père Gaubil, who tranſlates the Chineſe text of the Annals of the Moguls or Yuen (p. 71. 93. 153.); but I am ignorant at what time theſe annals were compoſed and published. The two uncles of Marco Polo, who ſerved as engineers at the ſiege of Siengyangfou (l. ii. c. 61. in Ramuſio, tom. ii. See Gaubil, p. 155. 157.), muſt have felt and related the effects of this deſtructive powder, and their ſilence is a weighty, and almoſt deciſive, objection. I entertain a ſuſpicion, that the recent diſcovery was carried from Europe to China by the caravans of the xvth century, and falſely adopted as an old national diſcovery before the arrival of the Portugueſe and Jeſuits in the xvith. Yet the Père Gaubil affirms, that the uſe of gunpowder has been known to the Chineſe above 1600 years.

[24] All that can be known of the Aſſaſſins of Perſia and Syria, is poured from the copious, and even profuſe, erudition of M. Falconet, in two *mémoires* read before the Academy of Inſcriptions (tom. xvii. p. 127—170.).

[25] The Iſmaelians of Syria, 40,000 Aſſaſſins, had acquired or founded ten caſtles in the hills above Tortoſa. About the year 1280, they were extirpated by the Mamalukes.

[26] As a proof of the ignorance of the Chineſe in foreign tranſactions, I muſt obſerve, that ſome of their hiſtorians extend the

conqueſts of Zingis himſelf to Medina, the country of Mahomet (Gaubil, p. 42.).

[27] The *Dashté Kipzak*, or plain of Kipzak, extends on either ſide of the Volga, in a boundleſs ſpace towards de Jaik and Boryſthenes, and is ſuppoſed to contain the primitive name and nation of the Coſacks.

[28] In the year 1238, the inhabitants of Gothia (*Sweden*) and Friſe were prevented, by their fear of the Tartars, from ſending, as uſual, their ships to the herring-fishery on the coaſt of England; and as there was no exportation, forty or fifty of theſe fish were ſold for a ſhilling (Matthew Paris, p. 396.). It is whimſical enough, that the orders of a Mogul khan, who reigned on the borders of China, ſhould have lowered the price of herrings in the Engliſh market.

[29] I ſhall copy his characteriſtic or flattering epithets of the different countries of Europe: Fuſens ac fervens ad arma Germania, ſtrenua militiæ genitrix et alumna Francia, bellicoſa et audax Hiſpania, virtuoſa viris et claſſe munita fertilis Anglia, impetuoſis bellatoribus referta Alemannia, navalis Dacia, indomita Italia, pacis ignara Burgundia, inquieta Apulia, cum maris Græci, Adriatici et Tyrrheni inſulis piraticis et invictis, Cretâ, Cypro, Siciliâ, cum Oceano conterminis inſulis, et regionibus, cruenta Hibernia, cum agili Wallia, paluſtris Scotia, glacialis Norwegia ſuam electam militiam ſub vexillo Crucis deſtinabunt, etc. (Matthew Paris, p. 498.).

[30] See Carpin's relation in Hackluyt, vol. i. p. 30. The pedigree of the khans of Siberia is given by Abulghazi (part viii. p. 485—495.). Have the Ruſſians found no Tartar chronicles at Tobolskoi?

[31] The Map of d'Anville, and the Chineſe Itineraries (de Guignes, tom. i. part ii. p. 57.), ſeem to mark the poſition of Holin, or Caracorum, about ſix hundred miles to the northweſt of Pekin. The diſtance between Selinginsky and Pekin is near 2000 Ruſſian verſts, between 1300 and 1400 Engliſh miles (Bell's Travels, vol. ii. p. 67.).

[32] Rubruquis found at Caracoram his countryman *Guillaume Boucher orfevre de Paris*, who had executed for the khan a ſilver tree, ſupported by four lions, and ejecting four different liquors. Abulghazi (part iv. p. 366.) mentions the painters of Kitay or China.

[33] The attachment of the khans, and the hatred of the mandarins, to the bonzes and lamas (Duhalde, Hiſt. de la Chine, tom. i. p. 502, 503.) ſeems to repreſent them as the prieſts of the ſame god, of the Indian *Fo*, whoſe worſhip prevails among the ſects of Hindoſtan, Siam, Thibet, China, and Japan. But this myſterious ſubject is ſtill loſt in a cloud, which the reſearches of our Aſiatic Society may gradually diſpel.

[34] Some repulſe of the Moguls in Hungary Matthew Paris, p. 545, 546.) might propagate and colour the report of the union and victory of the kings of the Franks on the confines of Bulgaria. Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 310.), after forty years, beyond the Tigris, might be eaſily deceived.

[35] See Pachymer, l. iii. c. 25. and l. ix. c. 26, 27.: and the falſe alarm at Nice, l. iii. c. 27. Nicephorus Gregoras, l. iv. c. 6.

[36] G. Acropolita, p. 36, 37. Nic. Gregoras, l. ii. c. 6. l. iv. c. 5.

[37] Abulpharagius, who wrote in the year 1284, declares, that the Moguls, ſince the fabulous defeat of Batou, had not attacked either the Franks or Greeks; and of this he is a competent witneſs. Hayton, likewiſe the Armeniac prince, celebrates their friendship for himſelf and his nation.

[38] Pachymer gives a ſplendid character of Cazan Khan, the rival of Cyrus and Alexander (l. xii. c. 1.). In the concluſion of his hiſtory (l. xiii. c. 36.), he *hopes* much from the arrival of 30,000 Tochars or Tartars, who were ordered by the ſucceſſor of Cazan to reſtrain the Turks of Bithynia, A. D. 1308.

[39] The origin of the Ottoman dynaſty is illuſtrated by the critical learning of M. M. de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iv. p. 329—337.) and d'Anville (Empire Turc, p. 14—22.), two inhabitants of Paris, from whom the Orientals may learn the hiſtory and geography of their own country.

[40] See Pachymer, l. x. c. 25, 26. l. xiii. c. 33, 34. 36.; and concerning the guard of the mountains, l. i. c. 3—6.: Nicephorus Gregoras, l. vii. c. 1. and the iſt book of Laonicus Chalcocondyles, the Athenian.

[41] I am ignorant whether the Turks have any writers older than Mahomet II. nor can I reach beyond a meagre chronicle (Annales Turcici ad Annum 1550.), tranſlated by John Gaudier, and published by Leunclavius (ad calcem Laonic. Chalcocond. p. 311—350.), with copious pandects, or commentaries. The Hiſtory of the Growth and Decay (A. D. 1300—1683.) of the Othman Empire, was tranſlated into English from the Latin MS. of Demetrius Cantemir, prince of Moldavia (London, 1734, in folio). The author is guilty of ſtrange blunders in Oriental hiſtory; but he was converſant with the language, the annals, and inſtitutions of the Turks. Cantemir partly draws his materials from the Synopſis of Saadi Effendi of Lariſſa, dedicated in the year 1696 to ſultan Muſtapha, and a valuable abridgment of the original hiſtorians. In one of the Ramblers, Dr. Johnſon praiſes Knolles (a General Hiſtory of the Turks to the preſent Year. London, 1603) as the firſt of hiſtorians, unhappy only in the choice of his ſubject.

Yet

Yet I much doubt whether a partial and verboſe compilation from Latin writers, thirteen hundred folio pages of ſpeeches and battles, can either inſtruct or amuſe an enlightened age, which requires from the hiſtorian ſome tincture of philoſophy and criticiſm.

[42] Cantacuzene, though he relates the battle and heroic flight of the younger Andronicus (l. ii. c. 6, 7, 8.), diſſembles by his ſilence the loſs of Pruſa, Nice, and Nicomedia, which are fairly confeſſed by Nicephorus Gregoras (l. viii. 15. ix. 9. 13. xi. 6.). It appears that Nice was taken by Orchan in 1330, and Nicomedia in 1339, which are ſomewhat different from the Turkiſh dates.

[43] The partition of the Turkiſh emirs is extracted from two contemporaries, the Greek Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vii. 1.) and the Arabian Marakeſchi (de Guignes, tom. ii. p. ii. p. 76, 77.). See likewiſe the firſt book of Laonicus Chalcocondyles.

[44] Pachymer, l. xiii. c. 13.

[45] See the Travels of Wheeler and Spon, of Pococke and Chandler, and more particularly Smith's Survey of the Seven Churches of Aſia, p. 205—276. The more pious antiquaries labour to reconcile the promiſes and threats of the author of the Revelations with the *preſent* ſtate of the ſeven cities. Perhaps it would be more prudent to confine his predictions to the characters and events of his own times.

[46] Conſult the ivth book of the Hiſtoire de l'Ordre de Malthe, par l'Abbé de Vertot. That pleaſing writer betrays his ignorance, in ſuppoſing that Othman, a freebooter of the Bithynian hills, could beſiege Rhodes by ſea and land.

[47] Nicephorus Gregoras has expatiated with pleaſure on this amiable character (l. xii. 7. xiii. 4. 10. xiv. 1. 9. xvi. 6.). Cantacuzene ſpeaks with honour and eſteem of his ally (l. iii. c. 56, 57. 63, 64. 66, 67, 68. 86. 89. 95, 96.); but he ſeems ignorant of his own ſentimental paſſion for the Turk, and indirectly denies the poſſibility of ſuch unnatural friendſhip (l. iv. c. 40.).

[48] After the conqueſt of Smyrna by the Latins, the defence of this fortreſs was impoſed by pope Gregory XI. on the knights of Rhodes (ſee Vertot, l. v.).

[49] See Cantacuzene, l. iii. c. 95. Nicephorus Gregoras, who, for the light of mount Thabor, brands the emperor with the names of tyrant and Herod, excuſes, rather than blames, this Turkiſh marriage, and alleges the paſſion and power of Orchan, συγγυτατος. και τη δυναμει της κατ' αυτον ηδη Περσικης (*Turkiſh*) ὑπεραιρων Σατραπας (l. xv. 5.). He afterwards celebrates his kingdom and armies. See his reign in Cantemir, p. 24—30.

[50] The moſt lively and conciſe picture of this captivity, may be found in the hiſtory of Ducas (c. 8.), who fairly deſcribes what Cantacuzene confeſſes with a guilty blush!

[51] In this paſſage, and the firſt conqueſts in Europe, Cantemir (p. 27, etc.) gives a miſerable idea of his Turkish guides: nor am I much better ſatisfied with Chalcocondyles (l. i. p. 12, etc.). They forget to conſult the moſt authentic record, the ivth book of Cantacuzene. I likewiſe regret the laſt books, which are ſtill manuſcript, of Nicephorus Gregoras.

[52] After the concluſion of Cantacuzene and Gregoras, there follows a dark interval of an hundred years. George Phranza, Michael Ducas, and Laonicus Chalcocondyles, all three wrote after the taking of Conſtantinople.

[53] See Cantemir, p. 37—41. with his own large and curious annotations.

[54] *White* and *black* face are common and proverbial expreſſions of praiſe and reproach in the Turkish language. Hic *niger* eſt, hunc tu Romane caveto, was likewiſe a Latin ſentence.

[55] See the life and death of Morad, or Amurath I. in Cantemir (p. 33—45.), the iſt book of Chalcocondyles, and the Annales Turcici of Leunclavius. According to another ſtory, the ſultan was ſtabbed by a Croat in his tent: and this accident was alleged to Busbequius (Epiſt. i. p. 98.) as an excuſe for the unworthy precaution of pinioning, as it were, between two attendants, an ambaſſador's arms, when he is introduced to the royal preſence.

[56] The reign of Bajazet I. or Ilderim Bayazid, is contained in Cantemir (p. 46.), the iid book of Chalcocondyles, and the Annales Turcici. The ſurname of Ilderim, or lightning, is an example, that the conquerors and poets of every age have *felt* the truth of a ſyſtem which derives the ſublime from the principle of terror.

[57] Cantemir, who celebrates the victories of the great Stephen over the Turks (p. 47.), had compoſed the ancient and modern ſtate of his principality of Moldavia, which has been long promiſed, and is ſtill unpublished.

[58] Leunclav. Annal. Turcici, p. 318, 319. The venality of the cadhis has long been an object of ſcandal and ſatire; and if we diſtruſt the obſervations of our travellers, we may conſult the feeling of the Turks themſelves (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orientale., p. 216, 217. 229, 230.).

[59] The fact, which is atteſted by the Arabic hiſtory of Ben Schounah, a contemporary Syrian (de Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iv. p. 326.),

deſtroys the teſtimony of Saad Effendi and Cantemir (p. 14, 15.), of the election of Othman to the dignity of ſultan.

[60] See the Decades Rerum Hungaricarum (Dec. iii. l. ii. p. 379.) of Bonfinius, an Italian, who, in the xvth century, was invited into Hungary to compoſe an eloquent hiſtory of that kingdom. Yet, if it be extant and acceſſible, I ſhould give the preference to ſome homely chronicle of the time and country.

[61] I ſhould not complain of the labour of this work, if my materials were always derived from ſuch books as the chronicle of honeſt Froiſſard (vol. iv. c. 67. 69. 72. 74. 79—83. 85. 87. 89.), who read little, inquired much, and believed all. The original Memoirs of the marechal de Boucicault (Partie i. c. 22—28.) add ſome facts, but they are dry and deficient, if compared with the pleaſant garrulity of Froiſſard.

[62] An accurate memoir on the life of Enguerrand VII. ſire de Coucy, has been given by the baron de Zurlauben (Hiſt. de l'Académie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxv.). His rank and poſſeſſions were equally conſiderable in France and England; and, in 1375, he led an army of adventurers into Switzerland, to recover a large patrimony which he claimed in right of his grandmother, the daughter of the emperor Albert I. of Auſtria (Sinner, Voyage dans la Suiſſe Occidentale, tom. i. p. 118—124.).

[63] That military office, ſo reſpectable at preſent, was ſtill more conſpicuous when it was divided between two perſons (Daniel, Hiſt. de la Milice Françoiſe, tom. ii. p. 5.). One of theſe, the marshal of the cruſade, was the famous Boucicault, who afterwards defended Conſtantinople, governed Genoa, invaded the coaſt of Aſia, and died in the field of Azincour.

[64] For this odious fact, the Abbé de Vertot quotes the Hiſt. Anonyme de St. Denys, l. xvi. c. 10, 11. (Ordre de Malthe, tom. ii. p. 310.)

[65] Sherefeddin Ali (Hiſt. de Timour Bec, l. v. c. 13.) allows Bajazet a round number of 12,000 officers and ſervants of the chace. A part of his ſpoils was afterwards diſplayed in a hunting match of Timour: 1. hounds with ſatin houſings; 2. leopards with collars ſet with jewels; 3. Grecian greyhounds; and, 4. dogs from Europe, as ſtrong as African lions (idem, l. vi. c. 15.). Bajazet was particularly fond of flying his hawks at cranes (Chalcocondyles, l. ii. p. 35.).

[66] For the reigns of John Palæologus and his ſon Manuel, from 1354 to 1402, ſee Ducas, c. 9—15. Phranza, l. i. c. 16—21. and the iſt and iid books of Chalcocondyles, whoſe proper ſubject is drowned in a ſea of epiſode.

[67] Cantemir, p. 50—53. Of the Greeks, Ducas alone (c. 13. 15.) acknowledges the Turkish cadhi at Conſtantinople. Yet even Ducas diſſembles the moſch.

[68] Mémoires du bon Meſſire Jean le Maingre, dit *Boucicault*, Maréchal de France, partie Ire, c. 30—35.

CHAP. LXV.

[1] Theſe journals were communicated to Sherefeddin, or Cherefeddin Ali, a native of Yezd, who compoſed in the Perſian language a hiſtory of Timour Beg, which has been tranſlated into French by M. Petit de la Croix (Paris, 1722, in 4 vols. 12mo), and has always been my faithful guide. His geography and chronology are wonderfully accurate; and he may be truſted for public facts, though he ſervilely praiſes the virtue and fortune of the hero. Timour's attention to procure intelligence from his own and foreign countries, may be ſeen in the Inſtitutions, p. 215. 217. 349. 351.

[2] Theſe Commentaries are yet unknown in Europe: but M. White gives ſome hope, that they may be imported and tranſlated by his friend Major Davy, who had read in the Eaſt this "minute and "faithful narrative of an intereſting and eventful period."

[3] I am ignorant whether the original inſtitution, in the Turkish or Mogul language, be ſtill extant. The Perſic verſion, with an Engliſh tranſlation and moſt valuable index, was published (Oxford, 1783, in 4to) by the joint labours of Major Davy, and Mr. White the Arabic profeſſor. This work has been ſince tranſlated from the Perſic into French (Paris, 1787) by M. Langlès, a learned Orientaliſt, who has added the life of Timour, and many curious notes.

[4] Shaw Allum, the preſent Mogul, reads, values, but cannot imitate, the inſtitutions of his great anceſtor. The Engliſh tranſlator relies on their internal evidence: but if any ſuſpicions ſhould ariſe of fraud and fiction, they will not be diſpelled by Major Davy's letter. The Orientals have never cultivated the art of criticiſm; the patronage of a prince, leſs honourable perhaps, is not leſs lucrative than that of a bookſeller; nor can it be deemed incredible, that a Perſian, the *real* author, ſhould renounce the credit, to raiſe the value and price, of the work.

[5] The original of the tale is found in the following work, which is much eſteemed for its florid elegance of ſtyle: *Ahmedis Arabſiadæ* (Ahmed Ebn Arabſhah) *Vitæ et Rerum geſtarum Timuri. Arabice et Latine. Edidit Samuel Henricus Manger. Franequeræ*, 1767, 2 *tom. in* 4to. This Syrian author is ever a malicious, and often an ignorant,

enemy: the very titles of his chapters are injurious; as how the wicked, as how the impious, as how the viper, etc. The copious article of TIMUR, in Bibliothéque Orientale, is of a mixed nature as d'Herbelot indifferently draws his materials (p. 877—888.) from Khondemir, Ebn Schounah, and the Lebtarikh.

[6] *Demir*, or *Timour*, ſignifies, in the Turkiſh language, Iron; and *Beg* is the appellation of a lord or prince. By the change of a letter or accent, it is changed into *Lenc*, or lame; and a European corruption confounds the two words in the name of Tamerlane.

[7] After relating ſome falſe and fooliſh tales of Timour *Lenc*, Arabſhah is compelled to ſpeak truth, and to own him for a kinſman of Zingis, per mulieres (as he peeviſhly adds) laqueos Satanæ (pars i. c. 1. p 25.). The teſtimony of Abulghazi Khan (p. ii. c. 5. p. v. c. 4.) is clear, unqueſtionable, and deciſive.

[8] According to one of the pedigrees, the fourth anceſtor of Zingis, and the ninth of Timour, were brothers; and they agreed, that the poſterity of the elder ſhould ſucceed to the dignity of khan, and that the deſcendants of the younger ſhould fill the office of their miniſter and general. This tradition was at leaſt convenient to juſtify the *firſt* ſteps of Timour's ambition (Inſtitutions, p. 24, 25. from the MS. fragments of Timour's hiſtory)

[9] See the preface of Sherefeddin, and Abulfeda's Geography (Chorafmiæ, etc. Deſcriptio, p. 60, 61.), in the iiid volume of Hudſon's Minor Greek Geographers.

[10] See his nativity in Dr. Hyde (Syntagma Diſſertat. tom. ii. p. 466.), as it was caſt by the aſtrologers of his grandſon Ulugh Beg. He was born A. D. 1336, April 9, 11° 57′ P. M. lat. 36. I know not whether they can prove the great conjunction of the planets from whence, like other conquerors and prophets, Timour derived the ſurname of Saheb Keran, or maſter of the conjunctions (Bibliot. Orient. p. 878.).

[11] In the Inſtitutions of Timour, theſe ſubjects of the khan of Kaſhgar are moſt improperly ſtyled Ouzbegs, or Uzbeks, a name which belongs to another branch and country of Tartars (Abulghazi, p. v. c. 5. p. vii. c. 5.). Could I be ſure that this word is in the Turkiſh original, I would boldly pronounce, that the Inſtitutions were framed a century after the death of Timour, ſince the eſtabliſhment of the Uzbeks in Tranſoxiana.

[12] The ist book of Sherefeddin is employed on the private life of the hero; and he himſelf, or his ſecretary (Inſtitutions, p. 3—77.), enlarges with pleaſure on the thirteen deſigns and enterprizes which

moſt truly conſtitute his *perſonal* merit. It even ſhines through the dark colouring of Arabſhah, p. i. c. 1—12.

[13] The conqueſts of Perſia, Tartary, and India, are repreſented in the iid and iiid books of Sherefeddin, and by Arabſhah, c. 13—55. Conſult the excellent Indexes to the Inſtitutions.

[14] The reverence of the Tartars for the myſterious number of nine, is declared by Abulghazi Khan, who, for that reaſon, divides his Genealogical Hiſtory into nine parts.

[15] According to Arabſhah (p. i. c. 28. p. 183.), the coward Timour ran away to his tent, and hid himſelf from the purſuit of Shah Manſour under the women's garments. Perhaps Sherefeddin (l. iii. c. 25.) has magnified his courage.

[16] The hiſtory of Ormuz is not unlike that of Tyre. The old city, on the continent, was deſtroyed by the Tartars, and renewed in a neighbouring iſland without freſh water or vegetation. The kings of Ormuz, rich in the Indian trade and the pearl fiſhery, poſſeſſed large territories both in Perſia and Arabia; but they were at firſt the tributaries of the ſultans of Kerman, and at laſt were delivered A. D. 1505) by the Portugueſe tyrants from the tyranny of their own vizirs (Marco Polo, l. i. c. 15, 16. fol. 7, 8. Abulfeda Geograph. tabul. xi. p. 261, 262. an original Chronicle of Ormuz, in Texeira, or Steven's Hiſtory of Perſia, p. 376—416. and the Itineraries inſerted in the iſt volume of Ramuſio, of Ludovico Barthema (1503), fol. 167. of Andrea Corſali (1517), fol. 202, 203, and of Odoardo Barbeſſa (in 1514), fol. 315—318.).

[17] Arabſhah had travelled into Kipzak, and acquired a ſingular knowledge of the geography, cities, and revolutions, of that northern region (P. i. c. 45—49.).

[18] Inſtitutions of Timour, p. 123. 125. Mr. White, the editor, beſtows ſome animadverſion on the ſuperficial account of Sherefeddin (l. iii. c. 12, 13, 14.), who was ignorant of the deſigns of Timour, and the true ſprings of action.

[19] The furs of Ruſſia are more credible than the ingots. But the linen of Antioch has never been famous; and Antioch was in ruins. I ſuſpect that it was ſome manufacture of Europe, which the Hanſe merchants had imported by the way of Novogorod.

[20] M. Levéſque (Hiſt. de Ruſſie, tom. ii. p. 247. Vie de Timour, p. 64—67. before the French verſion of the Inſtitutes) has corrected the error of Sherefeddin, and marked the true limit of Timour's conqueſts. His arguments are ſuperfluous, and a ſimple appeal to the Ruſſian Annals is ſufficient to prove that Moſcow, which ſix years before had been taken by Toctamish, eſcaped the arms of a more formidable invader.

[21] An Egyptian conſul from Grand Cairo, is mentioned in Barbaro's voyage to Tana in 1436, after the city had been rebuilt (Ramuſio, tom. ii. fol. 92.).

[22] The ſack of Azoph is deſcribed by Sherefeddin (l. iii. c. 55.); and much more particularly by the author of an Italian chronicle (Andreas de Reduſiis de Quero, in Chron. Tarviſiano, in Muratori Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xix. p. 802—805.). He had converſed with the Mianis, two Venetian brothers, one of whom had been ſent a deputy to the camp of Timour, and the other had loſt at Azoph three ſons and 12,000 ducats.

[23] Sherefeddin only ſays (l. iii. c. 13.), that the rays of the ſetting, and thoſe of the riſing ſun, were ſcarcely ſeparated by any interval; a problem which may be ſolved in the latitude of Moſcow (the 56th degree), with the aid of the Aurora Borealis, and a long ſummer-twilight. But a *day* of forty days (Khondemir apud d'Herbelot, p. 880.) would rigorouſly confine us within the polar circle.

[24] For the Indian war, ſee the Inſtitutions (p. 129—139.), the fourth book of Sherefeddin, and the hiſtory of Ferishta (in Dow, vol. ii. p. 1—20.), which throws a general light on the affairs of Hindoſtan.

[25] The rivers of the Punjab, the five eaſtern branches of the Indus, have been laid down for the firſt time with truth and accuracy in Major Rennel's incomparable map of Hindoſtan. In his Critical Memoir, he illuſtrates with judgment and learning the marches of Alexander and Timour.

[26] The two great rivers, the Ganges and Burrampooter, riſe in Thibet, from the oppoſite ridges of the ſame hills, ſeparate from each other to the diſtance of 1200 miles, and, after a winding courſe of 2000 miles, again meet in one point near the gulf of Bengal. Yet ſo capricious is Fame, that the Burrampooter is a late diſcovery, while his brother Ganges has been the theme of ancient and modern ſtory. Coupele, the ſcene of Timour's laſt victory, muſt be ſituate near Loldong, 1100 miles from Calcutta; and, in 1774, a British camp! (Rennel's Memoir, p. 7. 59. 90, 91. 99.

[27] See the Inſtitutions, p. 141. to the end of the iſt book, and Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 1—16.), to the entrance of Timour into Syria.

[28] We have three copies of theſe hoſtile epiſtles in the Inſtitutions (p. 147.), in Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 14.), and in Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 19. p. 183—201.); which agree with each other in the ſpirit and ſubſtance rather than in the ſtyle. It is probable, that they have been tranſlated, with various latitude, from the Turkish original into the Arabic and Perſian tongues.

[29] The Mogul emir diſtinguiſhes himſelf and his countrymen by the name of *Turks*, and ſtigmatizes the race and nation of Bajazet with the leſs honourable epithet of *Turkmans*. Yet I do not underſtand how the Ottomans could be deſcended from a Turkman ſailor; thoſe inland ſhepherds were ſo remote from the ſea, and all maritime affairs.

[30] According to the Koran (c. 2. p. 27. and Sale's Diſcourſes, p. 134.), a Muſulman who had thrice divorced his wife (who had thrice repeated the words of a divorce), could not take her again, till after ſhe had been married *to*, and repudiated *by*, another huſband: an ignominious tranſaction, which it is needleſs to aggravate by ſuppoſing, that the firſt huſband muſt ſee her enjoyed by a ſecond before his face (Rycaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, l. ii. c. 21.).

[31] The common delicacy of the Orientals, in never ſpeaking of their women, is aſcribed in a much higher degree by Arabſhah to the Turkiſh nations; and it is remarkable enough, that Chalcocondyles (l. ii. p. 55.) had ſome knowledge of the prejudice, and the inſult.

[32] For the ſtyle of the Moguls, ſee the Inſtitutions (p. 131. 147.), and for the Perſians, the Bibliothéque Orientale (p. 882.): but I do not find that the title of Cæſar has been applied by the Arabians, or aſſumed by the Ottomans themſelves.

[33] See the reigns of Barkok and Pharadge, in M. de Guignes (tom. iv. l. xxii.), who, from the Arabic texts of Aboulmahaſen, Ebn Schounah, and Aintabi, has added ſome facts to our common ſtock of materials.

[34] For theſe recent and domeſtic tranſactions, Arabſhah, though a partial, is a credible, witneſs (tom. i. c. 64—68. tom. ii. c. 1—14). Timour muſt have been odious to a Syrian; but the notoriety of facts would have obliged him, in ſome meaſure, to reſpect his enemy and himſelf. His bitters may correct the luſcious ſweets of Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 17—29.).

[35] Theſe intereſting converſations appear to have been copied by Arabſhah (tom. i. c. 68. p. 625—645.) from the cadhi and hiſtorian Ebn Schounah, a principal actor. Yet how could he be alive ſeventy-five years afterwards (d'Herbelot, p. 792. ?

[36] The marches and occupations of Timour between the Syrian and Ottoman wars, are repreſented by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 29—43.) and Arabſhah (tom. ii. c. 15—18.).

[37] This number of 800,000 was extracted by Arabſhah, or rather by Ebn Schounah, ex rationario Timuri, on the faith of a Carizmian officer (tom. i. c. 68. p. 617.); and it is remarkable enough, that a Greek hiſtorian (Phranza, l. i. c. 29.) adds no more than 20,000 men. Poggius reckons 1,000,000; another Latin contemporary (Chron. Tar-

vifianum; apud Muratori, tom. xix. p. 800.) 1,100,000; and the enormous ſum of 1,600,000 is atteſted by a German ſoldier, who was preſent at the battle of Angora (Leunclav. ad Chalcocondyl. l. iii. p. 82.). Timour, in his Inſtitutions, has not deigned to calculate his troops, his ſubjects, or his revenues.

[38] A wide latitude of non effectives was allowed by the Great Mogul for his own pride and the benefit of his officers. Bernier's patron was Penge-Hazari, commander of 5000 horſe; of which he maintained no more than 500 (Voyages, tom. i. p. 288, 289.)

[39] Timour himſelf fixes at 400,000 men the Ottoman army (Inſtitutions, p. 153.), which is reduced to 150,000 by Phranza (l. i. c. 29.), and ſwelled by the German ſoldier to 1,400,000. It is evident, that the Moguls were the more numerous.

[40] It may not be uſeleſs to mark the diſtances between Angora and the neighbouring cities, by the journies of the caravans, each of twenty or twenty-five miles: to Smyrna xx. to Kiotahia x. to Bourſa x. to Cæſarea viii. to Sinope x. to Nicomedia ix. to Conſtantinople xii. or xiii. (ſee Tournefort, Voyage au Levant, tom. ii. lettre xxi.)

[41] See the Syſtems of Tactics in the Inſtitutions, which the English editors have illuſtrated with elaborate plans (p. 373—407.).

[42] The ſultan himſelf (ſays Timour) muſt then put the foot of courage into the ſtirrup of patience. A Tartar metaphor, which is loſt in the English, but preſerved in the French, verſion of the Inſtitutes (p. 156, 157.).

[43] The Greek fire, on Timour's ſide, is atteſted by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 47.); but Voltaire's ſtrange ſuſpicion, that ſome cannon, inſcribed with ſtrange characters, muſt have been ſent by that monarch to Dehli, is refuted by the univerſal ſilence of contemporaries.

[44] Timour has diſſembled this ſecret and important negociation with the Tartars, which is indiſputably proved by the joint evidence of the Arabian (tom. i. c. 47. p. 391.), Turkiſh (Annal. Leunclav. p. 321.), and Perſian hiſtorians (Khondemir, apud d'Herbelot, p. 882.)

[45] For the war of Anatolia or Roum, I add ſome hints in the Inſtitutions, to the copious narratives of Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 44—65.) and Arabſhah (tom. ii. c. 20—35.). On this part only of Timour's hiſtory, it is lawful to quote the Turks (Cantemir. p. 53—55. Annal. Leunclav. p. 320—322.) and the Greeks (Phranza, l. i. c. 29. Ducas, c. 15—17. Chalcocondyles, l. iii.)

[46] The ſcepticiſm of Voltaire (Eſſai ſur l'Hiſtoire Générale, c. 88.) is ready on this, as on every occaſion, to reject a popular tale, and to diminish the magnitude of vice and virtue; and on moſt occaſions his incredulity is reaſonable.

47 See the hiſtory of Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 49. 52, 53, and work was finiſhed at Shiraz, in the year 1424, and ſultan Ibrahim, the ſon of Sharokh, the ſon of Timour, in Farſiſtan in his father's lifetime.

48 After the peruſal of Khondemir, Ebn Schounah, etc. d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 882.) may affirm, that is not mentioned in the moſt authentic hiſtories: but the viſible teſtimony of Arabſhah, leaves ſome room to accuracy.

49 Et fut lui-meme (*Bajazet*) pris, et mené en priſon, mourut de *dure mort!* Mémoires de Boucicault, p. i. c. memoirs were compoſed while the marſhal was ſtill govern noa, from whence he was expelled in the year 1409, by a inſurrection (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom xii. p. 473, 50 The reader will find a ſatisfactory account of the life and of Poggius, in the Poggiana, an entertaining work of M. and in the Bibliotheca Latina mediæ et infimæ Ætatis of Fa (tom. v. p. 305—308.). Poggius was born in the year 1380, in 1459.

51 The dialogue de Varietate Fortunæ (of which a comple elegant edition has been published at Paris in 1723, in 4to. compoſed a ſhort time before the death of pope Martin V. and conſequently about the end of the year 1430.

52 See a ſplendid and eloquent encomium of Tamerlane, p. ipſe enim novi (ſays Poggius) qui fuere in ejus caſtris Regem vivum cepit, caveâque in modum feræ incluſum per omnem Aſiam circumtulit egregium admirandumque ſpectaculum fortunæ.

53 The Chronicon Tarviſianum (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xix. p. 800.), and the Annales Eſtenſes (tom. xviii. p. 974.). The two authors, Andrea de Redufiis de Quero, and James de Delayto, were both contemporaries, and both chancellors, the one of Trevigi, the other of Ferrara. The evidence of the former is the moſt poſitive.

54 See Arabſhah, tom. ii. c. 28. 34. He travelled in regiones Rumæas, A. H. 839 (A. D. 1435, July 27.), tom. ii. c. 2. p. 13.

55 Busbequius in Legatione Turcicâ, epiſt. i. p. 52. Yet his reſpectable authority is ſomewhat ſhaken by the ſubſequent marriages of Amurath II. with a Servian, and of Mahomet II. with an Aſiatic, princeſs (Cantemir, p. 83. 93.).

56 See the teſtimony of George Phranza (l. i. c. 29.), and his life in Hanckius de Script. Byzant. p. i. c. 40.). Chalcocondyles and Ducas ſpeak in general terms of Bajazet's *chains*.

Annales Leunclav. p. 321. Pocock, Prolegomen. ad Abulpharag. ... Cantemir, p. 55.

... A Sapor, king of Perſia, had been made priſoner and incloſed the figure of a cow's hide by Maximian or Galerius Cæſar. Such ... the fable related by Eutychius (Annal. tom. i. p. 421. verſ. Pocock.) ... recollection of the true hiſtory (Decline and Fall, etc. vol. ii. ... 118—129) will teach us to appreciate the knowledge of the Orien... ages which precede the Hegira.

[59] Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 25.) deſcribes, like a curious traveller, ... ſtreights of Gallipoli and Conſtantinople. To acquire a juſt idea ... theſe events, I have compared the narratives and prejudices of the ... Moguls, Turks, Greeks, and Arabians. The Spaniſh ambaſſador men... ons this hoſtile union of the Chriſtians and Ottomans (Vie de Timour, ... 95.).

[60] Since the name of Cæſar had been transferred to the ſultans of Roum, the Greek princes of Conſtantinople (Sherefeddin, l. v. c. 54.) were confounded with the Chriſtian *lords* of Gallipoli, Theſſalonica, etc. under the title of *Tekkur*, which is derived by corruption from the genitive τῦ κυρίυ (Cantemir, p. 51.).

[61] See Sherefeddin, l. v. c. 4. who marks, in a juſt itinerary, the road to China, which Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 33.) paints in vague and rhetorical colours.

[62] Synopſis Hiſt. Sinicæ, p. 74—76 (in the ivth part of the Relations de Thevenot), Duhalde, Hiſt. de la Chine (tom. i. p. 507, 508. folio edition); and for the chronology of the Chineſe emperors, de Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 71, 72.

[63] For the return, triumph, and death of Timour, ſee Sherefeddin (l. vi. c. 1—30.) and Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 35—47.).

[64] Sherefeddin (l. vi. c. 24.) mentions the ambaſſadors of one of the moſt potent ſovereigns of Europe. We know that it was Henry III. king of Caſtile; and the curious relation of his two embaſſies is ſtill extant (Mariana, Hiſt. Hiſpan. l. xix. c. 11. tom. ii. p. 329. 330. Avertiſſement à l'Hiſt. de Timur Bec, p. 28—33.). There appears likewiſe to have been ſome correſpondence between the Mogul emperor, and the court of Charles VII. king of France, (Hiſt. de France par Velly et Villaret, tom. xii. p. 336.).

[65] See the tranſlation of the Perſian account of their embaſſy, a curious and original piece (in the ivth part of the Relations de Thevenot). They preſented the emperor of China with an old horſe which Timour had formerly rode. It was in the year 1419, that they departed from the court of Herat, to which place they returned in 1422 from Pekin.

[66] From Arabshah, tom. ii. c. 96. The bright or ſofter colours are borrowed from Sherefeddin, d'Herbelot, and the Inſtitutions.

[67] His new ſyſtem was multiplied from 32 pieces and 64 ſquares, to 56 pieces and 110 or 130 ſquares. But, except in his court, the old game has been thought ſufficiently elaborate. The Mogul emperor was rather pleaſed than hurt, with the victory of a ſubject: a cheſs-player will feel the value of this encomium!

[68] See Sherefeddin, l. v. c. 15. 25. Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 96. p. 801. 803.) reproves the impiety of Timour and the Moguls, who almoſt preferred to the Koran, the *Yacſa*, or Law of Zingis (cui Deus maledicat): nor will he believe that Sharokh had abolished the uſe and authority of that Pagan code.

[69] Beſides the bloody paſſages of this narrative, I muſt refer to an anticipation in the ſixth volume of the Decline and Fall, which, in a ſingle note (p. 46. Note 25.), accumulates near 300,000 heads of the monuments of his cruelty. Except in Rowe's play on the fifth of November, I did not expect to hear of Timour's amiable moderation (White's preface, p. 7.). Yet I can excuſe a generous enthuſiaſm in the reader, and ſtill more in the editor, of the *Inſtitutions*.

[70] Conſult the laſt chapters of Sherefeddin and Arabshah, and M. de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iv. l. xx.). Fraſer's Hiſtory of Nadir Shah, p. 1—62. The ſtory of Timour's deſcendants is imperfectly told: and the ſecond and third parts of Sherefeddin are unknown.

[71] Shah Allum, the preſent Mogul, is in the fourteenth degree from Timour by Miran Shah, his third ſon. See the iid volume of Dow's Hiſtory of Hindoſtan.

[72] The civil wars, from the death of Bajazet to that of Muſtapha, are related, according to the Turks, by Demetrius Cantemir (p. 58—82.). Of the Greeks, Chalcocondyles (l. iv. and v.), Phranza (l. i. c. 30—32.), and Ducas (c. 18—27.), the laſt is the moſt copious and beſt informed.

[73] Arabshah, tom. ii. c. 26. whoſe teſtimony on this occaſion is weighty and valuable. The exiſtence of Iſa (unknown to the Turks) is likewiſe confirmed by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 57.).

[74] Arabshah, loc. citat. Abulfeda, Geograph. tab. xvii. p. 302. Busbequius, epiſt. i. p. 96, 97. in Itinere C. P. et Amaſiano.

[75] The virtues of Ibrahim are praiſed by a contempory Greek (Ducas, c. 25.). His deſcendants are the ſole nobles in Turkey: they content themſelves with the adminiſtration of his pious foundations, are excuſed from public offices, and receive two annual viſits from the ſultan (Cantemir, p. 76.).

[76] See Pachymer (l. v. 29.), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ii. c. 1.),

Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 57.), and Ducas (c. 25.). The laſt of theſe, a curious and careful obſerver, is entitled, from his birth and ſtation, to particular credit in all that concerns Ionia and the iſlands. Among the nations that reſorted to New Phocæa, he mentions the English (Ιγγλινοι); an early evidence of Mediterranean trade.

[77] For the ſpirit of navigation, and freedom of ancient Phocæa, or rather of the Phocæans, conſult the iſt book of Herodotus, and the Geographical Index of his laſt and learned French tranſlator, M. Larcher (tom. vii. p. 299.).

[78] Phocæa is not enumerated by Pliny (Hiſt. Nat. xxxv. 52.) among the places productive of alum; he reckons Egypt as the firſt, and for the ſecond the iſle of Melos, whoſe alum mines are deſcribed by Tournefort (tom. i. lettre iv.), a traveller and a naturaliſt. After the loſs of Phocæa, the Genoeſe, in 1459, found that uſeful mineral in the iſle of Iſchia (Iſmael. Bouillaud, ad Ducam, c. 25.).

[79] The writer who has the moſt abuſed this fabulous generoſity, is our ingenious Sir William Temple (his works, vol. iii. p. 349, 350. octavo edition), that lover of exotic virtue. After the conqueſt of Ruſſia, etc. and the paſſage of the Danube, his Tartar hero relieves, viſits, admires, and refuſes the city of Conſtantine. His flattering pencil deviates in every line from the truth of hiſtory: yet his pleaſing fictions are more excuſable than the groſs errors of Cantemir.

[80] For the reigns of Manuel and John, of Mahomet I. and Amurath II. ſee the Othman hiſtory of Cantemir (p. 70—95.) and the three Greeks Chalcocondyles, Phranza, and Ducas, who is ſtill ſuperior to his rivals.

[81] The Turkiſh aſper (from the Greek ασπρος) is, or was, a piece of *white* or ſilver money, at preſent much debaſed, but which was formerly equivalent to the 54th part, at leaſt, of a Venetian ducat or ſequin; and the 300,000 aſpers, a princely allowance or royal tribute, may be computed at 2500 l. ſterling (Leunclav. Pandect. Turc. p. 406—408.).

[82] For the ſiege of Conſtantinople in 1422, ſee the particular and contemporary narrative of John Cananus, published by Leo Allatius, at the end of his edition of Acropolita (p. 188—199.).

[83] Cantemir, p. 80. Cananus, who deſcribes Seid Bechar without naming him, ſuppoſes that the friend of Mahomet aſſumed in his amours the privilege of a prophet, and that the faireſt of the Greek nuns were promiſed to the ſaint and his diſciples.

[84] For this miraculous apparition, Cananus appeals to the Muſulman ſaint; but who will bear teſtimony for Seid Bechar?

[85] See Rycaut (l. i. c. 13.). The Turkiſh ſultans aſſume the title of khan. Yet Abulghazi is ignorant of his Ottoman couſins.

[86] The third grand vizir of the name of Kiuperli, who was ſlain at the battle of Salankanen in 1691 (Cantemir, p. 382.), preſumed to ſay, that all the ſucceſſors of Soliman had been fools or tyrants, and that it was time to aboliſh the race (Marſigli Stato Militare, etc. p. 28.). This political heretic was a good whig, and juſtified againſt the French ambaſſador the revolution of England (Mignot, Hiſt. des Ottomans, tom. iii. p. 434.). His preſumption contemns the ſingular exception of continuing offices in the ſame family.

[87] Chalcocondyles (l. v.) and Ducas (c. 23.) exhibit the rude lineaments of the Ottoman policy, and the tranſmutation of Chriſtian children into Turkish ſoldiers.

[88] This ſketch of the Turkish education and diſcipline, is chiefly borrowed from Rycaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, the Stato Militare dell' Imperio Ottomanno of Count Marſigli (in Haia, 1732, in folio), and a Deſcription of the Seraglio, approved by Mr. Graves himſelf, a curious traveller, and inſerted in the ſecond volume of his works.

[89] From the ſeries of cxv vizirs till the ſiege of Vienna (Marſigli, p. 13.), their place may be valued at three years and a half purchaſe.

[90] See the entertaining and judicious letters of Busbequius.

[91] The iſt and iid volumes of Dr. Watſon's Chemical Eſſays, contain two valuable diſcourſes on the diſcovery and compoſition of gunpowder.

[92] On this ſubject, modern teſtimonies cannot be truſted. The original paſſages are collected by Ducange (Gloſſ. Latin. tom. i. p. 675. *Bombarda*). But in the early doubtful twilight, the name, ſound, fire, and effect, that ſeem to expreſs *our* artillery, may be fairly interpreted of the old engines and the Greek fire. For the English cannon at Crecy, the authority of John Villani (Chron. l. xii. c. 65.), muſt be weighed againſt the ſilence of Froiſſard. Yet Muratori (Antiquit. Italiæ medii Ævi, tom. ii. Diſſert. xxvi. p. 514, 515.) has produced a deciſive paſſage from Petrarch (de Remediis utriuſque Fortunæ Dialog.), who, before the year 1344, execrates this terreſtrial thunder, *nuper* rara, *nunc* communis.

[93] The Turkish cannon, which Ducas (c. 30.) firſt introduces before Belgrade (A. D. 1436), is mentioned by Chalcocondyles (l. v. p. 123.) in 1422, at the ſiege of Conſtantinople.

CHAP. LXVI.

[1] This curious inſtruction was tranſcribed (I believe) from the Vatican archives, by Odoricus Raynaldus, in his continuation of the

Annals of Baronius (Romæ, 1646—1677, in x volumes in folio.). I have contented myſelf with the Abbé Fleury (Hiſt. Eccléſiaſtique, tom. xx. p. 1—8.), whoſe abſtracts I have always found to be clear, accurate, and impartial.

[2] The ambiguity of this title is happy or ingenious; and *moderator*, as ſynonymous to *rector*, *gubernator*, is a word of claſſical, and even Ciceronian, Latinity, which may be found, not in the Gloſſary of Ducange, but in the Theſaurus of Robert Stephens.

[3] The firſt Epiſtle (ſine titulo) of Petrarch, expoſes the danger of the *bark*, and the incapacity of the *pilot*. Hæc inter, vino madidus, ævo gravis ac ſoporifero rore perfuſus, jamjam nutitat, dormitat, jam ſomno præceps, atque (utinam ſolus) ruit. Heu quanto felicius patrio terram ſulcaſſet aratro, quam ſcalmum piſcatorium aſcendiſſet. This ſatire engages his biographer to weigh the virtues and vices of Benedict XII. which have been exaggerated by Guelphs and Ghibelines, by Papiſts and Proteſtants (ſee Mémoires ſur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. i. p. 259. ii. not. xv. p. 13—16.). He gave occaſion to the ſaying, Bibamus papaliter.

[4] See the original lives of Clement VI. in Muratori (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. p. ii. p. 550—589.). Matteo Villani (Chron. l. iii. c. 43. in Muratori, tom. xiv. p. 186.), who ſtyles him, molto cavallareſco, poco religioſo; Fleury (Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xx. p. 126.), and the Vie de Petrarque (tom. ii. p. 42—45.). The Abbé de Sade treats him with the moſt indulgence; but *he* is a gentleman as well as a prieſt.

[5] Her name (moſt probably corrupted) was Zampea. She had accompanied, and alone remained with her miſtreſs at Conſtantinople, where her prudence, erudition, and politeneſs, deſerves the praiſes of the Greeks themſelves (Cantacuzen. l. i. c. 42.).

[6] See this whole negociation in Cantacuzene (l. iv. c. 9.), who, amidſt the praiſes and virtues which he beſtows on himſelf, reveals the uneaſineſs of a guilty conſcience.

[7] See this ignominious treaty in Fleury (Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 151—154.), from Raynaldus, who drew it from the Vatican archives. It was not worth the trouble of a pious forgery.

[8] See the two firſt original lives of Urban V. (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. ii. p. 623. 635.) and the Eccleſiaſtical Annals of Spondanus (tom. i. p. 573. A. D. 1369, N° 7.) and Raynaldus (Fleury, Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xx. p. 223, 224.) Yet, from ſome variations, I ſuſpect the papal writers of ſlightly magnifying the genuflexions of Palæologus.

[9] Paullo minus quam ſi fuiſſet Imperator Romanorum. Yet his

title of Imperator Græcorum was no longer diſputed (Vit. Urban. V. p. 623.).

[10] It was confined to the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne, and to them only on Chriſtmas day. On all other feſtivals, theſe Imperial deacons were content to ſerve the pope, as he ſaid maſs, with the book and the *corporal*. Yet the abbé de Sade generouſly thinks, that the merits of Charles IV. might have entitled him, though not on the proper day (A. D. 1368, November 1.), to the whole privilege. He ſeems to affix a juſt value on the privilege and the man (Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 735.)

[11] Through ſome Italian corruptions, the etymology of *Falcone in boſco* (Matteo Villani, l. xi c. 79. in Muratori, tom. xv. p. 746.), ſuggeſts the English word *Hawkwood*, the true name of our adventurous countryman (Thomas Walſingham, Hiſt. Anglican. inter Scriptores Cambdeni, p. 184.). After two-and-twenty victories, and one defeat, he died, in 1394, General of the Florentines, and was buried with ſuch honours as the republic has not paid to Dante or Petrarch (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. p. 212—371.).

[12] This torrent of English (by birth or ſervice) overflowed from France into Italy after the peace of Bretigny in 1360. Yet the exclamation of Muratori (Annali, tom. xii. p. 197) is rather true than civil. "Ci mancava ancora queſto, che dopo eſſere calpeſtrata l'Italia „ da tanti maſnadieri Tedeſchi ed Ungheri, venſſero fin dall' Inghil- „ terra nuovi *cani* à finire di divorarla."

[13] Chalcocondyles, l. i. p. 25, 26. The Greek ſuppoſes his journey to the king of France, which is ſufficiently refuted by the ſilence of the national hiſtorians. Nor am I much more inclined to believe, that Palæologus departed from Italy, valde bene conſolatus et contentus (Vit. Urban V. p. 623.).

[14] His return in 1370, and the coronation of Manuel, Sept. 25, 1373 (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 241.), leaves ſome intermediate æra for the conſpiracy and puniſhment of Andronicus.

[15] Mémoires de Boucicault, p. i. c. 35, 36.

[16] His journey into the weſt of Europe, is ſlightly, and I believe reluctantly, noticed by Chalcocondyles (l. ii. c. 44—50.) and Ducas (c. 14.)

[17] Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. p. 406. John Galeazzo was the firſt and moſt powerful duke of Milan. His connection with Bajazet is atteſted by Froiſſard; and he contributed to ſave and deliver the French captives of Nicopolis.

[18] For the reception of Manuel at Paris, ſee Spondanus (Annal. Eccleſ. tom. i. p. 676, 677. A. D. 1400, N°. 5.), who quotes Juvenal des Urſins,

Urſins, and the monk of St. Denys; and Villaret (Hiſt. de France, tom. xii. p. 331—334.), who quotes nobody, according to the laſt fashion of the French writers.

[19] A short note of Manuel in England, is extracted by Dr. Hody from a MS. at Lambeth (de Græcis illuſtribus, p. 14.), C. P. Imperator, diu varliſque et horrendis Paganorum inſultibus coarctatus, ut pro eiſdem reſiſtentiam triumphalem perquireret, Anglorum Regem viſitare decrevit, etc. Rex (ſays Walſingham, p. 364.) nobili apparatû.... ſuſcepit (ut decuit) tantum Heroa, duxitque Londonias, et per multos dies exhibuit glorioſe pro expenſis hoſpitii ſui ſolvens, et eum reſpiciens tanto faſtigio donativis. He repeats the ſame in his Upodigma Neuſtriæ, (p. 556.).

[20] Shakeſpeare begins and ends the play of Henry IV. with that prince's vow of a cruſade, and his belief that he should die in Jeruſalem.

[21] This fact is preſerved in the Hiſtoria Politica, A. D. 1391—1478, published by Martin Cruſius (Turco Græcia, p. 1—43.). The image of Chriſt, which the Greek emperor refuſed to worship, was probably a work of ſculpture.

[22] The Greek and Turkish hiſtory of Laonicus Chalcocondyles ends with the winter of 1463, and the abrupt concluſion ſeems to mark, that he laid down his pen in the ſame year. We know that he was an Athenian, and that ſome contemporaries of the ſame name contributed to the revival of the Greek language in Italy. But in his numerous digreſſions, the modeſt hiſtorian has never introduced himſelf; and his editor Leunclavius, as well as Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 474.) ſeems ignorant of his life and character. For his deſcriptions of Germany, France, and England, ſee l. ii p. 36, 37. 44—50.

[23] I shall not animadvert on the geographical errors of Chalcocondyles. In this inſtance, he perhaps followed, and miſtook, Herodotus (l. ii. c. 33.), whoſe text may be explained (Herodote de Larcher, tom. ii. p. 219, 220.) or whoſe ignorance may be excuſed. Had theſe modern Greeks never read Strabo, or any of their leſſer geographers?

[24] A citizen of new Rome, while new Rome ſurvived, would have ſcorned to dignify the German Ρηξ with the titles of Βασιλευς, or Αυτοκρατωρ Ρωμαιων: but all priſe was extinct in the boſom of Chalcocondyles; and he deſcribes the Byzantine prince, and his ſubject, by the proper, though humble names of Ἑλληνες, and Βασιλευς Ἑλληνων.

[25] Moſt of the old romances were translated in the xivth century into French proſe, and ſoon became the favourite amuſement of the

knights and ladies in the court of Charles VI. If a Greek believed in the exploits of Rowland and Oliver, he may ſurely be excuſed, ſince the monks of St. Denys, the national hiſtorians, have inſerted the fables of archbiſhop Turpin in their Chronicles of France.

[26] Λονδινη.... δε τε πολις δυναμει τε προεχουσα των εν τη νησφ ταυτη πασων πολεων, ολβφ τε και τη αλλη ευδαιμονια μεμιας των προς εσπεραν λελειπται. Even ſince the time of Fitzſtephen (the xiith century), London appears to have maintained this pre-eminence of wealth and magnitude; and her gradual increaſe has, at leaſt, kept pace with the general improvement of Europe.

[27] If the double ſenſe of the verb Κυω (oſculor, and in utero gero) be equivocal, the context and pious horror of Chalcocondyles can leave no doubt of his meaning and miſtake (p. 49.)

[28] Eraſmus (Epiſt. Fauſto Andrelino) has a pretty paſſage on the Engliſh faſhion of kiſſing ſtrangers on their arrival and departure, from whence, however, he draws no ſcandalous inferences.

[29] Perhaps we may apply this remark to the community of wives among the old Britons, as it is ſuppoſed by Cæſar and Dion (Dion Caſſius, l. lxii. tom. ii. p. 1007.) with Reimar's judicious annotation. The *Arreoy* of Otaheite, ſo certain at firſt, is become leſs viſible and ſcandalous, in proportion as we have ſtudied the manners of that gentle and amorous people.

[30] See Lenfant, Hiſt. du Concile de Conſtance, tom. ii. p. 576.; and for the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the times, the Annals of Spondanus, the Bibliothéque of Dupin, tom. xii. and xxiſt and xxiid volumes of the Hiſtory, or rather the Continuation, of Fleury.

[31] From his early youth, George Phranza, or Phranzes, was employed in the ſervice of the ſtate and palace; and Hanckius (de Script. Byzant. p. 1. c. 40.) has collected his life from his own writings. He was no more than four-and-twenty years of age at the death of Manuel, who recommended him in the ſtrongeſt terms to his ſucceſſor: Imprimis vero hunc Phranzen tibi commendo, qui miniſtravit mihi fideliter et diligenter (Phranzes, l. ii. c. 1.). Yet the emperor John was cold, and he preferred the ſervice of the deſpots of Peloponneſus.

[32] See Phranzes, l. ii. c. 13. While ſo many manuſcripts of the Greek original are extant in the libraries of Rome, Milan, the Eſcurial, etc. it is a matter of ſhame and reproach, that we ſhould be reduced to the Latin verſion, or abſtract, of James Pontanus (ad calcem Theophylact Simocattæ; Ingolſtadt, 1604), ſo deficient in accuracy and elegance (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 615—620.).

[33] See Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 243—248.

[34] The exact meaſure of the Hexamilion, from ſea to ſea, was

3800 orgygiæ; or *toiſes*, of ſix Greek feet (Phranzes, l. i. c. 38.), which would produce a Greek mile, ſtill ſmaller than that of 660 French *toiſes*, which is aſſigned by d'Anville as ſtill in uſe in Turkey. Five miles are commonly reckoned for the breadth of the Iſthmus. See the Travels of Spon, Wheeler, and Chandler.

[35] The firſt objection of the Jews, is on the death of Chriſt: if it were voluntary, Chriſt was a ſuicide; which the emperor parries with a myſtery. They then diſpute on the conception of the virgin, the ſenſe of the prophecies, etc. (Phranzes, l. ii. c. 12. a whole chapter.).

[36] In the treatiſe delle Materie Beneficiarie of Fra-Paolo (in the ivth volume of the laſt and beſt edition of his works), the papal ſyſtem is deeply ſtudied and freely deſcribed. Should Rome and her religion be annihilated, this golden volume may ſtill ſurvive, a philoſophical hiſtory, and a ſalutary warning.

[37] Pope John XXII. (in 1334) left behind him, at Avignon, eighteen millions of gold florins, and the value of ſeven millions more in plate and jewels. See the Chronicle of John Villani (l. xi. c. 20. in Muratori's Collection, tom. xiii p. 765.), whoſe brother received the account from the papal treaſurers. A treaſure of ſix or eight millions ſterling in the xivth century is enormous, and almoſt incredible.

[38] A learned and liberal proteſtant, M. Lenfant, has given a fair hiſtory of the councils of Piſa, Conſtance, and Baſil, in ſix volumes in quarto: but the laſt part is the moſt haſty and imperfect, except in the account of the troubles of Bohemia.

[39] The original acts or minutes of the council of Baſil, are preſerved in the public library, in twelve volumes in folio. Baſil was a free city, conveniently ſituate on the Rhine, and guarded by the arms of the neighbouring and confederate Swiſs. In 1459, the univerſity was founded by pope Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius), who had been ſecretary to the council. But what is a council, or an univerſity, to the preſſes of Froben and the ſtudies of Eraſmus?

[40] This Turkiſh embaſſy, atteſted only by Crantzius, is related with ſome doubt by the annaliſt Spondanus, A. D. 1433, N° 25. tom. i. p. 824.

[41] Syropulus, p. 19. In this liſt, the Greeks appear to have exceeded the real numbers of the clergy and laity which afterwards attended the emperor and patriarch, but which are not clearly ſpecified by the great eccleſiarch. The 75,000 florins which they aſked in this negociation of the pope (p. 9.), were more than they could hope or want.

[42] I uſe indifferently the words, *ducat* and *florin*, which derive their names, the former from the *dukes* of Milan, the latter from the republic of *Florence*. Theſe gold pieces, the firſt that were coined in

Italy, perhaps in the Latin world, may be compared in weight and value to one third of the English guinea.

[43] At the end of the Latin verſion of Phranzes, we read a long Greek epiſtle or declamation of George of Trebizond, who adviſes the emperor to prefer Eugenius and Italy. He treats with contempt the ſchiſmatic aſſembly of Baſil, the Barbarians of Gaul and Germany, who had conſpired to tranſport the chair of St. Peter beyond the Alps: ὃι αὐλιοι (ſays he) σε και την μετα σε συνοδον εξω των Ἡρακλειων ϛηλων και περα Γαδηρων εξαξυσι. Was Conſtantinople unprovided with a map?

[44] Syropulus (p. 26—31.) atteſts his own indignation, and that of his countrymen: and the Baſil deputies, who excuſed the raſh declaration, could neither deny nor alter an act of the council.

[45] Condolmieri, the pope's nephew and admiral, expreſsly declared, ὁτι ὁρισμον εχει παρα τε Παπα ἱνα πολεμηϛῃ ὁπε αν ἑυρῃ τα κατεργα της Συνοδε, και ει δυνηθῃ καταδυσῃ και αΦανισῃ. The naval orders of the ſynod were leſs peremptory, and, till the hoſtile ſquadrons appeared, both parties tried to conceal their quarrel from the Greeks.

[46] Syropulus mentions the hopes of Palæologus (p. 36.), and the laſt advice of Sigiſmond (p. 57.). At Corfu, the Greek emperor was informed of his friend's death; had he known it ſooner, he would have returned home (p. 79.).

[47] Phranzes himſelf, though from different motives, was of the advice of Amurath (l. ii. c. 13.). Utinam ne ſynodus iſta unquam fuiſſet, ſi tantas offenſiones et detrimenta paritura erat. This Turkiſh embaſſy is likewiſe mentioned by Syropulus (p. 58.); and Amurath kept his word. He might threaten (p. 125. 219.), but he never attacked the city.

[48] The reader will ſmile at the ſimplicity with which he imparted theſe hopes to his favourites: τοιαυτην πληροΦοριαν σχησειν ηλπιζε και δια τε Παπα εθαῤῥει ελευθερωσαι την εκκλησιαν απο της αποτεθειϛης αυτε δηλειας παρα τε βασιλεως (p. 92.). Yet it would have been difficult for him to have practiſed the leſſons of Gregory VII.

[49] The Chriſtian name of Sylveſter is borrowed from the Latin calendar. In modern Greek, πηλος, as a diminutive, is added to the end of words: nor can any reaſoning of Creyghton, the editor, excuſe his changing into *Sguro*pulus (Sguros, fuſcus) the Syropulus of his own manuſcript, whoſe name is ſubſcribed with his own hand in the acts of the council of Florence. Why might not the author be of Syrian extraction?

[50] From the concluſion of the hiſtory, I ſhould fix the date to the

year 1444, four years after the ſynod, when the great eccleſiarch had abdicated his office (ſectio xii. p. 330—350.). His paſſions were cooled by time and retirement, and, although Syropulus is often partial, he is never intemperate.

[51] *Vera hiſtoria unionis non veræ inter Græcos et Latinos* (*Hagæ Comitis*, 1660, in folio), was firſt published with a looſe and florid verſion, by Robert Creyghton, chaplain to Charles II. in his exile. The zeal of the editor has prefixed a polemic title, for the beginning of the original is wanting. Syropulus may be ranked with the beſt of the Byzantine writers for the merit of his narration, and even of his ſtyle: but he is excluded from the orthodox collections of the councils.

[52] Syropulus (p. 63.) ſimply expreſſes his intention: ἵν' ἅτω πομπαῶν ἐν Ἰταλοις μεγας βασιλευς παρ' ἐκεινων νομιζοιτο; and the Latin of Creyghton may afford a ſpecimen of his florid paraphraſe. Ut pompâ circumductus noſter Imperator Italiæ populis aliquis deauratus Jupiter crederetur, aut Crœſus ex opulentâ Lydiâ.

[53] Although I cannot ſtop to quote Syropulus for every fact, I will obſerve, that the navigation of the Greeks from Conſtantinople to Venice and Ferrara is contained in the ivth ſection (p. 67—100.), and that the hiſtorian has the uncommon talent of placing each ſcene before the reader's eye.

[54] At the time of the ſynod, Phranzes was in Peloponneſus; but he received from the deſpot Demetrius, a faithful account of the honourable reception of the emperor and patriarch both at Venice and Ferrara (Dux.... ſedentem Imperatorem *adorat*), which are more ſlightly mentioned by the Latins (l. ii. c. 14, 15, 16.).

[55] The aſtonishment of a Greek prince and a French ambaſſador (Mémoires de Philippe de Comines, l. vii. c. 18.) at the ſight of Venice, abundantly prove, that in the xvth century it was the firſt and moſt ſplendid of the Chriſtian cities. For the ſpoils of Conſtantinople at Venice, ſee Syropulus (p. 87.).

[56] Nicholas III. of Eſte, reigned forty-eight years (A. D. 1393—1441.), and was lord of Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, Parma, Rovigo, and Commachio. See his life in Muratori (Antichità Eſtenſi, tom. ii. p. 159—201.).

[57] The Latin vulgar was provoked to laughter at the ſtrange dreſſes of the Greeks, and eſpecially the length of their garments, their ſleeves, and their beards; nor was the emperor diſtinguiſhed, except by the purple colour, and his diadem or tiara with a jewel on the top (Hody de Græcis Illuſtribus, p. 31.). Yet another ſpectator confeſſes, that the Greek faſhion was più grave e più degna than the Italian (Veſpaſiano, in Vit. Eugen. IV. in Muratori, tom. xxv. p. 261.).

[58] For the emperor's hunting, see Syropulus (p. 143, 144. 191.). The pope had sent him eleven miserable hacks: but he bought a strong and swift horse that came from Russia. The name of *Janizaries* may surprise: but the name, rather than the institution, had passed from the Ottoman, to the Byzantine, court; and is often used in the last age of the empire.

[59] The Greeks obtained, with much difficulty, that instead of provisions, money should be distributed, four florins *per* month to the persons of honourable rank, and three florins to their servants, with an addition of thirty more to the emperor, twenty-five to the patriarch, and twenty to the prince or despot Demetrius. The payment of the first month amounted to 691 florins, a sum which will not allow us to reckon above 200 Greeks of every condition (Syropulus, p. 104, 105.). On the 20th October 1438, there was an arrear of four months; in April 1439, of three; and of five and a half in July, at the time of the union (p. 172. 225. 271.).

[60] Syropulus (p. 141, 142. 204. 221.) deplores the imprisonment of the Greeks, and the tyranny of the emperor and patriarch.

[61] The wars of Italy are most clearly represented in the xiiith volume of the Annals of Muratori. The schismatic Greek, Syropulus (p. 145.), appears to have exaggerated the fear and disorder of the pope in his retreat from Ferrara to Florence, which is proved by the acts to have been somewhat more decent and deliberate.

[62] Syropulus is pleased to reckon seven hundred prelates in the council of Basil. The error is manifest, and perhaps voluntary. That extravagant number could not be supplied by *all* the ecclesiastics of every degree who were present at the council, nor by *all* the absent bishops of the West, who, expressly or tacitly, might adhere to its decrees.

[63] The Greeks, who disliked the union, were unwilling to sally from this strong fortress (p. 178. 193. 195. 202. of Syropulus). The shame of the Latins was aggravated by their producing an old MS. of the second council of Nice, with *filioque* in the Nicene creed: a palpable forgery! (p. 173.).

[64] Ὡς εγω (said an eminent Greek) ὁταν εις ναον εισελθω Λατινων, ου προσκυνω τινα των εκειστε ἁγιων, επει ουδε γνωριζω τινα (Syropulus, p. 109.). See the perplexity of the Greeks (p. 217, 218. 252, 253. 273.).

[65] See the polite altercation of Mark and Bessarion in Syropulus (p. 257.), who never dissembles the vices of his own party, and fairly praises the virtues of the Latins.

[66] For the poverty of the Greek bishops, see a remarkable passage of Ducas (c. 31.). One had possessed, for his whole property, three

old gowns, etc. By teaching one-and-twenty years in his monaſtery, Beſſarion himſelf had collected forty gold florins; but of theſe, the archbishop had expended twenty-eight in his voyage from Peloponneſus, and the remainder at Conſtantinople (Syropulus, p. 127.).

[67] Syropulus denies that the Greeks received any money before they had ſubſcribed the act of union (p. 283.): yet he relates ſome ſuſpicious circumſtances; and their bribery and corruption are poſitively affirmed by the hiſtorian Ducas.

[68] The Greeks moſt piteously expreſs their own fears of exile and perpetual slavery (Syropul. p. 196.): and they were ſtrongly moved by the emperor's threats (p. 260.).

[69] I had forgot another popular and orthodox proteſter; a favourite hound, who uſually lay quiet on the foot-cloth of the emperor's throne; but who barked moſt furiously while the act of union was reading, without being ſilenced by the ſoothing on the laſhes of the royal attendants (Syropul. p. 265, 266).

[70] From the original Lives of the Popes, in Muratori's Collection (tom. iii. P. ii. tom. xxv.), the manners of Eugenius IV. appear to have been decent, and even exemplary. His ſituation, expoſed to the world and to his enemies, was a reſtraint, and is a pledge.

[71] Syropulus, rather than ſubſcribe, would have aſſiſted, as the leaſt evil, at the ceremony of the union. He was compelled to do both; and the great eccleſiarch poorly excuſes his ſubmiſſion to the emperor (p. 290—292.).

[72] None of theſe original acts of union can at preſent be produced. Of the ten MSS. that are preſerved (five at Rome, and the remainder at Florence, Bologna, Venice, Paris, and London), nine have been examined by an accurate critic (M. de Brequigny), who condemns them for the variety and imperfections of the Greek ſignatures. Yet ſeveral of theſe may be eſteemed as authentic copies, which were ſubſcribed at Florence before (26th of Auguſt 1439) the final ſeparation of the pope and emperor (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inſcriptions, tom. xliii. p. 287—311.).

[73] Ἡμιν δε ὡς ασημοι εδοκουν Φωναι (Syropul. p. 297.).

[74] In their return, the Greeks converſed at Bologna with the ambaſſadors of England; and after ſome queſtions and anſwers, theſe impartial ſtrangers laughed at the pretended union of Florence (Syropul. p. 307.).

[75] So nugatory, or rather ſo fabulous, are theſe reunions of the Neſtorians, Jacobites, etc. that I have turned over, without ſucceſs, the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Aſſemannus, a faithful ſlave of the Vatican.

[76] Ripaille is ſituate near Thonon in Savoy, on the ſouthern ſide of the lake of Geneva. It is now a Carthuſian abbey; and Mr. Addiſon,

(Travels into Italy, vol. ii. p. 147, 148. of Baskerville's edition of his works) has celebrated the place and the founder. Æneas Sylvius, and the fathers of Basil, applaud the austere life of the ducal hermit; but the French and Italian proverbs most unluckily attest the popular opinion of his luxury.

77 In this account of the councils of Basil, Ferrara, and Florence, I have consulted the original acts, which fill the xviith and xviiith tomes of the edition of Venice, and are closed by the perspicuous, though partial, history of Augustin Patricius, an Italian of the xvth century. They are digested and abridged by Dupin (Bibliothéque Eccles. tom. xii.), and the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii.); and the respect of the Gallican church for the adverse parties confines their members to an awkward moderation.

78 In the first attempt, Meursius collected 3600 Græco-barbarous words, to which, in a second edition, he subjoined 1800 more; yet what plenteous gleanings did he leave to Portius, Ducange, Fabrotti, the Bollandists, etc. (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 101, etc.) *Some* Persic words may be found in Xenophon, and some Latin ones in Plutarch; and such is the inevitable effect of war and commerce: but the form and substance of the language were not affected by this slight alloy.

79 The life of Francis Philelphus, a sophist, proud, restless, and rapacious, has been diligently composed by Lancelot (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 691—751.) and Tiraboschi (Istoria della Letteratura Italiana, tom. vii. p. 282—294.), for the most part from his own letters. His elaborate writings, and those of his contemporaries, are forgotten: but their familiar epistles still describe the men and the times.

80 He married, and had perhaps debauched, the daughter of John, and the grand-daughter of Manuel Chrysoloras. She was young, beautiful, and wealthy; and her noble family was allied to the Dorias of Genoa and the emperors of Constantinople.

81 Græci quibus lingua depravata non sit ita loquuntur vulgo hâc etiam tempestate ut Aristophanes comicus, aut Euripides tragicus, ut oratores omnes ut historiographi ut philosophi litterati autem homines et doctius et emendatius. ... Nam viri aulici veterem sermonis dignitatem atque elegantiam retinebant inprimisque ipsæ nobiles mulieres; quibus cum nullum esset omnino cum viris peregrinis commercium, merus ille ac purus Græcorum sermo servabatur intactus (Philelph. Epist. ad ann. 1451, apud Hodium, p. 188, 189.). He observes in another passage, uxor illa mea Theodora locutione erat admodum moderatâ et suavi et maxime Atticâ.

[82] Philelphus, abſurdly enough, derives this Greek or Oriental jealouſy from the manners of ancient Rome.

[83] See the ſtate of learning in the xiiith and xivth centuries, in the learned and judicious Mosheim (Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 434—440. 490—494.).

[84] At the end of the xvth century, there exiſted in Europe about fifty univerſities, and of theſe the foundation of ten or twelve is prior to the year 1300. They were crowded in proportion to their ſcarcity. Bologna contained 10,000 ſtudents, chiefly of the civil law. In the year 1357 the number at Oxford had decreaſed from 30,000 to 6000 ſcholars (Henry's Hiſtory of Great Britain, vol. iv. p. 478.). Yet even this decreaſe is much ſuperior to the preſent liſt of the members of the univerſity.

[85] Of thoſe writers who profeſſedly treat of the reſtoration of the Greek learning in Italy, the two principal are Hodius, Dr. Humphrey Hody (de Græcis Illuſtribus, Linguæ Græcæ Literarumque humaniorum Inſtauratoribus; Londini, 1742, in large octavo), and Tiraboſchi (Iſtoria della Letteratura Italiana, tom. v. p. 364—377. tom. vii. p. 112—143.). The Oxford profeſſor is a laborious ſcholar, but the librarian of Modena enjoys the ſuperiority of a modern and national hiſtorian.

[86] In Calabriâ quæ olim magna Græcia dicebatur, coloniis Græcis repletâ, remanſit quædam linguæ veteris cognitio (Hodius, p. 2.). If it were eradicated by the Romans, it was revived and perpetuated by the monks of St. Baſil, who poſſeſſed ſeven convents at Roſſano alone (Giannone, Iſtoria di Napoli, tom. i. p. 520.).

[87] Ii Barbari (ſays Petrarch, the French and Germans) vix, non dicam libros ſed nomen Homeri audiverunt. Perhaps, in that reſpect, the xiiith century was leſs happy than the age of Charlemagne.

[88] See the character of Barlaam, in Boccace de Genealog. Deorum, l. xv. c. 6.

[89] Cantacuzen l. ii. c. 36.

[90] For the connection of Petrarch and Barlaam, and the two interviews at Avignon in 1339, and at Naples in 1342, ſee the excellent Mémoires ſur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. i. p. 406—410. tom. ii. p. 75—77.

[91] The biſhopric to which Barlaam retired, was the old Locri, in the middle ages Seta Cyriaca, and by corruption Hieracium, Gerace (Differt. Chorographica Italiæ medii Ævi, p. 312.). The dives opum of the Norman times ſoon lapſed into poverty, ſince even the church was poor; yet the town ſtill contains 3000 inhabitants (Swinburne, p. 340.).

[92] I will tranſcribe a paſſage from this epiſtle of Petrarch (Famil. ix. 2.): Donaſti Homerum non in alienum ſermonem violento alveo derivatum, ſed ex ipſis Græci eloquii fcatebris, et qualis divino illi profluxit ingenio Sine tuâ voce Homerus tuus apud me mutus, immo vero ego apud illum ſurdus ſum. Gaudeo tamen vel adſpectu ſolo, ac ſæpe illum amplexus atque ſuſpirans dico, O magne vir, etc.

[93] For the life and writings of Boccace, who was born in 1313, and died in 1375, Fabricius (Bibliot. Latin. medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 248, etc.) and Tiraboſchi, (tom. v. p. 83. 439—451.) may be conſulted. The editions, verſions, imitations of his novels, are innumerable. Yet he was aſhamed to communicate that trifling, and perhaps ſcandalous, work to Petrarch his reſpectable friend, in whoſe letters and memoirs he conſpicuouſly appears.

[94] Boccace indulges an honeſt vanity: Oſtentationis causâ Græca carmina adſcripſi.... jure utor meo: meum eſt hoc decus, mea gloria, ſcilicet inter Etruſcos Græcis uti carminibus. Nonne ego fui qui Leontium Pilatum, etc. (de Genealogiâ Deorum, l. xv. c. 7. a work which, though now forgotten, has run through thirteen or fourteen editions.)

[95] Leontius, or Leo Pilatus, is ſufficiently made known by Hody (p. 2—11.), and the Abbé de Sade (Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 625—634. 670—673,), who has very happily caught the lively and dramatic manner of his original.

[96] Dr. Hody (p. 54.) is angry with Leonard Aretin, Guarinus, Paulus Jovius, etc. for affirming, that the Greek letters were reſtored in Italy *poſt ſeptingentos annos*; as if, ſays he, they had flouriſhed till the end of the viith century. Theſe writers moſt probably reckoned from the laſt period of the exarchate; and the preſence of the Greek magiſtrates and troops at Ravenna and Rome, muſt have preſerved, in ſome degree, the uſe of their native tongue.

[97] See the article of Emanuel, or Manuel Chryſoloras, in Hody (p. 12—54.) and Tiraboſchi (tom. vii. p. 113—118.). The preciſe date of his arrival floats between the years 1390 and 1400, and is only confined by the reign of Boniface IX.

[98] The name of *Aretinus* has been aſſumed by five or ſix natives of *Arezzo* in Tuſcany, of whom the moſt famous and the moſt worthleſs lived in the xvith century. Leonardus Brunus Aretinus, the diſciple of Chryſoloras, was a linguiſt, an orator, and an hiſtorian, the ſecretary of four ſucceſſive popes, and the chancellor of the republic of Florence, where he died A. D. 1444, at the age of ſeventy-five (Fabric Bibliot. medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 190, etc. Tiraboſchi, tom. vii. p. 33—38.).

[99] See the paſſage in Aretin. Commentario Rerum ſuo Tempore in Italia geſtarum, apud Hodium, p. 28—30.

[100] In this domeſtic diſcipline, Petrarch, who loved the youth, often complains of the eager curioſity, reſtleſs temper, and proud feelings, which announce the genius and glory of a riper age (Mémoires ſur Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 700—709.).

[101] Hinc Græcæ Latinæque ſcholæ exortæ ſunt, Guarino, Philelpho, Leonardo Aretino, Caroloque, ac pleriſque aliis tanquam ex equo Trojano prodeuntibus, quorum æmulatione multa ingenia deinceps ad laudem excitata ſunt (Platina in Bonifacio IX.). Another Italian writer adds the names of Paulus Petrus Vergerius, Omnibonus Vincentius, Poggius, Franciſcus Barbarus, etc. But I queſtion whether a rigid chronology would allow Chryſoloras *all* theſe eminent ſcholars (Hodius, p. 25—27, etc.)

[102] See in Hody the article of Beſſarion (p. 136—177.): Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, and the reſt of the Greeks whom I have named or omitted, are inſerted in their proper chapters of his learned work. See likewiſe Tiraboſchi, in the 1ſt and 2d parts of the vith tome.

[103] The cardinals knocked at his door, but his conclaviſt refuſed to interrupt the ſtudies of Beſſarion; "Nicholas," ſaid he, "thy "reſpect has coſt thee an hat, and me the tiara."

[104] Such as George of Trebizond, Theodore Gaza, Argyropulus Andronicus of Theſſalonica, Philelphus, Poggius, Blondus, Nicholas, Perrot, Vallà, Campanus, Platina, etc. Viri (ſays Hody, with the pious zeal of a ſcholar) nullo ævo perituri (p. 156.).

[105] He was born before the taking of Conſtantinople, but his honourable life was ſtretched far into the xvith century (A. D. 1535.). Leo X. and Francis I. were his nobleſt patrons, under whoſe auſpices he founded the Greek colleges of Rome and Paris (Hody, p. 247—275.). He left poſterity in France; but the counts de Vintimille, and their numerous branches, derive the name of Laſcaris, from a doubtful marriage in the xiiith century with the daughter of a Greek emperor (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 224—230.).

[106] Two of his epigrams againſt Virgil, and three againſt Tully, are preſerved and refuſed by Franciſcus Floridus, who can find no better names than Græculus ineptus et impudens (Hody, p. 274.). In our own times, an English critic has accuſed the Æneid of containing, multa languida, nugatoria, ſpiritû et majeſtate carminis heroici defecta; many ſuch verſes as he, the ſaid Jeremiah Markland, would have been aſhamed of owning (præfat. ad Statii Sylvas, p. 21, 22.).

[107] Emanuel Chryſoloras, and his colleagues, are accuſed of ignorance, envy, or avarice (Sylloge, etc. tom. ii. p. 235.). The modern Greek pronounce the β as a V conſonant, and confound three vowels (η ι υ), and ſeveral diphthongs. Such was the vulgar pronunciation which the ſtern Gardiner maintained by penal ſtatutes in the univerſity of Cambridge: but the monoſyllable βη repreſented to an Attic ear the bleating of sheep; and a bell-wether is better evidence than a biſhop or a chancellor. The treatiſes of thoſe ſcholars, particularly Eraſmus, who aſſerted a more claſſical pronunciation, are collected in the Sylloge of Havercamp (2 vols. in octavo, Lugd. Bat. 1736, 1740): but it is difficult to paint ſounds by words; and in their reference to modern uſe, they can be underſtood only by their reſpective countrymen. We may obſerve, that our peculiar pronunciation of the θ, *th*, is approved by Eraſmus (tom. ii. p. 130.).

[108] George Gemiſtus Pletho, a various and voluminous writer, the maſter of Beſſarion, and all the Platoniſts of the times. He viſited Italy in his old age, and ſoon returned to end his days in Peloponneſus. See the curious Diatribe of Leo Allatius de Georgiis, in Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 739—756.).

[109] The ſtate of the Platonic philoſophy in Italy, is illuſtrated by Boivin (Mém. de l'Acad. des Inſcriptions, (tom. ii. p. 715—729.). and Tiraboſchi (tom. vi. p. i. p. 259—288.).

[110] See the life of Nicholas V. by two contemporary authors, Janottus Manettus (tom. iii. p. ii. p. 905—962.) and Veſpaſian of Florence (tom. xxv. p. 267—290.), in the collection of Muratori; and conſult Tiraboſchi (tom. vi. p. i. 46—52. 109.) and Hody in the articles of Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, etc.

[111] Lord Bolingbroke obſerves, with truth and ſpirit, that the popes in this inſtance were worſe politicians than the muftis, and that the charm which has bound mankind for ſo many ages, was broken by the magicians themſelves (Letters on the Study of Hiſtory, l. vi. p. 128. octavo edition, 1788.).

[112] See the literary hiſtory of Coſmo and Lorenzo of Medicis, in Tiraboſchi (tom. vi. p. i. l. i. c. 2.), who beſtows a due meaſure of praiſe on Alphonſo of Arragon, king of Naples, the dukes of Milan, Ferrara, Urbino, etc. The republic of Venice has deſerved the leaſt from the gratitude of ſcholars.

[113] Tiraboſchi (tom. vi. p. i. p. 104.), from the preface of Janus Laſcaris to the Greek Anthology, printed at Florence 1494. Latebant (ſays Aldus in his preface to the Greek Orators, apud Hodium, p. 249.) in Athô Thraciæ monte. Eas Laſcaris in Italiam

reportavit. Miſerat enim ipſum Laurentius ille Medices in Græciam ad inquirendos ſimul, et quantovis emendos pretio bonos libros. It is remarkable enough, that the reſearch was facilitated by ſultan Bajazet II.

[114] The Greek language was introduced into the univerſity of Oxford in the laſt years of the xvth century, by Grocyn, Linacer, and Latimer, who had all ſtudied at Florence under Demetrius Chalcocondyles. See Dr. Knight's curious Life of Eraſmus. Although a ſtout academical patriot, he is forced to acknowledge, that Eraſmus learned Greek at Oxford, and taught it at Cambridge.

[115] The jealous Italians were deſirous of keeping a monopoly of Greek learning. When Aldus was about to publiſh the Greek ſcholiaſts on Sophocles and Euripides, Cave (ſaid they), cave hoc facias, ne *Barbari* iſtis adjuti domi maneant, et pauciores in Italiam ventitent (Dr. Knight, in his Life of Eraſmus, p. 365. from Beatus Rhenanus.).

[116] The preſs of Aldus Manutus, a Roman, was eſtabliſhed at Venice about the year 1494: he printed above ſixty conſiderable works of Greek literature, almoſt all for the firſt time; ſeveral containing different treatiſes and authors, and of ſeveral authors two, three, or four editions (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xiii. p. 605, etc.). Yet his glory muſt not tempt us to forget, that the firſt Greek book, the Grammar of Conſtantine Laſcaris, was printed at Milan in 1476; and that the Florence Homer of 1488 diſplays all the luxury of the typographical art. See the Annales Typographici of Maittaire, and the Bibliographie Inſtructive of de Bure, a knowing bookſeller of Paris.

[117] I will ſelect three ſingular examples of this claſſic enthuſiaſm. 1. At the ſynod of Florence, Gemiſtus Pletho ſaid, in familiar converſation to George of Trebizond, that in a ſhort time mankind would unanimouſly renounce the Goſpel and the Koran for a religion ſimilar to that of the Gentiles (Leo Allatius, apud Fabricium, tom. x. p. 751.). 2. Paul II. perſecuted the Roman academy, which had been founded by Pomponius Lætus; and the principal members were accuſed of hereſy, impiety, and *Paganiſm* (Tiraboſchi, tom. vi. p. i. p. 81, 82.). 3. In the next century, ſome ſcholars and poets in France celebrated the ſucceſs of Jodelle's tragedy of Cleopatra, by a feſtival of Bacchus, and as it is ſaid, by the ſacrifice of a goat (Bayle, Dictionnaire, JODELLE. Fontenelle, tom. iii. p. 56—61.). Yet the ſpirit of bigotry might often diſcern a ſerious impiety in the ſportive play of fancy and learning.

[118] The ſurvivor Boccace died in the year 1375; and we cannot place before 1480, the compoſition of the Morgante Maggiore of Pulci,

and the Orlando Innamorato of Boyardo (Tiraboſchi, tom. vi. p. ii. p. 174—177.).

CHAP. LXVII.

[1] The epiſtle of Manuel Chryſoloras to the emperor John Palæologus, will not offend the eye or ear of a claſſical ſtudent (ad calcem Codini de Antiquitatibus C P. p. 107—126.). The ſuperſcription ſuggeſts a chronological remark, that John Palæologus II. was aſſociated in the empire before the year 1414, the date of Chryſoloras's death. A ſtill earlier date, at leaſt 1408, is deduced from the age of his youngeſt ſons, Demetrius and Thomas, who were both *Porphyrogeniti* (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 244. 247.).

[2] Somebody obſerved, that the city of Athens might be circumnavigated (τις εἰπε την πολιν των Αθηναιων δυνασθαι καὶ περιπλεῖν καὶ περιπλεῖν). But what may be true in a rhetorical ſenſe of Conſtantinople, cannot be applied to the ſituation of Athens, five miles from the ſea, and not interſected or ſurrounded by any navigable ſtreams.

[3] Nicephorus Gregoras has deſcribed the coloſſus of Juſtinian (l. vii. 12.): but his meaſures are falſe and inconſiſtent. The editor Boivin conſulted his friend Girardon; and the ſculptor gave him the true proportions of an equeſtrian ſtatue. That of Juſtinian was ſtill viſible to Peter Gyllius, not on the column, but in the outward court of the ſeraglio; and he was at Conſtantinople when it was melted down, and caſt into a braſs cannon (de Topograph. C. P. l. ii. c. 17.).

[4] See the decay and repairs of St. Sophia, in Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vii. 12. l. xv. 2.). The building was propped by Andronicus in 1317, the eaſtern hemiſphere fell in 1345. The Greeks, in their pompous rhetoric, exalt the beauty and holineſs of the church, an earthly heaven, the abode of angels, and of God himſelf, etc.

[5] The genuine and original narrative of Syropulus (p. 312—351.) opens the ſchiſm from the firſt *office* of the Greeks at Venice, to the general oppoſition at Conſtantinople of the clergy and people.

[6] On the ſchiſm of Conſtantinople, ſee Phranza (l. ii. c. 17.), Laonicus Chalcocondyles (l. vi. p. 155, 156.), and Ducas (c. 31.); the laſt of whom writes with truth and freedom. Among the moderns we may diſtinguish the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii. p. 338, etc. 401. 420, etc.), and Spondanus (A. D. 1440, N° 30.). The ſenſe of the latter is drowned in prejudice and paſſion, as ſoon as Rome and religion are concerned.

[7] Iſidore was metropolitan of Kiow, but the Greeks ſubject to Poland have removed that ſee from the ruins of Kiow to Lemberg,

or Leopold (Herbeſtein, in Ramuſio, tom. ii. p. 127.). On the other hand, the Ruſſians transferred their ſpiritual obedience to the archbiſhop, who became, in 1588, the patriarch, of Moſcow (Leveſque, Hiſt. de Ruſſie, tom. iii. p 188. 190. from a Greek MS. at Turin, Iter et labores Archiepiſcopi Arſenii).

[8] The curious narrative of Leveſque (Hiſt. de Ruſſie, tom. ii. p. 242—247.) is extracted from the patriarchal archives. The ſcenes of Ferrara and Florence are deſcribed by ignorance and paſſion; but the Ruſſians are credible in the account of their own prejudices.

[9] The Shamaniſm, the ancient religion of the Samanæans and Gymnoſophiſts, has been driven by the more popular Bramins from India into the northern deſerts; the naked philoſophers were compelled to wrap themſelves in fur; but they inſenſibly ſunk into wizards and phyſicians. The Mordvans and Tcheremiſſes in the European Ruſſia adhere to this religion, which is formed on the earthly model of one king or God, his miniſters or angels, and the rebellious ſpirits who oppoſe his government. As theſe tribes of the Volga have no images, they might more juſtly retort on the Latin miſſionaries the name of idolaters (Leveſque, Hiſt. des Peuples ſoumis à la Domination des Ruſſes, tom. i. p. 194—237. 423—460.).

[10] Spondanus, Annal. Eccleſ. tom. ii. A. D. 1451, N° 13. The epiſtle of the Greeks, with a Latin verſion, is extant in the college-library at Prague.

[11] See Cantemir, Hiſtory of the Othman Empire, p. 94. Murad, or Morad, may be more correct: but I have preferred the popular name, to that obſcure diligence which is rarely ſucceſsful in tranſlating an Oriental, into the Roman, alphabet.

[12] See Chalcocondyles (l. vii. p. 186. 198.), Ducas (c. 33.), and Marinus Barletius (in Vit. Scanderbeg, p. 145, 146.). In his good faith towards the garriſon of Sfetigrade, he was a leſſon and example to his ſon Mahomet.

[13] Voltaire (Eſſai ſur l'Hiſtoire Générale, c. 89. p. 283, 284.) admires *le Philoſophe Turc*; would he have beſtowed the ſame praiſe on a Chriſtian prince for retiring to a monaſtery? In his way, Voltaire was a bigot, an intolerant bigot.

[14] See the articles *Derviſche*, *Fakir*, *Naſſer*, *Rohbaniat*, in d'Herbelot's Bibliothéque Orientale. Yet the ſubject is ſuperficially treated from the Perſian and Arabian writers. It is among the Turks that theſe orders have principally flouriſhed.

[15] Rycaut (in the preſent State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 242—268.) affords much information, which he drew from his perſonal converſation with the heads of the dervishes, moſt of whom aſcribed

their origin to the time of Orchan. He does not mention the *Zichidæ* of Chalcocondyles (l. vii. p. 286.), among whom Amurath retired: the *Seids* of that author are the deſcendants of Mahomet.

[16] In the year 1431, Germany raiſed 40,000 horſe, men at arms, againſt the Huſſites of Bohemia (Lenfant, Hiſt. du Concile de Baſle, tom. i. p. 318.). At the ſiege of Nuys on the Rhine in 1474, the princes, prelates, and cities, ſent their reſpective quotas: and the biſhop of Munſter (qui n'eſt pas des plus grands) furniſhed 1400 horſe, 6000 foot, all in green, with 1200 waggons. The united armies of the King of England and the duke of Burgundy ſcarcely equalled one-third of this German hoſt (Mémoires de Philippe de Comines, l. iv. c. 2.). At preſent, ſix or ſeven hundred thouſand men are maintained in conſtant pay and admirable diſcipline, by the powers of Germany.

[17] It was not till the year 1444, that France and England could agree on a truce of ſome months (See Rymer's Fœdera, and the chronicles of both nations.)

[18] In the Hungarian cruſade, Spondanus (Annales Eccleſ. A. D. 1443, 1444.) has been my leading guide. He has diligently read, and critically compared, the Greek and Turkiſh materials, the hiſtorians of Hungary, Poland, and the Weſt. His narrative is perſpicuous; and where he can be free from a religious bias, the judgment of Spondanus is not contemptible.

[19] I have curtailed the harſh letter (Wladiſlaus) which moſt writers affix to his name, either in compliance with the Polish pronunciation, or to diſtinguiſh him from his rival the infant Ladiſlaus of Auſtria. Their competition for the crown of Hungary is deſcribed by Callimachus (l. i, ii. p. 447—486.), Bonfinius (Decad. iii. l. iv.), Spondanus, and Lenfant.

[20] The Greek hiſtorians, Phranza, Chalcocondyles, and Ducas, do not aſcribe to their prince a very active part in this cruſade, which he ſeems to have promoted by his wiſhes, and injured by his fears.

[21] Cantemir (p. 88.) aſcribes to his policy the original plan, and tranſcribes his animating epiſtle to the king of Hungary. But the Mahometan powers are ſeldom informed of the ſtate of Chriſtendom; and the ſituation and correſpondence of the knights of Rhodes muſt connect them with the ſultan of Caramania.

[22] In their letters to the emperor Frederic III. the Hungarians ſlay 30,000 Turks in one battle; but the modeſt Julian reduces the ſlaughter to 6000, or even 2000 infidels (Æneas Sylvius in Europ. c. 5. and epiſt. 44. 81. apud Spondanum).

[23] See

[23] See the origin of the Turkish war, and the first expedition of Ladislaus, in the vth and vith books of the iiid Decad of Bonfinius, who, in his division and style, copies Livy with tolerable success. Callimachus (l. ii. p. 487—496.) is still more pure and authentic.

[24] I do not pretend to warrant the literal accuracy of Julian's speech, which is variously worded by Callimachus (l. iii. p. 505—507.), Bonfinius (Dec. iii. l. vi. p. 457, 458.), and other historians, who might indulge their own eloquence, while they represent one of the orators of the age. But they all agree in the advice and arguments for perjury, which in the field of controversy are fiercely attacked by the Protestants, and feebly defended by the Catholics. The latter are discouraged by the misfortune of Warna.

[25] Warna, under the Grecian name of Odessus, was a colony of the Milesians, which they denominated from the hero Ulysses (Cellarius, tom. i. p. 374. d'Anville, tom. i. p. 312.). According to Arrian's Periplus of the Euxine (c. p. 24, 25. in the ist volume of Hudson's Geographers), it was situate 1740 stadia, or furlongs, from the mouth of the Danube, 2140 from Byzantium, and 360 to the north of a ridge or promontory of mount Hæmus, which advances into the sea.

[26] Some Christian writers affirm, that he drew from his bosom the host or wafer on which the treaty had *not* been sworn. The Moslems suppose, with more simplicity, an appeal to God and his prophet Jesus, which is likewise insinuated by Callimachus (l. iii. p. 516. Spondan. A. D. 1444. N° 8.).

[27] A critic will always distrust these *spolia opima* of a victorious general, so difficult for valour to obtain, so easy for flattery to invent (Cantemir, p. 90, 91.). Callimachus (l. iii. p. 517.) more simply and probably affirms, supervenientibus Janizaris, telorum multitudine, non tam confossus est, quam obrutus.

[28] Besides some valuable hints from Æneas Sylvius, which are diligently collected by Spondanus, our best authorities are three historians of the xvth century, Philippus Callimachus (de Rebus a Vladislao Polonorum atque Hungarorum Rege gestis, libri iii. in Bell. Script. Rerum Hungaricarum, tom. i. p. 433—518.), Bonfinius (decad. iii. l. v. p. 460—467), and Chalcocondyles (l. vii. p. 165—179.). The two first were Italians, but they passed their lives in Poland and Hungary (Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. med. et infimæ Ætatis, tom. i. p. 324. Vossius de Hist. Latin. l. iii. c. 8. 11. Bayle, Dictionnaire, BONFINIUS). A small tract of Felix Petancius, chancellor of Segnia (ad calcem Cuspinian. de Cæsaribus, p. 716—722.), represents the theatre of the war in the xvth century.

[29] M. Lenfant has described the origin (Hist. du Concile de Basle,

tom. i. p. 247, etc.), and Bohemian campaign (p. 314, etc.), of cardinal Julian. His ſervices at Baſil and Ferrara, and his unfortunate end, are occaſionally related by Spondanus, and the continuator of Fleury.

[30] Syropulus honourably praiſes the talents of an enemy (p. 117.): τοιαυτα τινα ειπεν ὁ Ιωλιανος, πεπλατυσμενως αγαν και λογικως, και μετ' επιστημης και δεινοτητος Ρητορικης.

[31] See Bonfinius, decad. iii. l. iv. p. 423. Could the Italian hiſtorian pronounce, or the king of Hungary hear, without a bluſh, the abſurd flattery, which confounded the name of a Walachian village with the caſual, though glorious, epithet of a ſingle branch of the Valerian family at Rome?

[32] Philip de Comines (Mémoires, l. vi. c. 13.), from the tradition of the times, mentions him with high encomiums, but under the whimſical name of the Chevalier Blanc de Valaigne (Valachia). The Greek Chalcocondyles, and the Turkiſh Annals of Leunclavius, preſume to accuſe his fidelity or valour.

[33] See Bonfinius (decad. iii. l. viii. p. 492.) and Spondanus (A. D. 1456, N° 1—7.). Huniades ſhared the glory of the defence of Belgrade with Capiſtran, a Franciſcan friar; and in their reſpective narratives, neither the ſaint nor the hero condeſcend to take notice of his rival's merit.

[34] See Bonfinius, decad. iii. l. viii. — decad. iv. l. viii. The obſervations of Spondanus on the life and character of Matthias Corvinus, are curious and critical (A. D. 1464, N° 1. 1475, N° 6. 1476, N° 14—16. 1490, N° 4, 5.). Italian fame was the object of his vanity. His actions are celebrated in the Epitome Rerum Hungaricarum (p. 322—412.) of Peter Ranzanus, a Sicilian. His wife and facetious ſayings are regiſtered by Galeſtus Martius of Narni (528—568.): and we have a particular narrative of his wedding and coronation. Theſe three tracts are all contained in the iſt vol. of Bell's Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum.

[35] They are ranked by Sir William Temple, in his pleaſing Eſſay on Heroic Virtue (works, vol. iii. p. 385), among the ſeven chiefs who have deſerved, without wearing, a royal crown; Beliſarius, Narſes, Gonſalvo of Cordova, William, firſt prince of Orange, Alexander duke of Parma, John Huniades, and George Caſtriot, or Scanderbeg.

[36] I could wish for ſome ſimple, authentic memoirs of a friend of Scanderbeg, which would introduce me to the man, the time, and the place. In the old and national hiſtory of Marinus Barletius, a prieſt of Scodra (de Vitâ, Moribus, et Rebus geſtis Georgii Caſtrioti,

etc. libri xiii. pp. 367. Argentorat. 1537, in fol.), his gawdy and cumberſome robes are ſtuck with many falſe jewels. See likewiſe Chalcocondyles, l. vii. p. 185. l. viii. p. 229.

[37] His circumciſion, education, etc. are marked by Marinus with brevity and reluctance (l. i. p. 6, 7.).

[38] Since Scanderbeg died A. D. 1466, in the lxiiid year of his age, (Marinus, l. xiii. p. 370.), he was born in 1403; ſince he was torn from his parents by the Turks, when he was *novennis* (Marinus, l. i. p. 1. 6.), that event muſt have happened in 1412, nine years before the acceſſion of Amurath II. who muſt have inherited, not acquired, the Albanian ſlave. Spondanus has remarked this inconſiſtency, A. D. 1431, N° 31. 1443. N° 14.

[39] His revenue and forces are luckily given by Marinus (l. ii. p. 44.).

[40] There were two Dibras, the upper and lower, the Bulgarian and Albanian: the former, 70 miles from Croya (l. i. p. 17.), was contiguous to the fortreſs of Sfetigrade, whoſe inhabitants refuſed to drink from a well into which a dead dog had traiterouſly been caſt (l. v. p. 139, 140.). We want a good map of Epirus.

[41] Compare the Turkiſh narrative of Cantemir (p. 92.), with the pompous and prolix declamation in the ivth, vth, and vith books of the Albanian prieſt, who has been copied by the tribe of ſtrangers and moderns.

[42] In honour of his hero, Barletius (l. vi. p. 188—192.) kills the ſultan, by diſeaſe indeed, under the walls of Croya. But this audacious fiction is diſproved by the Greeks and Turks, who agree in the time and manner of Amurath's death at Adrianople.

[43] See the marvels of his Calabrian expedition in the ixth and xth books of Marinus Barletius, which may be rectified by the teſtimony or ſilence of Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. xiii. p. 291.), and his original authors (Joh. Simonetta de Rebus Franciſci Sfortiæ, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. xxi. p. 728. et alios. The Albanian cavalry, under the name of *Stradiots*, ſoon became famous in the wars of Italy (Mémoires de Comines, l. viii. c. 5.).

[44] Spondanus, from the beſt evidence and the moſt rational criticiſm, has reduced the giant Scanderbeg to the human ſize (A. D. 1461, N° 20. 1463, N° 9. 1465, N° 12, 13. 1467, N° 1.). His own letter to the pope, and the teſtimony of Phranza (l. iii. c. 28.), a refugee in the neighbouring iſle of Corfu, demonſtrate his laſt diſtreſs, which is awkwardly concealed by Marinus Barletius (l. x.)

[45] See the family of the Caſtriots, in Ducange (Fam. Dalmaticæ, etc. xviii. p. 348—350.).

[46] This colony of Albaneſe is mentioned by Mr. Swinburne (Travels into the Two Sicilies, vol. i. p. 350—354.).

[47] The chronology of Phranza is clear and authentic: but inſtead of four years and ſeven months, Spondanus (A. D. 1445, N° 7.) aſſigns ſeven or eight years to the reign of the laſt Conſtantine, which he deduces from a ſpurious epiſtle of Eugenius IV. to the king of Æthiopia.

[48] Phranza (l. iii. c. 1—6.) deſerves credit and eſteem.

[49] Suppoſe him to have been captured in 1394, in Timour's firſt war in Georgia (Sherefeddin, l. iii. c. 50.); he might follow his Tartar maſter into Hindoſtan in 1398, and from thence ſail to the ſpice iſlands.

[50] The happy and pious Indians lived an hundred and fifty years, and enjoyed the moſt perfect productions of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms. The animals were on a large ſcale; dragons ſeventy cubits, ants (the *formica Indica*) nine inches long, ſheep like elephants, elephants like ſheep. Quidlibet audendi, etc.

[51] He ſailed in a country veſſel from the ſpice iſland to one of the ports of the exterior India, invenitque navem grandem *Ibericam*, quâ in *Portugalliam* eſt delatus. This paſſage, compoſed in 1477 (Phranza, l. iii. c. 30.), twenty years before the diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope, is ſpurious or wonderful. But this new geography is fulfilled by the old and incompatible error which places the ſource of the Nile in India.

[52] Cantemir (p. 83.), who ſtyles her the daughter of Lazarus Ogli, and the Helen of the Servians, places her marriage with Amurath in the year 1424. It will not eaſily be believed, that in ſix-and-twenty years cohabitation, the ſultan corpus ejus non tetigit. After the taking of Conſtantinople, ſhe fled to Mahomet II. (Phranza, l. iii. c. 22.).

[53] The claſſical reader will recollect the offers of Agamemnon (Iliad. l. v. 144.), and the general practice of antiquity.

[54] Cantacuzene (I am ignorant of his relation to the emperor of that name) was great domeſtic, a firm aſſerter of the Greek creed, and a brother of the queen of Servia, whom he viſited with the character of ambaſſador (Syropulus, p. 37, 38. 45.).

NOTES

TO THE

TWELFTH VOLUME.

CHAP. LXVIII.

[2] For the character of Mahomet II. it is dangerous to truſt either the Turks or the Chriſtians. The moſt moderate picture appears to be drawn by Phranza (l. i. c. 33.), whoſe reſentment had cooled in age and ſolitude; ſee likewiſe Spondanus (A. D. 1451, N° 11.), and the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii. p. 552.), the *Elogia* of Paulus Jovius (l. iii. p. 164—165.), and the Dictionnaire de Bayle (tom. iii. p. 272—279.).

[2] Cantemir (p. 115.), and the moſchs which he founded, atteſt his public regard for religion. Mahomet freely diſputed with the patriarch Gennadius on the two religions (Spond. A. D. 1453, N° 22.).

[3] Quinque linguas præter ſuam noverat; Græcam, Latinam, Chaldaicam, Perſicam. The Latin translator of Phranza has dropt the Arabic, which the Koran muſt recommend to every Muſulman.

[4] Philelphus, by a Latin ode, requeſted and obtained the liberty of his wife's mother and ſiſters from the conqueror of Conſtantinople. It was delivered into the ſultan's hands by the envoys of the duke of Milan. Philelphus himſelf was ſuſpected of a deſign of retiring to Conſtantinople; yet the orator often ſounded the trumpet of holy war (ſee his Life by M. Lancelot, in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inſcriptions, tom. x. p. 718. 721, etc.).

[5] Robert Valturio published at Verona, in 1483, his xii books de Re Militari, in which he firſt mentions the uſe of bombs. By his patron Sigiſmond Malateſta, prince of Rimini, it had been addreſſed with a Latin epiſtle to Mahomet II.

[6] According to Phranza, he aſſiduously ſtudied the lives and actions of Alexander, Auguſtus, Conſtantine, and Theodoſius. I have read ſomewhere, that Plutarch's Lives were translated by his orders into the Turkish language. If the ſultan himſelf underſtood Greek, it muſt have been for the benefit of his ſubjects. Yet theſe lives are a ſchool of freedom as well as of valour.

[7] The famous Gentile Bellino, whom he had invited from Venice, was diſmiſſed with a chain and collar of gold, and a purſe of 3000

ducats. With Voltaire, I laugh at the foolish ſtory of a ſlave purpoſely beheaded, to inſtruct the painter in the action of the muſcles.

[8] Theſe Imperial drunkards were Soliman I. Selim II. and Amurath IV. (Cantemir, p. 61.). The ſophis of Perſia can produce a more regular ſucceſſion; and in the laſt age, our European travellers were the witneſſes and companions of their revels.

[9] Calapin, one of theſe royal infants, was ſaved from his cruel brother, and baptiſed at Rome under the name of Calliſtus Othomannus. The emperor Frederic III. preſented him with an eſtate in Auſtria, where he ended his life; and Cuſpinian, who in his youth converſed with the aged prince at Vienna, applauds his piety and wiſdom (de Cæſaribus, p. 672, 673.).

[10] See the acceſſion of Mahomet II. in Ducas (c. 33.), Phranza (l. i. c. 33. l. iii. c. 2.), Chalcocondyles, (l. vii. p. 199.), and Cantemir (p. 96.).

[11] Before I enter on the ſiege of Conſtantinople I ſhall obſerve, that except the ſhort hints of Cantemir and Leunclavius, I have not been able to obtain any Turkiſh account of this conqueſt: ſuch an account as we poſſeſs of the ſiege of Rhodes by Soliman II. (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxvi. p. 723—769.). I muſt therefore depend on the Greeks, whoſe prejudices, in ſome degree, are ſubdued by their diſtreſs. Our ſtandard texts are thoſe of Ducas (c. 34—42.), Phranza (l. iii. c. 7—20.), Chalcocondyles (l. viii. p. 201—214.), and Leonardus Chienſis (Hiſtoria C. P. a Turco expugnatæ. Norimbergæ, 1544, in 4to, 20 leaves). The laſt of theſe narratives is the earlieſt in date, ſince it was compoſed in the iſle of Chios, the 16th of Auguſt 1453, only ſeventy-nine days after the loſs of the city, and in the firſt confuſion of ideas and paſſions. Some hints may be added from an epiſtle of cardinal Iſidore (in Farragine Rerum Turcicarum, ad calcem Chalcocondyl. Clauſeri, Baſil, 1556) to pope Nicholas V. and a tract of Theodoſius Zygomala, which he addreſſed in the year 1581 to Martin Cruſius (Turco-Græcia, l. i. p. 74—98. Baſil, 1584). The various facts and materials are briefly, though critically, reviewed by Spondanus (A. D. 1453, N° 1—27.). The hearſay relations of Monſtrelet and the diſtant Latins, I ſhall take leave to diſregard.

[12] The ſituation of the fortreſs, and the topography of the Boſphorus, are beſt learned from Peter Gyllius (de Boſphoro Thracio, l. ii. c. 13.), Leunclavius (Pandect. p. 445.), and Tournefort (Voyage dans le Levant, tom. ii. lettre xv. p. 443, 444.); but I muſt regret the map or plan which Tournefort ſent to the French miniſter of the marine. The reader may turn back to vol. iii. ch. 17. of this Hiſtory.

[13] The opprobrious name which the Turks beſtow on the Infidels, is expreſſed Καβουρ by Ducas, and *Giaour* by Leunclavius and the moderns. The former term is derived by Ducange (Gloſſ. Græc. tom. i. p. 530.) from Καβαρον in vulgar Greek, a tortoiſe, as denoting a retrograde motion from the faith. But, alas! *Gabour* is no more than *Gheber*, which was transferred from the Perſian to the Turkish language, from the worshippers of fire to thoſe of the crucifix (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 375.).

[14] Phranza does juſtice to his maſter's ſenſe and courage. Callidi-tatem hominis non ignorans Imperator prior arma movere conſtituit, and ſtigmatizes the folly of the cum ſacri tum profani proceres, which he had heard, amente ſpe vanâ paſci. Ducas was not a privy-counſellor.

[15] Inſtead of this clear and conſiſtent account, the Turkish Annals (Cantemir, p. 97.) revived the foolish tale of the ox's hide, and Dido's ſtratagem in the foundation of Carthage. Theſe annals (unleſs we are ſwayed by an antichriſtian prejudice) are far leſs valuable than the Greek hiſtorians.

[16] In the dimenſions of this fortreſs, the old caſtle of Europe, Phranza does not exactly agree with Chalcocondyles, whoſe deſcription has been verified on the ſpot by his editor Leunclavius.

[17] Among theſe were ſome pages of Mahomet ſo conſcious of his inexorable rigour, that they begged to loſe their heads in the city unleſs they could return before ſun-ſet.

[18] Ducas, c. 35. Phranza (l. iii. c. 3.), who had ſailed in his veſſel, commemorates the Venetian pilot as a martyr.

[19] Auctum eſt Palæologorum genus, et Imperii ſucceſſor, parvæque Romanorum ſcintillæ hæres natus, Andreas, etc. (Phranza, l. iii. c. 7.) The ſtrong expreſſion was inſpired by his feelings.

[20] Cantemir, p. 97, 98. The ſultan was either doubtful of his conqueſt, or ignorant of the ſuperior merits of Conſtantinople. A city or a kingdom may ſometimes be ruined by the Imperial fortune of their ſovereign.

[21] Συντροφος, by the preſident Couſin, is tranſlated *pere nourricier*, moſt correctly indeed from the Latin verſion; but in his haſte, he has overlooked the note by which Iſmael Boillaud (ad Ducam, c. 35.) acknowledges and rectifies his own error.

[22] The Oriental cuſtom of never appearing without gifts before a ſovereign or a ſuperior, is of high antiquity, and ſeems analogous with the idea of ſacrifice, ſtill more ancient and univerſal. See the examples of ſuch Perſian gifts, Ælian, Hiſt. Var. l. i. c. 31, 32, 33.

[23] The *Lala* of the Turks (Cantemir, p. 34.), and the *Tata* of the Greeks (Ducas, c. 35.), are derived from the natural language of children; and it may be obſerved, that all ſuch primitive words which denote their parents, are the ſimple repetition of one ſyllable, compoſed of a labial or dental conſonant and an open vowel (des Broſſes, Méchaniſme des Langues, tom. i. p. 231—247.).

[24] The Attic talent weighed about ſixty minæ, or averdupois pounds (ſee Hooper on Ancient Weights, Meaſures, etc.): but among the modern Greeks, that claſſic appellation was extended to a weight of one hundred, or one hundred and twenty-five pounds (Ducange, ταλαντον). Leonardus Chienſis meaſured the ball or ſtone of the *ſecond* cannon: Lapidem, qui palmis undecim ex meis ambibat in gyro.

[25] See Voltaire (Hiſt. Générale, c. xci. p. 294, 295.). He was ambitious of univerſal monarchy; and the poet frequently aſpires to the name and ſtyle of an aſtronomer, a chymiſt, etc.

[26] The Baron de Tott (tom. iii. p. 85—89.), who fortified the Dardanelles againſt the Ruſſians, deſcribes in a lively, and even comic, ſtrain his own proweſs, and the conſternation of the Turks. But that adventurous traveller does not poſſeſs the art of gaining our confidence.

[27] Non audivit, indignum ducens, ſays the honeſt Antoninus; but as the Roman court was afterwards grieved and aſhamed, we find the more courtly expreſſion of Platina, in animo fuiſſe pontifici juvare Græcos, and the poſitive aſſertion of Æneas Sylvius, ſtructam claſſem, etc. (Spond. A. D. 1453, N° 3.)

[28] Antonin. in Proœm. — Epiſt. Cardinal. Iſidor, apud Spondanum; and Dr. Johnſon, in the tragedy of Irene, has happily ſeized this characteriſtic circumſtance:

> The groaning Greeks dig up the golden caverns,
> The accumulated wealth of hoarding ages;
> That wealth which, granted to their weeping prince,
> Had rang'd embattled nations at their gates.

[29] The palatine troops are ſtyled *Capiculi*, the provincials, *Seratculi*: and moſt of the names and inſtitutions of the Turkiſh militia exiſted before the *Canon Nameh* of Soliman II. from which, and his own experience, count Marſigli has compoſed his military ſtate of the Ottoman empire.

[30] The obſervation of Philelphus is approved by Cuſpinian in the year 1508 (de Cæſaribus, in Epilog. de Militiâ Turcicâ, p. 697.). Marſigli proves, that the effective armies of the Turks are much leſs numerous than they appear. In the army that beſieged Conſtantinople, Leonardus Chienſis reckons no more than 15,000 Janizaries.

[31] Ego, eidem (Imp.) tabellas exhibui non abſque dolore et mœſtitiâ, manſitque apud nos duos aliis occultus numerus (Phranza, l. iii. c. 8.). With ſome indulgence for national prejudices, we cannot deſire a more authentic witneſs, not only of public facts, but of private counſels.

[32] In Spondanus, the narrative of the union is not only partial, but imperfect. The biſhop of Pamiers died in 1642, and the hiſtory of Ducas, which repreſents theſe ſcenes (c. 36, 37.) with ſuch truth and ſpirit, was not printed till the year 1649.

[33] Phranza, one of the conforming Greeks, acknowledges that the meaſure was adopted only propter ſpem auxilii; he affirms with pleaſure, that thoſe who refuſed to perform their devotions in St. Sophia, extra culpam et in pace eſſent (l. iii. c. 20.).

[34] His primitive and ſecular name was George Scholarius, which he changed for that of Gennadius, either when he became a monk or a patriarch. His defence, at Florence, of the ſame union which he ſo furiouſly attacked at Conſtantinople, has tempted Leo Allatius (Diatrib. de Georgiis, in Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 760—786.) to divide him into two men; but Renaudot (p. 343—383.) has reſtored the identity of his perſon and the duplicity of his character.

[35] Φακιολιον, καλυπτρα, may be fairly tranſlated a cardinal's hat. The difference of the Greek and Latin habits embittered the ſchiſm.

[36] We are obliged to reduce the Greek miles to the ſmalleſt meaſure which is preſerved in the werſts of Ruſſia, of 547 French *toiſes*, and of $104\frac{2}{7}$ to a degree. The ſix miles of Phranza do not exceed four Engliſh miles (d'Anville, Méſures Itineraires, p. 61. 123, etc.).

[37] At indies doctiores noſtri facti paravere contra hoſtes machinamenta, quæ tamen avare dabantur. Pulvis erat nitri modica exigua; tela modica; bombardæ, ſi aderant incommoditate loci primum hoſtes offendere maceriebus alveiſque tectos non poterant. Nam ſiquæ magnæ erant, ne murus concuteretur noſter, quieſcebant. This paſſage of Leonardus Chienſis is curious and important.

[38] According to Chalcocondyles and Phranza, the great cannon burſt; an accident which, according to Ducas, was prevented by the artiſt's ſkill. It is evident that they do not ſpeak of the ſame gun.

[39] Near an hundred years after the ſiege of Conſtantinople, the French and Engliſh fleets in the Channel were proud of firing 300 ſhot in an engagement of two hours (Mémoires de Martin du Bellay, l. x. in the Collection Générale, tom. xxi. p. 239.).

[40] I have ſelected ſome curious facts, without ſtriving to emulate the bloody and obſtinate eloquence of the abbé de Vertot, in his prolix deſcriptions of the ſieges of Rhodes, Malta, etc. But that

agreeable hiſtorian had a turn for romance, and as he wrote to pleaſe the order, he has adopted the ſame ſpirit of enthuſiaſm and chivalry.

[41] The firſt theory of mines with gunpowder appears in 1480, in a MS. of George of Sienna (Tiraboſchi, tom. vi. P. i. p. 324.). They were firſt practiſed at Sarzanella, in 1487; but the honour and improvement in 1503 is aſcribed to Peter of Navarre, who uſed them with ſucceſs in the wars of Italy (Hiſt. de la Ligue de Cambray, tom. ii. p. 93—97.).

[42] It is ſingular that the Greeks ſhould not agree in the number of theſe illuſtrious veſſels; the *five* of Ducas, the *four* of Phranza and Leonardus, and the *two* of Chalcocondyles, muſt be extended to the ſmaller, or confined to larger, ſize. Voltaire, giving one of theſe ships to Frederic III. confounds the emperors of the Eaſt and Weſt.

[43] In bold defiance, or rather in groſs ignorance, of language and geography, the preſident Couſin detains them at Chios with a ſouth, and wafts them to Conſtantinople with a north, wind.

[44] The perpetual decay and weakneſs of the Turkish navy, may be obſerved in Rycaut (State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 372—378.), Thevenot (Voyages, P. i. p. 229—242.), and Tott (Mémoires, tom. iii.); the laſt of whom is always ſolicitous to amuſe and amaze his reader.

[45] I muſt confeſs, that I have before my eyes the living picture which Thucydides (l. vii. c. 71.) has drawn of the paſſions and geſtures of the Athenians in a naval engagement in the great harbour of Syracuſe.

[46] According to the exaggeration or corrupt text of Ducas (c. 38.), this golden bar was of the enormous and incredible weight of 500 libræ, or pounds. Bouillaud's reading of 500 drachms, or five pounds, is ſufficient to exerciſe the arm of Mahomet, and bruiſe the back of his admiral.

[47] Ducas, who confeſſes himſelf ill informed of the affairs of Hungary, aſſigns a motive of ſuperſtition, a fatal belief that Conſtantinople would be the term of the Turkish conqueſts. See Phranza (l. iii. c. 20) and Spondanus.

[48] The unanimous teſtimony of the four Greeks is confirmed by Cantemir (p. 96.) from the Turkish annals: but I could wish to contract the diſtance of *ten* miles, and to prolong the term of *one* night.

[49] Phranza relates two examples of a ſimilar tranſportation over the ſix miles of the Iſthmus of Corinth; the one fabulous, of Auguſtus after the battle of Actium; the other true, of Nicetas, a Greek general in the xth century. To theſe he might have added a bold enterprize of Hannibal, to introduce his veſſels into the harbour of Tarentum (Polybius, l. viii. p. 749. edit. Gronov.).

[50] A Greek of Candia, who had ſerved the Venetians in a ſimilar undertaking (Spond. A. D. 1438, N° 37.), might poſſibly be the adviſer and agent of Mahomet.

[51] I particularly allude to our own embarkations on the lakes of Canada in the years 1776 and 1777, ſo great in the labour, ſo fruitleſs in the event.

[52] Chalcocondyles and Ducas differ in the time and circumſtances of the negociation; and as it was neither glorious nor ſalutary, the faithful Phranza ſpares his prince even the thought of a ſurrender.

[53] Theſe wings (Chalcocondyles, l. viii. p. 208.) are no more than an Oriental figure: but in the tragedy of Irene, Mahomet's paſſion ſoars above ſenſe and reaſon:

Should the fierce North, upon his frozen wings,
Bear him aloft above the wondering clouds,
And ſeat him in the Pleiad's golden chariot——
Thence ſhould my fury drag him down to tortures.

Beſides the extravagance of the rant, I muſt obſerve, 1. That the operation of the winds muſt be confined to the *lower* region of the air. 2. That the name, etymology, and fable of the Pleiads are purely Greek (Scholiaſt ad Homer Σ. 686. Eudocia in Ioniâ, p. 339. Apollodor. l. iii. c. 10. Heine, p. 229. Not. 682.), and had no affinity with the aſtronomy of the Eaſt (Hyde ad Ulugbeg, Tabul. in Syntagma Differt. tom. i. p. 40. 42. Goguet, Origine des Arts, etc. tom. vi. p. 73——78. Gebelin, Hiſt. du Calendrier, p. 73.), which Mahomet had ſtudied. 3. The golden chariot does not exiſt either in ſcience or fiction; but I much fear that Dr. Johnſon has confounded the Pleiads with the great bear or waggon, the zodiac with a northern conſtellation:

Αρκτον θ' ἣν και ἁμαξαν επικλησιν καλεουσι.

[54] Phranza quarrels with theſe Moſlem acclamations, not for the name of God, but for that of the prophet: the pious zeal of Voltaire is exceſſive, and even ridiculous.

[55] I am afraid that this diſcourſe was compoſed by Phranza himſelf: and it ſmells ſo groſsly of the ſermon and the convent, that I almoſt doubt whether it was pronounced by Conſtantine. Leonardus aſſigns him another ſpeech, in which he addreſſes himſelf more reſpectfully to the Latin auxiliaries.

[56] This abaſement, which devotion has ſometimes extorted from dying princes, is an improvement of the goſpel doctrine of the forgiveneſs of injuries: it is more eaſy to forgive 490 times, than once to ask pardon of an inferior.

[57] Beſides the 10,000 guards, and the ſailors and the marines,

Ducas numbers in this general aſſault 250,000 Turks both horſe and foot.

[58] In the ſevere cenſure of the flight of Juſtiniani, Phranza expreſſes his own feelings, and thoſe of the public. For ſome private reaſons, he is treated with more lenity and reſpect by Ducas; but the words of Leonardus Chienſis expreſs his ſtrong and recent indignation, gloriæ ſalutis ſuique oblitus. In the whole ſeries of their Eaſtern policy, his countrymen, the Genoeſe, were always ſuſpected, and often guilty.

[59] Ducas kills him with two blows of Turkish ſoldiers; Chalcocondyles wounds him in the ſhoulder, and then tramples him in the gate. The grief of Phranza carrying him among the enemy, eſcapes from the preciſe image of his death; but we may, without flattery, apply theſe noble lines of Dryden:

As to Sebaſtian, let them ſearch the field;
And where they find a mountain of the ſlain,
Send one to climb, and looking down beneath,
There they will find him at his manly length,
With his face up to heaven, in that red monument
Which his good ſword had digged.

[60] Spondanus (A. D. 1453, N° 10.), who has hopes of his ſalvation, wiſhes to abſolve this demand from the guilt of ſuicide.

[61] Leonardus Chienſis very properly obſerves, that the Turks, had they known the emperor, would have laboured to ſave and ſecure a captive ſo acceptable to the ſultan.

[62] Cantemir, p. 96. The Chriſtian ships in the mouth of the harbour, had flanked and retarded this naval attack.

[63] Chalcocondyles moſt abſurdly ſuppoſes, that Conſtantinople was ſacked by the Aſiatics in revenge for the ancient calamities of Troy; and the grammarians of the xvth century are happy to melt down the uncouth appellation of Turks, into the more claſſical name of *Teucri*.

[64] When Cyrus ſurpriſed Babylon during the celebration of a feſtival, ſo vaſt was the city, and ſo careleſs were the inhabitants, that much time elapſed before the diſtant quarters knew that they were captives (Herodotus, l. i. c. 191.), and Uſher (Annal. p. 78.) who has quoted from the prophet Jeremiah a paſſage of ſimilar import.

[65] This lively deſcription is extracted from Ducas (c. 39.), who two years afterwards was ſent ambaſſador from the prince of Lesbos to the ſultan (c. 44.). Till Lesbos was ſubdued in 1463. (Phranza, l. iii. c. 27.), that iſland muſt have been full of the fugitives of Conſtantinople, who delighted to repeat, perhaps to adorn, the tale of their miſery.

[66] See Phranza, l. iii. c. 20, 21. His expreſſions are poſitive: Ameras ſuâ manû jugulavit. volebat enim eo turpiter et nefarie

about. Me miſerum et infelicem! Yet he could only learn from report, the bloody or impure ſcenes that were acted in the dark receſſes of the ſeraglio.

[67] See Tiraboſchi (tom. vi. P. i. p. 290.) and Lancelot (Mém. de l'Académie des Inſcriptions, tom. x. p. 718.). I ſhould be curious to learn how he could praiſe the public enemy, whom he ſo often reviles as the moſt corrupt and inhuman of tyrants.

[68] The Commentaries of Pius II. ſuppoſe, that he craftily placed his cardinal's hat on the head of a corpſe which was cut off and expoſed in triumph, while the legate himſelf was bought and delivered, as a captive of no value. The great Belgic Chronicle adorns his eſcape with new adventures, which he ſuppreſſed (ſays Spondanus, A. D. 1453. N° 15.) in his own letters, leſt he ſhould loſe the merit and reward of ſuffering for Chriſt.

[69] Busbequius expatiates with pleaſure and applauſe on the rights of war, and the uſe of ſlavery, among the ancients and the Turks (de Legat. Turcicâ, epiſt. iii. p. 161.).

[70] This ſum is ſpecified in a marginal note of Leunclavius (Chalcocondyles, l. viii. p. 211.), but in the diſtribution to Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Ancona, of 50,20,20, and 15,000 ducats, I ſuſpect that a figure has been dropt. Even with the reſtitution, the foreign property would ſcarcely exceed one fourth.

[71] See the enthuſiaſtic praiſes and lamentations of Phranza (l. iii. c. 17.).

[72] See Ducas (c. 43.) and an epiſtle, July 15th, 1453, from Laurus Quirinus to pope Nicholas V. (Hody de Græcis, p. 192. from a MS. in the Cotton library).

[73] The Julian Calendar, which reckons the days and hours from midnight, was uſed at Conſtantinople. But Ducas ſeems to underſtand the natural hours from ſun-riſe.

[74] See the Turkish Annals, p. 329. and the Pandects of Leunclavius, p. 448.

[75] I have had occaſion (vol. iii. p. 16.) to mention this curious relic of Grecian antiquity.

[76] We are obliged to Cantemir (p. 102.) for the Turkish account of the converſion of St. Sophia, ſo bitterly deplored by Phranza and Ducas. It is amuſing enough to obſerve, in what oppoſite lights the ſame object appears to a Muſulman and a Chriſtian eye.

[77] This diſtich, which Cantemir gives in the original, derives new beauties from the application. It was thus that Scipio repeated, in the ſack of Carthage, the famous prophecy of Homer. The ſame generous feeling carried the mind of the conqueror to the paſt or the future.

[78] I cannot believe with Ducas (ſee Spondanus, A. D. 1453. N° 13.),

that Mahomet ſent round Perſia, Arabia, etc. the head of the Greek emperor: he would ſurely content himſelf with a trophy leſs inhuman.

[79] Phranza was the perſonal enemy of the Greek duke; nor could time, or death, or his own retreat to a monaſtery, extort a feeling of ſympathy or forgiveneſs. Ducas is inclined to praiſe and pity the martyr; Chalcocondyles is neuter, but we are indebted to him for the hint of the Greek conſpiracy.

[80] For the reſtitution of Conſtantinople and the Turkish foundations, ſee Cantemir (p. 102—109.), Ducas (c. 42.), with Thevenot, Tournefort, and the reſt of our modern travellers. From a gigantic picture of the greatneſs, population, etc. of Conſtantinople and the Ottoman empire (Abrégé de l'Hiſtoire Ottomane, tom. i. p. 16—21.), we may learn, that in the year 1586, the Moslems were leſs numerous in the capital than the Chriſtians, or even the Jews.

[81] The *Turbé*, or ſepulchral monument of Abou Ayub, is deſcribed and engraved in the Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman (Paris, 1787, in large folio), a work of leſs uſe, perhaps, than magnificence (tom. i. p. 305, 306.).

[82] Phranza (l. iii. c. 19.) relates the ceremony, which has poſſibly been adorned in the Greek reports to each other, and to the Latins. The fact is confirmed by Emanuel Malaxus, who wrote, in vulgar Greek, the Hiſtory of the Patriarchs after the taking of Conſtantinople, inſerted in the Turco-Græcia of Cruſius (l. v. p. 106—184.). But the moſt patient reader will not believe that Mahomet adopted the Catholic form, "Sancta Trinitas quæ mihi donavit imperium te in patriarcham "novæ Romæ deligit."

[83] From the Turco-Græcia of Cruſius, etc. Spondanus (A. D. 1453. N° 21. 1458. N° 16.) deſcribes the ſlavery and domeſtic quarrels of the Greek church. The patriarch who ſucceeded Gennadius, threw himſelf in deſpair into a well.

[84] Cantemir (p. 101—105.) inſiſts on the unanimous conſent of the Turkish hiſtorians, ancient as well as modern, and argues, that they would not have violated the truth to diminish their national glory, ſince it is eſteemed more honourable to take a city by force than by compoſition. But, 1. I doubt this conſent, ſince he quotes no particular hiſtorian, and the Turkish Annals of Leunclavius affirm, without exception, that Mahomet took Conſtantinople *per vim* (p. 329.). 2. The ſame argument may be turned in favour of the Greeks of the times, who would not have forgotten this honourable and ſalutary treaty. Voltaire, as uſual, prefers the Turks to the Chriſtians.

[85] For the genealogy and fall of the Comneni of Trebizond, ſee Ducange (Fam. Byzant. p. 195.); for the laſt Palæologi, the ſame

accurate antiquarian (p. 244. 247, 248.). The Palæologi of Montferrat were not extinct till the next century; but they had forgotten their Greek origin and kindred.

[86] In the worthleſs ſtory of the diſputes and misfortunes of the two brothers, Phranza (l. iii. c. 21—30.) is too partial on the ſide of Thomas; Ducas (c. 44, 45.) is too brief, and Chalcocondyles (l. viii, ix, x.) too diffuſe and digreſſive.

[87] See the loſs or conqueſt of Trebizond in Chalcocondyles (l. ix. p. 263—266.), Ducas (c. 45.), Phranza (l. iii. c. 27.), and Cantemir (p. 107.).

[88] Though Tournefort (tom. iii. lettre xvii. p. 179.), ſpeaks of Trebizond as mal peuplée, Peyſſonel, the lateſt and moſt accurate obſerver, can find 100,000 inhabitants (Commerce de la Mer Noire, tom. ii. p. 72. and for the province, p. 53—90.). Its proſperity and trade are perpetually diſturbed by the factious quarrels of two *odas* of Janizaries, in one of which 30,000 Lazi are commonly enrolled (Mémoires de Tott, tom. iii. p. 16, 17.).

[89] Iſmael Beg, prince of Sinope or Sinople, was poſſeſſed (chiefly from his copper mines) of a revenue of 200,000 ducats (Chalcocond. l. ix. p. 258, 259.). Peyſſonel (Commerce de la Mer Noire, tom. ii. p. 100.) aſcribes to the modern city 60,000 inhabitants. This account ſeems enormous: yet it is by trading with a people that we become acquainted with their wealth and numbers.

[90] Spondanus (from Gobelin Comment. Pii II. l. v.) relates the arrival and reception of the deſpot Thomas at Rome A. D. 1461, N° 3.).

[91] By an act dated A. D. 1494, Sept. 6. and lately tranſmitted from the archives of the Capitol to the royal library of Paris, the deſpot Andrew Palæologus, reſerving the Morea, and ſtipulating ſome private advantages, conveys to Charles VIII. king of France the empires of Conſtantinople and Trebizond (Spondanus, A. D. 1495, N° 2.). M. de Foncemagne (Mém. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xvii. p. 539—578.) has beſtowed a diſſertation on this national title, of which he had obtained a copy from Rome.

[92] See Philippe de Comines (l. vii. c. 14.), who reckons with pleaſure the number of Greeks who were prepared to riſe, 60 miles of an eaſy navigation, eighteen days journey from Valona to Conſtantinople, etc. On this occaſion the Turkiſh empire was ſaved by the policy of Venice.

[93] See the orignal feaſt in Olivier de la Marche (Mémoires, P. i. c. 29, 30.), with the abſtract and obſervations of M. de Ste Palaye (Mémoires ſur la Chevalerie, tom. i. P. iii. p. 182—185.). The peacock and the pheaſant were diſtinguiſhed as royal birds.

[94] It was found by an actual enumeration, that Sweden, Gothland, and Finland, contained 1,800,000 fighting men, and conſequently were far more populous than at preſent.

[95] In the year 1454 Spondanus has given, from Æneas Sylvius, a view of the ſtate of Europe, enriched with his own obſervations. That valuable annaliſt, and the Italian Muratori, will continue the ſeries of events from the year 1453 to 1481, the end of Mahomet's life, and of this chapter.

[96] Beſides the two annaliſts, the reader may conſult Giannone (Iſtoria Civile, tom. iii. p. 449—455.) for the Turkiſh invaſion of the kingdom of Naples. For the reign and conqueſts of Mahomet II. I have occaſionally uſed the Memorie Iſtoriche dei Monarchi Ottomanni di Giovanni Sagredo (Venezia, 1677, in 4to.) In peace and war, the Turks have ever engaged the attention of the republic of Venice. All her diſpatches and archives were open to a procurator of St. Mark, and Sagredo is not contemptible either in ſenſe or ſtyle. Yet he too bitterly hates the infidels; he is ignorant of their language and manners; and his narrative, which allows only ſeventy pages to Mahomet II. (p. 69—140.), becomes more copious and authentic as he approaches the years 1640 and 1644, the term of the hiſtoric labours of John Sagredo.

[97] As I am now taking an everlaſting farewel of the Greek empire, I ſhall briefly mention the great collection of Byzantine writers, whoſe names and teſtimonies have been ſucceſſively repeated in this work. The Greek preſſes of Aldus and the Italians, were confined to the claſſics of a better age; and the firſt rude editions of Procopius, Agathias, Cedrenus, Zonaras, etc. were published by the learned diligence of the Germans. The whole Byzantine ſeries (xxxvi volumes in folio) has gradually iſſued (A. D. 1648, etc.) from the royal preſs of the Louvre, with ſome collateral aid from Rome and Leipſic; but the Venetian edition (A. D. 1729), though cheaper and more copious, is not leſs inferior in correctneſs than in magnificence to that of Paris. The merits of the French editors are various; but the value of Anna Comnena, Cinnamus, Villehardouin, etc. is enhanced by the hiſtorical notes of Charles du Freſne du Cange. His ſupplemental works, the Greek Gloſſary, the Conſtantinopolis Chriſtiana, the Familiæ Byzantinæ, diffuſe a ſteady light over the darkneſs of the Lower Empire.

CHAP. LXIX.

[1] The abbé Dubos, who, with leſs genius than his ſucceſſor Monteſquieu, has aſſerted and magnified the influence of climate, objects to

to himſelf the degeneracy of the Romans and Batavians. To the firſt of theſe examples he replies, 1. That the change is leſs real than apparent, and that the modern Romans prudently conceal in themſelves the virtues of their anceſtors. 2. That the air, the ſoil, and the climate of Rome have ſuffered a great and viſible alteration (Reflexions ſur la Poéſie et ſur la Peinture, part. ii. ſect. 16.).

[2] The reader has been ſo long abſent from Rome, that I would adviſe him to recollect or view the xlixth chapter, in the ixth volume of this Hiſtory.

[3] The coronation of the German emperors at Rome, more eſpecially in the xith century, is beſt repreſented from the original monuments by Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiæ medii Ævi, tom. i. diſſertat. ii. p. 99, etc.), and Cenni (Monument. Domin. Pontif. tom. ii. diſſ. vi. p. 261.), the latter of whom I only know from the copious extract of Schmidt (Hiſt. des Allemands, tom. iii. p. 255—266.).

[4] Exercitui Romano et Teutonico! The latter was both ſeen and felt; but the former was no more than magni nominis umbra.

[5] Muratori has given the ſeries of the papal coins (Antiquitat. tom. ii. diſſ. xxvii. p. 548—554.). He finds only two more early than the year 800: fifty are ſtill extant from Leo III. to Leo IX. with addition of the reigning emperor; none remain of Gregory VII. or Urban II.; but in thoſe of Paſchal II. he ſeems to have renounced this badge of dependence.

[6] See Ducange, Gloſſ. mediæ et infimæ Latinitat. tom. vi. p. 364, 365. STAFFA. This homage was paid by kings to archbiſhops, and by vaſſals to their lords (Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 262.); and it was the niceſt policy of Rome, to confound the marks of filial and of feudal ſubjection.

[7] The appeals from all the churches to the Roman pontiff, are deplored by the zeal of St. Bernard (de Conſideratione, l. iii. tom. ii. p. 431—442. edit. Mabillon, Venet. 1750) and the judgment of Fleury (Diſcours ſur l'Hiſt. Eccléſiaſtique, iv. et vii.). But the ſaint, who believed in the falſe decretals, condemns only the abuſe of theſe appeals; the more enlightened hiſtorian inveſtigates the origin, and rejects the principles of this new juriſprudence.

[8] Germanici ſummarii non levatis ſarcinis onuſti nihilominus repatriant inviti. Nova res! quando hactenus aurum Roma refudit? Et nunc Romanorum conſilio id uſurpatum non credimus (Bernard de Conſideratione, l. iii. c. 3. p. 437.). The firſt words of the paſſage are obſcure, and probably corrupt.

[9] Quand les ſauvages de la Louiſiane veulent avoir du fruit, ils coupent l'arbre au pied et cueillent le fruit. Voilà le gouvernement

deſpotique (Eſprit des Loix, l. v. c. 13.); and paſſion and ignorance are always deſpotic.

[16] In a free converſation with his countryman Adrian IV. John of Salisbury accuſes the avarice of the pope and clergy: Provinciarum deripiunt ſpolia, ac ſi theſauros Crœſi ſtudeant reparare. Sed recte cum eis agit Altiſſimus, quoniam et ipſi aliis et ſæpe viliſſimis hominibus dati ſunt in direptionem (de Nugis Curialium, l. vi. c. 24. p. 387.). In the next page, he blames the raſhneſs and infidelity of the Romans, whom their biſhops vainly ſtrove to conciliate by gifts, inſtead of virtues. It is pity that this miſcellaneous writer has not given us leſs morality and erudition, and more pictures of himſelf and the times.

[11] Hume's Hiſtory of England, vol. i. p. 419. The ſame writer has given us, from Fitz-Stephen, a ſingular act of cruelty perpetrated on the clergy by Geoffrey, the father of Henry II. „When he was „maſter of Normandy, the chapter of Seez preſumed, without his „conſent, to proceed to the election of a biſhop: upon which he „ordered all of them, with the biſhop elect, to be caſtrated, and „made all their teſticles be brought him in a platter.„ Of the pain and danger they might juſtly complain; yet, ſince they had vowed chaſtity, he deprived them of a ſuperfluous treaſure.

[12] From Leo IX. and Gregory VII. an authentic and contemporary ſeries of the lives of the popes by the cardinal of Arragon, Pandulphus Piſanus, Bernard Guido, etc. is inſerted in the Italian Hiſtorians of Muratori (tom. iii. p. i. p. 277—685.), and has been always before my eyes.

[13] The dates of years in the margin, may throughout this chapter be underſtood as tacit references to the Annals of Muratori, my ordinary and excellent guide. He uſes, and indeed quotes, with the freedom of a maſter, his great Collection of the Italian Hiſtorians, in xxviii. volumes; and as that treaſure is in my library, I have thought it an amuſement, if not a duty, to conſult the originals.

[14] I cannot refrain from tranſcribing the high-coloured words of Pandulphus Piſanus (p. 384.): Hoc audiens inimicus pacis atque turbator jam fatus Centius Frajadane, more draconis immaniſſimi ſibilans, et ab imis pectoribus trahens longa ſuſpiria, accinctus retro gladio ſine morâ cucurrit, valvas ac fores confregit. Eccleſiam furibundus introiit, inde cuſtode remoto, papam per gulam accepit, diſtraxit, pugnis calcibuſque percuſſit, et tanquam brutum animal intra limen eccleſiæ acriter calcaribus cruentavit; et latro tantum dominum per capillos et brachia, Jeſû bono interim dormiente, detraxit, ad domum uſque deduxit, inibi catenavit et incluſit.

[15] Ego coram Deo et ecclesiâ dico, si unquam possibile esset, mallem unum imperatorem quam tot dominos (Vit. Gelas. II. p. 398).

[16] Quid tam notum seculis quam protervia et cervicositas Romanorum? Gens insueta paci, tumultui assueta, gens immitis et intractabilis, usque adhuc subdi nescia, nisi cum non valet resistere (de Considerat. l. iv. c. 2. p. 441.). The saint takes breath, and then begins again: Hi, invisi terræ et cœlo, utrique injecere manus, etc. (p. 443.).

[17] As a Roman citizen, Petrarch takes leave to observe, that Bernard, though a saint, was a man; that he might be provoked by resentment, and possibly repent of his hasty passion, etc. (Mémoires sur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. i. p. 330.)

[18] Baronius, in his index to the xiith volume of his Annals, has found a fair and easy excuse. He makes two heads, of Romani *Catholici*, and *Schismatici*: to the former he applies all the good, to the latter all the evil, that is told of the city.

[19] The heresies of the xiith century may be found in Mosheim (Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 419—427.), who entertains a favourable opinion of Arnold of Brescia. In the vth volume, I have described the sect of the Paulicians, and followed their migration from Armenia to Thrace and Bulgaria, Italy and France.

[20] The original pictures of Arnold of Brescia, are drawn by Otho bishop of Frisingen (Chron. l. vii. c. 31. de Gestis Frederici I. l. i. c. 27. l. ii. c. 21.), and in the iiid book of the Ligurinus, a poem of Gunther, who flourished A. D. 1200, in the monastery of Paris, near Basil (Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. med. et infimæ Ætatis, tom. iii. p. 174, 175.). The long passage that relates to Arnold, is produced by Guilliman (de Rebus Helveticis, l. iii. c. 5. p. 108.).

[21] The wicked wit of Bayle was amused in composing, with much levity and learning, the articles of ABELARD, FOULQUES, HELOISE, in his Dictionnaire Critique. The dispute of Abelard and St. Bernard, of scholastic and positive divinity, is well understood by Mosheim (Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 412—415.).

[22] ——— Damnatus ab illo
Præsule, qui numeros vetitum contingere nostros
Nomen ab *innocuâ* ducit laudabile vitâ.

We may applaud the dexterity and correctness of Ligurinus, who turns the unpoetical name of Innocent II. into a compliment.

[23] A Roman inscription of Statio Turicensis has been found at Zurich (d'Anville, Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, p. 642—644.): but it is without sufficient warrant, that the city and canton have usurped, and even monopolized, the names of Tigurum and Pagus Tigurinus.

[24] Guilliman (de Rebus Helveticis, l. iii. c. 5. p. 106.) recapitulates

the donation (A. D. 833) of the emperor Lewis the Pious to his daughter the abbeſs Hildegardis. Curtim noſtram Turegum in ducatû Alamanniæ in pago Durgaugenſi, with villages, woods, meadows, waters, ſlaves, churches, etc. a noble gift. Charles the Bald gave the jus monetæ, the city was walled under Otho I. and the line of the biſhop of Friſingen,

Nobile Turegum multarum copia rerum,

is repeated with pleaſure by the antiquaries of Zurich.

[25] Bernard, epiſtol. cxcv, cxcvi. tom. i. p. 187 — 190. Amidſt his invectives he drops a precious acknowledgment, qui, utinam quam ſanæ eſſet doctrinæ quam diſtrictæ eſt vitæ. He owns that Arnold would be a valuable acquiſition for the church.

[26] He adviſed the Romans,

Conſiliis armiſque ſuis moderamina ſumma
Arbitrio tractare ſuo: nil juris in hâc re
Pontifici ſummo, modicum concedere regi
Suadebat populo. Sic læsâ ſtultus utrâque
Majeſtate, reum geminæ ſe fecerat aulæ.

Nor is the poetry of Gunther different from the proſe of Otho.

[27] See Baronius (A. D. 1148, N° 38, 39.) from the Vatican MSS. He loudly condemns Arnold (A. D. 1141, N° 3.) as the father of the political heretics, whoſe influence then hurt him in France.

[28] The English reader may conſult the Biographia Britannica, ADRIAN IV. but our own writers have added nothing to the fame or merits of their countryman.

[29] Beſides the hiſtorian and poet already quoted, the laſt adventures of Arnold are related by the Biographer of Adrian IV. (Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. iii. P. i. p. 441, 442.)

[30] Ducange (Gloſſ. Latinitatis mediæ et infimæ Ætatis, DECARCHONES, tom. ii. p 726.) gives me a quotation from Blondus (decad. ii. l. ii.): Duo conſules ex nobilitate quotannis fiebant, qui ad vetuſtum conſulum exemplar ſummæ rerum præeſſent. And in Sigonius (de Regno Italiæ, l. vi. opp. tom. ii. p. 400.) I read of the conſuls and tribunes of the Xth century. Both Blondus, and even Sigonius, too freely copied the claſſic method of ſupplying from reaſon or fancy the deficiency of records.

[31] In the panegyric of Berengarius (Muratori, Script. Rer. Ital. tom. ii. P. i. p. 408.), a Roman is mentioned as conſulis natus in the beginning of the Xth century. Muratori (diſſert. v.) diſcovers in the years 952 and 956, Gratianus in Dei nomine conſul et dux, Georgius conſul et dux; and in 1015, Romanus, brother of Gregory VIII. proudly, but vaguely, ſtyles himſelf conſul et dux et omnium Romanorum ſenator.

[32] As late as the Xth century, the Greek emperors conferred on the dukes of Venice, Naples, Amalphi, etc. the title of ὑπατος, or conſuls (ſee Chron. Sagornini, paſſim); and the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne would not abdicate any of their prerogative. But in general, the names of *conſul* and *ſenator*, which may be found among the French and Germans, ſignify no more than count and lord (*Signeur*, Ducange, Gloſſar.). The monkiſh writers are often ambitious of fine claſſic words.

[33] The moſt conſtitutional form, is a diploma of Otho III. (A. D. 998), Conſulibus ſenatûs populique Romani; but the act is probably ſpurious. At the coronation of Henry I. A. D. 1014, the hiſtorian Dithmar (apud Muratori, diſſert. xxiii.) deſcribes him, a ſenatoribus duodecim vallatum, quorum ſex raſi barbâ, alii prolixâ, myſtice incedebant cum baculis. The ſenate is mentioned in the panegyric of Berengarius (p. 406.).

[34] In ancient Rome, the equeſtrian order was not ranked with the ſenate and people as a third branch of the republic till the conſulſhip of Cicero, who aſſumes the merit of the eſtabliſhment (Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xxxiii. 3. Beaufort, Republique Romaine, tom. i. p. 144—155.).

[35] The republican plan of Arnold of Breſcia is thus ſtated by Gunther:

Quin etiam titulos urbis renovare vetuſtos;
Nomine plebeio ſecernere nomen equeſtre,
Jura tribunorum, ſanctum reparare ſenatum,
Et ſenio feſſas mutaſque reponere leges.
Lapſa ruinoſis, et adhuc pendentia muris
Reddere primævo Capitolia priſca nitori.

But of theſe reformations, ſome were no more than ideas, others no more than words.

[36] After many diſputes among the antiquaries of Rome, it ſeems determined, that the ſummit of the Capitoline hill next the river is ſtrictly the Mons Tarpeius, the Arx; and that on the other ſummit, the church and convent of Araceli, the barefoot friars of St. Francis, occupy the temple of Jupiter (Nardini, Roma Antica, l. v. c. 11—16.).

[37] Tacit. Hiſt. iii. 69, 70.

[38] This partition of the noble and baſer metals between the emperor and ſenate, muſt however be adopted, not as a poſitive fact, but as the probable opinion of the beſt antiquaries (ſee the Science des Médailles of the Pere Joubert, tom. ii. p. 208—211. in the improved and ſcarce edition of the Baron de la Baſtie).

[39] In his xxviith diſſertation on the Antiquities of Italy (tom. ii. p. 559—569.), Muratori exhibits a ſeries of the ſenatorian coins, which

bore the obſcure names of *Affortiati*, *Infortiati*, *Proviſini*, *Parparini*. During this period all the popes, without excepting Boniface VIII. abſtained from the right of coining, which was reſumed by his ſucceſſor Benedict XI. and regularly exerciſed in the court of Avignon.

[40] A German hiſtorian, Gerard of Reicherſpeg (in Baluz. Miſcell. tom. v. p. 64. apud Schmidt, Hiſt. des Allemands, tom. iii p 265), thus deſcribes the conſtitution of Rome in the XIth century: Grandiora urbis et orbis negotia ſpectant ad Romanum pontificem itemque ad Romanum imperatorem; ſive illius vicarium urbis præfectum, qui de ſuâ dignitate reſpicit utrumque, videlicet dominum papam cui facit hominium, et dominum imperatorum a quo accipit ſuæ poteſtatis inſigne, ſcilicet gladium exertum.

[41] The words of a contemporary writer (Pandulph. Piſan. in Vit. Paſchal. II. p. 357, 358.) deſcribe the election and oath of the præfect in 1118, inconſultis patribus.... loca præfectoria.... Laudes præfectoriæ.... comitiorum applauſum.... juraturum populo in ambonem ſublevant.... confirmari eum in urbe præfectum petunt.

[42] Urbis præfectum ad ligiam fidelitatem recepit, et per mantum quod illi donavit de præfecturâ eum publice inveſtivit, qui uſque ad id tempus juramento fidelitatis imperatori fuit obligatus et ab eo præfecturæ tenuit honorem (Geſta Innocent. III. in Muratori, tom. iii. P. i. p. 487.).

[43] See Otho Friſing. Chron. vii. 31. de Geſt. Frederic. I. l. i. c. 27.

[44] Our countryman, Roger Hoveden, ſpeaks of the ſingle ſenators, of the *Capuzzi* family, etc. quorum temporibus melius regebatur Roma quam nunc (A. D. 1194) eſt temporibus lvi. ſenatorum (Ducange, Gloſſ. tom. vi. p. 191. SENATORES).

[45] Muratori (diſſert. xlii. tom. iii. p. 785—788.) has published an original treaty: Concordia inter D. noſtrum papam Clementem III. et ſenatores populi Romani ſuper regalibus et aliis dignitatibus urbis, etc. anno 44° ſenatûs. The ſenate ſpeaks, and ſpeaks with authority: Reddimus ad præſens.... habebimus..... dabitis presbyteria.... jurabimus pacem et fidelitatem, etc. A chartula de Tenimentis Tuſculani, dated in the 47th year of the ſame æra, and confirmed decreto ampliſſimi ordinis ſenatûs, acclamatione P. R. publice Capitolio conſiſtentis. It is there we find the difference of ſenatores conſiliarii and ſimple ſenators (Muratori, diſſert. xlii. tom. iii. p. 787—789.).

[46] Muratori (diſſert. xlv. tom. iv. p. 64—92.) has fully explained this mode of government; and the *Oculus Paſtoralis*, which he has given at the end, is a treatiſe or ſermon on the duties of theſe foreign magiſtrates.

[47] In the Latin writers, at leaſt of the ſilver age, the title of *Poteſtas* was transferred from the office to the magiſtrate.

Hujus qui trahitur prætextam ſumere mavis,
An Fidenarum Gabiorumque eſſe *Poteſtas?*
(Juvenal. Satir. x. 99.)

[48] See the life and death of Brancaleone, in the Hiſtoria Major of Matthew Paris, p. 741. 757. 792. 797. 799. 810 825. 833. 836. 840. The multitude of pilgrims and ſuitors connected Rome and St. Alban's; and the reſentment of the English clergy prompted them to rejoice whenever the popes were humbled and oppreſſed

[49] Matthew Paris thus ends this account: Caput vero ipſius Brancaleonis in vaſe pretioſo ſuper marmoream columnam collocatum, in ſignum ſui valoris et probitatis, quaſi reliquias, ſuperſtitioſe nimis et pompoſe ſuſtulerunt. Fuerat enim ſuperborum potentum et malefactorum urbis malleus et exſtirpator, et populi protector et defenſor, veritatis et juſtitiæ imitator et amator (p. 840.). A biographer of Innocent IV. (Muratori, Script. tom. iii. p. i. p. 591, 592.) draws a leſs favourable portrait of this Ghibelline ſenator.

[50] The election of Charles of Anjou to the office of perpetual ſenator of Rome, is mentioned by the hiſtorians in the viiith volume of the Collection of Muratori, by Nicholas de Jamſilla (p. 592.), the monk of Padua (p. 724.), Sabas Maleſpini (l. ii. c. 9. p. 808.), and Ricordano Maleſpini, (c. 177. p. 999.).

[51] The high-ſounding bull of Nicholas III. which founds his temporal ſovereignty on the donation of Conſtantine, is ſtill extant; and as it has been inſerted by Boniface VIII. in the *Sexte* of the Decretals, it muſt be received by the Catholics, or at leaſt by the Papiſts, as a ſacred and perpetual law.

[52] I am indebted to Fleury (Hiſt. Eccléſ. tom. xviii. p. 306.) for an extract of this Roman act, which he has taken from the Eccleſiaſtical Annals of Odericus Raynaldus, A. D. 1281, N° 14, 15.

[53] Theſe letters and ſpeeches are preſerved by Otho bishop of Friſingen (Fabric. Bibliot. Lat. med. et infim. Æt. tom. v. p. 186, 187.), perhaps the nobleſt of hiſtorians: he was ſon of Leopold marquis of Auſtria, his mother, Agnes, was daughter of the emperor Henry IV. and he was half-brother and uncle to Conrad III. and Frederic I. He has left, in ſeven books, a Chronicle of the Times; in two, the Geſta Frederici I. the laſt of which is inſerted in the vith volume of Muratori's hiſtorians.

[54] We deſire (ſaid the ignorant Romans) to reſtore the empire in eum ſtatum, quo fuit tempore Conſtantini et Juſtiniani, qui totum orbem vigore ſenatûs et populi Romani ſuis tenuere manibus.

[55] Otho Friſing. de Geſtis Frederici I. l. i. c. 28. p. 662—664.

[56] Hoſpes eras, civem feci. Advena fuiſti ex Tranſalpinis partibus; principem conſtitui.

[57] Non ceſſit nobis nudum imperium, virtute ſuâ amictum venit, ornamenta ſua ſecum traxit. Penes nos ſunt conſules tui, etc. Cicero or Livy would not have rejected theſe images, the eloquence of a Barbarian born and educated in the Hercynian foreſt.

[58] Otho of Friſingen, who ſurely underſtood the language of the court and diet of Germany, ſpeaks of the Franks in the xiith century as the reigning nation (Proceres Franci, equites Franci, manus Francorum): he adds, however, the epithet of *Teutonici*.

[59] Otho Friſing. de Geſtis Frederici I. l. ii. c. 22. p. 720—723. Theſe original and authentic acts I have tranſlated and abridged with freedom, yet with fidelity.

[60] From the Chronicles of Ricobaldo and Francis Pipin, Muratori (differt. xxvi. tom. ii. p. 492.) has tranſcribed this curious fact with the doggerel verſes that accompanied the gift.

Ave decus orbis ave! victus tibi deſtinor, ave!
Currus ab Auguſto Frederico Cæſare juſto.
Væ Mediolanum! jam ſentis ſpernere vanum
Imperii vires, proprias tibi tollere vires.
Ergo triumphorum urbs potes memor eſſe priorum
Quos tibi mittebant reges qui bella gerebant.

Ne ſi dee tacere (I now uſe the Italian Diſſertations, tom. i. p. 444.) che nell' anno 1727, una copia deſſo Caroccio in marmo dianzi ignoto ſi ſcoprì nel Campidoglio, preſſo alle carceri di quel luogo, dove Siſto V. l'avea fatto rinchiudere. Stava eſſo poſto ſopra quatro colonne di marmo fino colla ſequente inſcrizione, etc. to the ſame purpoſe as the old inſcription.

[61] The decline of the Imperial arms and authority in Italy, is related with impartial learning in the Annals of Muratori (tom. x, xi, xii.); and the reader may compare his narrative with the Hiſtoire des Allemands (tom. iii, iv.), by Schmidt, who has deſerved the eſteem of his countrymen.

[62] Tibur nunc ſuburbanum, et æſtivæ Præneſte deliciæ, nuncupatis in Capitolio votis petebantur. The whole paſſage of Florus, (l. i. c. 11.) may be read with pleaſure, and has deſerved the praiſe of a man of genius (Oeuvres de Monteſquieu, tom. iii. p. 634, 635. quarto edition.)

[63] Ne a feritate Romanorum, ſicut fuerant Hoſtienſes, Portuenſes, Tuſculanenſes, Albanenſes, Labicenſes, et nuper Tiburtini deſtruerentur (Matthew Paris, p. 757.). Theſe events are marked in the Annals and Index (the xviiith volume) of Muratori.

[64] For the ſtate or ruin of theſe ſuburban cities, the banks of the Tyber, etc. ſee the lively picture of the P. Labat (Voyage en Eſpagne et en Italie), who had long reſided in the neighbourhood of Rome; and the more accurate deſcription of which P. Eſchinard (Roma, 1750, in octavo), has added to the topographical map of Cingolani.

[65] Labat (tom. iii. p. 233.) mentions a recent decree of the Roman government, which has ſeverely mortified the pride and poverty of Tivoli: in civitate Tiburninâ non vivitur civiliter.

[66] I depart from my uſual method, of quoting only by the date the Annals of Muratori, in conſideration of the critical balance in which he has weighed nine contemporary writers who mention the battle of Tuſculum (tom. x. p. 42—44.).

[67] Matthew Paris, p. 345 This biſhop of Wincheſter was Peter de Rupibus, who occupied the ſee thirty-two years (A. D. 1206—1238), and is deſcribed, by the Engliſh hiſtorian, as a ſoldier and a ſtateſman (p. 178. 399.).

[68] See Mosheim, Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. p. 401. 403. Alexander himſelf had nearly been the victim of a conteſted election; and the doubtful merits of Innocent had only preponderated by the weight of genius and learning which St. Bernard caſt into the ſcale (ſee his life and writings.)

[69] The origin, titles, importance, dreſs, precedency, etc. of the Roman cardinals, are very ably diſcuſſed by Thomaſſin (Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 1262—1287.); but their purple is now much faded. The ſacred college was raiſed to the definite number of ſeventy-two, to repreſent, under his vicar, the diſciples of Chriſt.

[70] See the bull of Gregory X. (approbante ſacro concilio, in the *Sexte* of the Canon Law (l. i. tit. 6. c. 3.) a ſupplement to the Decretals, which Boniface VIII. promulgated at Rome in 1298, and addreſſed to all the univerſities of Europe.

[71] The genius of cardinal de Retz had a right to paint a conclave (of 1655.), in which he was a ſpectator and an actor (Mémoires, tom. iv. p. 15—57.); but I am at a loſs to appreciate the knowledge or authority of an anonymous Italian, whoſe hiſtory (Conclavi de' Pontifici Romani, in 4to, 1667.) has been continued ſince the reign of Alexander VII. The accidental form of the work furniſhes a leſſon, though not an antidote, to ambition. From a labyrinth of intrigues, we emerge to the adoration of the ſucceſsful candidate: but the next page opens with his funeral.

[72] The expreſſions of cardinal de Retz are poſitive and pictureſque: On y vécut toujours enſemble avec le même reſpect, et la même civilité que l'on obſerve dans le cabinet des rois, avec la même politeſſe

qu'on avait dans la cour de Henri III. avec la même familiarité que l'on voit dans les collèges ; avec la même modeſtie, qui ſe remarque dans les noviciats ; et avec la même charité, du moins en apparence, qui pourrait être entre des frères parfaitement unis.

[73] Richieſti per bando (ſays John Villani) ſenatori di Roma, e 52 del popolo, e capitani de' 25. e conſoli (*conſoli?*), et 13 buoni uomini, uno per rione. Our knowledge is too imperfect to pronounce, how much of this conſtitution was temporary, and how much ordinary and permanent. Yet it is faintly illuſtrated by the ancient ſtatutes of Rome.

[74] Villani (l. x. c. 68—71. in Muratori, Script. tom. xiii. p. 641—645.) relates this law, and the whole tranſaction, with much leſs abhorrence than the prudent Muratori. Any one converſant with the darker ages muſt have obſerved how much the ſenſe (I mean the non-ſenſe) of ſuperſtition is fluctuating and inconſiſtent.

[75] In the iſt volume of the Popes of Avignon, ſee the ſecond original Life of John XXII. p. 142—145. the confeſſion of the antipope, p. 145—152. and the laborious notes of Baluze, p. 714, 715.

[76] Romani autem non valentes nec volentes ultra ſuam celare cupiditatem graviſſimam contra papam movere cœperunt queſtionem, exigentes ab eo urgentiſſime omnia quæ ſubierant per ejus abſentiam damna et jacturas, videlicet in hoſpitiis locandis, in mercimoniis, in uſuris, in reditibus, in proviſionibus, et in aliis modis innumerabilibus. Quòd cum audiſſet papa, præcordialiter ingemuit et ſe comperiens *muſcipulatum*, etc. Matt. Paris, p. 757. For the ordinary hiſtory of the popes, their life and death, their reſidence and abſence, it is enough to refer to the eccleſiaſtical annaliſts, Spondanus and Fleury.

[77] Beſides the general hiſtorians of the church of Italy and of France, we poſſeſs a valuable treatiſe compoſed by a learned friend of Thuanus, which his laſt and beſt editors have published in the appendix (Hiſtoire particulière du grand Différent entre Boniface VIII. et Philippe le Bel, par Pierre du Puis, tom. vii. P. xi. p. 61—82.).

[78] It is difficult to know whether Labat (tom. iv. p. 53—57.) be in jeſt or in earneſt, when he ſuppoſes that Anagni ſtill feels the weight of this curſe, and that the corn-fields, or vineyards, or olive-trees, are annually blaſted by nature, the obſequious handmaid of the popes.

[79] See in the Chronicle of Giovanni Villani (l. viii. c. 63, 64. 80. in Muratori, tom. xiii.) the impriſonment of Boniface VIII. and the election of Clement V. the laſt of which, like moſt anecdotes, is embarraſſed with ſome difficulties.

[80] The original lives of the eight popes of Avignon, Clement V. John XXII. Benedict XII. Clement VI. Innocent VI. Urban V. Gre-

gory XI. and Clement VII. are published by Stephen Baluze (Vitæ Paparum Avenionenſium, Paris, 1693, 2 vols. in 4to) with copious and elaborate notes, and a ſecond volume of acts and documents. With the true zeal of an editor and a patriot, he devoutly juſtifies or excuſes the characters of his countrymen.

[81] The exile of Avignon is compared by the Italians with Babylon, and the Babylonish captivity. Such furious metaphors, more ſuitable to the ardour of Petrarch than to the judgment of Muratori, are gravely refuted in Baluze's preface. The abbé de Sade is diſtracted between the love of Petrarch and of his country. Yet he modeſtly pleads, that many of the local inconveniencies of Avignon are now removed; and many of the vices againſt which the poet declaims, had been imported with the Roman court by the ſtrangers of Italy (tom. i. p. 23—28.).

[82] The comtat Venaiſſin was ceded to the popes in 1273. by Philip III. king of France, after he had inherited the dominions of the count of Tholouſe. Forty years before, the hereſy of count Raymond had given them a pretence of ſeizure, and they derived ſome obſcure claim from the xith century to ſome lands citra Rhodanum (Valeſii Notitia Galliarum, p. 459. 610. Longuerue, Deſcription de la France, tom. i. p. 376—381.).

[83] If a poſſeſſion of four centuries were not itſelf a title, ſuch objections might annul the bargain; but the purchaſe-money muſt be refunded, for indeed it was paid. Civitatem Avenionem emit. . . . per ejuſmodi venditionem pecuniâ redundantes, etc. (iida Vita Clement. VI. in Baluz. tom. i. p. 272. Muratori, Script. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 565.) The only temptation for Jane and her ſecond husband was ready money, and without it they could not have returned to the throne of Naples.

[84] Clement V. immediately promoted ten cardinals, nine French and one English (Vita iv. p. 63. et Baluz. p. 625, etc.). In 1331, the pope refuſed two candidates recommended by the king of France, quod xx. Cardinales, de quibus xvii. de regno Franciæ originem traxiſſe noſcuntur in memorato collegio exiſtant, (Thomaſſin, Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 1281.).

[85] Our primitive account is from cardinal James Caietan (Maxima Bibliot. Patrum, tom. xxv.); and I am at a loſs to determine whether the nephew of Boniface VIII. be a fool or a knave: the uncle is a much clearer character.

[86] See John Villani (l. viii. c. 36.) in the xiith, and the Chronicon Aſtenſe, in the xith volume (p. 191, 192.) of Muratori's Collection. Papa innumerabilem pecuniam ab eisdem accepit, nam duo clerici cum raſtris, etc.

[87] The two bulls of Boniface VIII. and Clement VI. are inſerted in the Corpus Juris Canonici (Extravagant. Commun. l. v. tit. ix. c. 1, 2.).

[88] The ſabbatic years and jubilees of the Moſaic law (Car. Sigon. de Republicâ Hebræorum, Opp. tom. iv. l. iii. c. 14, 15. p. 151, 152.), the ſuſpenſion of all care and labour, the periodical releaſe of lands, debts, ſervitude, etc. may ſeem a noble idea, but the execution would be impracticable in a *profane* republic; and I ſhould be glad to learn that this ruinous feſtival was obſerved by the Jewiſh people.

[89] See the Chronicle of Matteo Villani (l. i. c. 56.) in the xivth volume of Muratori, and the Mémoires ſur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 75—89.

[90] The ſubject is exhauſted by M. Chais, a French miniſter at the Hague, in his Lettres Hiſtoriques et Dogmatiques, ſur les *Jubilés* et les Indulgences; la Haye, 1751, 3 vols. in 12mo; an elaborate and pleaſing work, had not the author preferred the character of a polemic to that of a philoſopher.

[91] Muratori (Diſſert. xlvii.) alleges the Annals of Florence, Padua, Genoa, etc. the analogy of the reſt, the evidence of Otho of Friſingen (de Geſt. Fred. I. l. ii. c. 13.), and the ſubmiſſion of the marquis of Eſte.

[92] As early as the year 824, the emperor Lothaire I. found it expedient to interrogate the Roman people, to learn from each individual, by what national law he choſe to be governed (Muratori, Diſſert. xxii.).

[93] Petrarch attacks theſe foreigners, the tyrants of Rome, in a declamation or epiſtle, full of bold truths and abſurd pedantry, in which he applies the maxims, and even prejudices, of the old republic to the ſtate of the xivth century (Mémoires, tom. iii. p. 157—169.).

[94] The origin and adventures of this Jewiſh family are noticed by Pagi (Critica, tom. iv. p. 435. A. D. 1124, N° 3, 4.), who draws his information from the Chronographus Maurigniacenſis, and Arnulphus Sagienſis de Schiſmate (in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. p. i. p. 423—432.). The fact muſt in ſome degree be true; yet I could wish that it had been coolly related, before it was turned into a reproach againſt the antipope.

[95] Muratori has given two diſſertations (xli and xlii.) to the names, ſurnames, and families of Italy. Some nobles, who glory in their domeſtic fables, may be offended with his firm and temperate criticiſm; yet ſurely ſome ounces of pure gold are of more value than many pounds of baſe metal.

[96] The cardinal of St. George, in his poetical, or rather metrical, hiſtory of the election and coronation of Boniface VIII. (Muratori,

Script. Ital. tom. iii. p. i. p. 641, etc.), deſcribes the ſtate and families of Rome at the coronation of Boniface VIII. (A.D. 1295):

Interea titulis redimiti ſanguine et armis
Illuſtreſque viri Romanâ a ſtirpe trahentes
Nomen in emeritos tantæ virtutis honores
Intulerant ſeſe medios feſtumque colebant
Aurata fulgentes togâ ſociante catervâ.
Ex ipſis devota domus præſtantis ab *Urſâ*
Eccleſiæ, vultumque gerens demiſſius altum
Feſta *Columna* jocis, necnon *Sabellia* mitis;
Stephanides ſenior, *Comites*, *Anibalica* proles,
Præfectusque urbis magnum ſine viribus nomen.

(l. ii. c. 5. 100. p. 647, 648.).

The ancient ſtatutes of Rome (l. iii. c. 59. p. 174, 175.) diſtinguiſh eleven families of barons, who are obliged to ſwear in concilio communi, before the ſenator, that they would not harbour or protect any malefactors, outlaws, etc. — a feeble ſecurity!

[97] It is pity that the Colonna themſelves have not favoured the world with a complete and critical hiſtory of their illuſtrious houſe. I adhere to Muratori (Diſſert. xlii. tom. iii. p. 647, 648.).

[98] Pandulph. Piſan. in Vit. Paſchal. II. in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. p. i. p. 325. The family has ſtill great poſſeſſions in the Campagna of Rome; but they have alienated to the Roſpigliosi this original fief of *Colonna* (Eſchinard, p. 258, 259.).

[99] Te longinqua dedit tellus et paſcua Rheni,

ſays Petrarch; and, in 1417, a duke of Guelders and Juliers acknowledges (Lenfant, Hiſt. du Concile de Conſtance, tom. ii. p. 539.) his deſcent from the anceſtors of Martin V. (Otho Colonna): but the royal author of the Memoirs of Brandenburgh obſerves, that the ſceptre in his arms has been confounded with the column. To maintain the Roman origin of the Colonna, it was ingeniouſly ſuppoſed (Diario di Monaldeſchi, in the Script. Ital. tom. xii. p. 533.), that a couſin of the emperor Nero eſcaped from the city, and founded Mentz in Germany.

[100] I cannot overlook the Roman triumph or ovation of Marco Antonio Colonna, who had commanded the pope's gallies at the naval victory of Lepanto (Thuan. Hiſt. l. 7. tom. iii. p. 55, 56. Muret. Oratio x. Opp. tom. i. p. 180—190.).

[101] Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. x. p. 216. 220.

[102] Petrarch's attachment to the Colonna, has authorized the abbé de Sade to expatiate on the ſtate of the family in the fourteenth century, the perſecution of Boniface VIII. the character of Stephen and his ſons, their quarrels with the Urſini, etc. (Mémoires ſur Petrarque,

tom. i. p. 98—110. 146—148. 174—176. 222—230. 275—280.) His criticiſm often rectifies the hearſay ſtories of Villani, and the errors of the leſs diligent moderns. I underſtand the branch of Stephen to be now extinct.

[103] Alexander III. had declared the Colonna who adhered to the emperor Frederic I. incapable of holding any eccleſiaſtical benefice (Villani, l. v. c. 1.); and the laſt ſtains of annual excommunication, were purified by Sixtus V. (Vita di Siſto V. tom. iii. p. 416.). Treaſon, ſacrilege, and proſcription, are often the beſt titles of ancient nobility.

[104] — Vallis te proxima miſit
Appenninigenæ quâ prata virentia ſylvæ
Spoletana metunt armenta gregesque protervi.

Monaldeſchi (tom. xii. Script. Ital. p. 533.) gives the Urſini a French origin, which may be remotely true.

[105] In the metrical life of Celeſtin V. by the cardinal of St. George (Muratori, tom. iii. p. i. p. 613, etc.), we find a luminous, and not inelegant paſſage (l. i. c. 3. p. 203, etc.):

— genuit quem nobilis Urſæ (*Urſi?*)
Progenies, Romana domus, veterataque magnis
Faſcibus in clero, pompaſque experta ſenatus,
Bellorumque manû grandi ſtipata parentum
Cardineos apices necnon faſtigia dudum
Papatûs *iterata* tenens.

Muratori (Differt. xlii. tom. iii.) obſerves, that the firſt Urſini pontificate of Celeſtine III. was unknown: he is inclined to read *Urſi* progenies.

[106] Filii Urſi, quondam Cœleſtini papæ nepotes, de bonis eccleſiæ Romanæ ditati (Vit. Innocent. III. in Muratori, Script. tom. iii. p. i.) The partial prodigality of Nicholas III. is more conſpicuous in Villani and Muratori. Yet the Urſini would diſdain the nephews of a *modern* pope.

[107] In his 51ſt Diſſertation on the Italian Antiquities, Muratori explains the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines.

[108] Petrarch (tom. i. p. 222—230.) has celebrated this victory according to the Colonna; but two contemporaries, a Florentine (Giovanni Villani, l. x. c. 220.), and a Roman (Ludovico Monaldeſchi, p. 533, 534.), are leſs favourable to their arms.

[109] The abbé de Sade (tom. i. Notes, p. 61—66.) has applied the vith Canzone of Petrarch, *Spirto Gentil*, etc. to Stephen Colonna the younger:

Orſi, lupi, leoni, aquile e ſerpi
Ad una gran marmorea *colonna*
Fanno noja ſovente ed a ſe danno.

CHAP. LXX.

[1] The Mémoires ſur la Vie de François Petrarque (Amſterdam, 1764, 1767. 3 vols. in 4to), form a copious, original, and entertaining work, a labour of love, compoſed from the accurate ſtudy of Petrarch and his contemporaries; but the hero is too often loſt in the general hiſtory of the age, and the author too often languiſhes in the affectation of politeneſs and gallantry. In the preface to his firſt volume, he enumerates and weighs twenty Italian biographers, who have profeſſedly treated of the ſame ſubject.

[2] The allegorical interpretation prevailed in the xvth century; but the wiſe commentators were not agreed whether they ſhould underſtand by Laura, religion, or virtue, or the bleſſed Virgin, or —. See the prefaces to the iſt and iid volume.

[3] Laure de Noves, born about the year 1307, was married in January 1325 to Hugues de Sade, a noble citizen of Avignon, whoſe jealouſy was not the effect of love, ſince he married a ſecond wife within ſeven months after her death, which happened the 6th of April 1348, preciſely one-and-twenty years after Petrarch had ſeen and loved her.

[4] Corpus crebris partubus exhauſtum; from one of theſe is iſſued, in the tenth degree, the abbé de Sade, the fond and grateful biographer of Petrarch; and this domeſtic motive moſt probably ſuggeſted the idea of his work, and urged him to inquire into every circumſtance that could affect the hiſtory and character of his grandmother (ſee particularly tom. i. p. 123—133. notes, p. 7—58. tom. ii. p. 455—495. not. p. 76—82.).

[5] Vaucluſe, ſo familiar to our English travellers, is deſcribed from the writings of Petrarch, and the local knowledge of his biographer (Mémoires, tom. i. p. 340—359.). It was, in truth, the retreat of an hermit; and the moderns are much miſtaken, if they place Laura and an happy lover in the grotto.

[6] Of 1250 pages, in a cloſe print, at Baſil in the xvith century, but without the date of the year. The abbé de Sade calls aloud for a new edition of Petrarch's Latin works; but I much doubt whether it would redound to the profit of the bookſeller, or the amuſement of the public.

[7] Conſult Selden's Titles of Honour, in his works (vol. iii. p. 457—466.). An hundred years before Petrarch, St. Francis received the viſit of a poet, qui ab imperatore fuerat coronatus et exinde rex verſuum dictus.

[8] From Auguſtus to Louis, the muſe has too often been falſe and venal:

but I much doubt whether any age or court can produce a ſimilar eſtabliſhment of a ſtipendiary poet, who in every reign, and at all events, is bound to furniſh twice a year a meaſure of praiſe and verſe, ſuch as may be ſung in the chapel, and, I believe, in the preſence, of the ſovereign. I ſpeak the more freely, as the beſt time for abolishing this ridiculous cuſtom, is while the prince is a man of virtue, and the poet a man of genius.

[9] Iſocrates (in Panegyrico, tom. i. p. 116, 117. edit. Battie, Cantab. 1729) claims for his native Athens the glory of firſt inſtituting and recommending the αγωνας και τα αθλα μεγα μη μονον τοις ρωμη, αλλα και λογων και γνωμης. The example of the Panathenæa was imitated at Delphi; but the Olympic games were ignorant of a muſical crown, till it was extorted by the vain tyranny of Nero (Sueton. in Nerone, c. 23.; Philoſtrat. apud Caſaubon ad locum; Dion Caſſius, or Xiphilin, l. lxiii. p. 1032. 1041. Potter's Greek Antiquities, vol. i. p. 445. 450.).

[10] The Capitoline games (certamen quinquennale, *muſicum*, equeſtre, gymnicum), were inſtituted by Domitian (Sueton. c. 4.) in the year of Chriſt 86. (Cenſorin. de Die Natali, c. 18. p. 100. edit. Havercamp) and were not abolished in the ivth century (Auſonius de Profeſſoribus Burdegal. V.). If the crown were given to ſuperior merit, the excluſion of Statius (Capitolia noſtræ inficiata lyræ, Silv. l. iii. v. 31.) may do honour to the games of the Capitol; but the Latin poets who lived before Domitian were crowned only in the public opinion.

[11] Petrarch and the ſenators of Rome were ignorant that the laurel was not the Capitoline, but the Delphic, crown (Plin. Hiſt. Natur, xv. 39. Hiſt. Critique de la République des Lettres, tom. i. p. 150—220.). The victors in the Capitol were crowned with a garland of oak-leaves (Martial, l. iv. epigram 54.).

[12] The pious grandſon of Laura has laboured, and not without ſucceſs, to vindicate her immaculate chaſtity againſt the cenſures of the grave and the ſneers of the profane (tom. ii. notes, p. 76—82.).

[13] The whole proceſs of Petrarch's coronation is accurately deſcribed by the abbé de Sade (tom. i. p. 425—435, tom. ii. p. 1—6. notes, p. 1—13.) from his own writings, and the Roman Diary of Ludovico Monaldeſchi, without mixing in this authentic narrative the more recent fables of Sannuccio Delbene.

[14] The original act is printed among the Pieces Juſtificatives in the Mémoires ſur Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 50—53.

[15] To

[15] To find the proofs of his enthuſiaſm for Rome, I need only requeſt that the reader would open, by chance, either Petrarch, or his French biographer. The latter has deſcribed the poet's firſt viſit to Rome (tom. i. p. 323—335.). But in the place of much idle rhetoric and morality, Petrarch might have amuſed the preſent and future age with an original account of the city and his coronation.

[16] It has been treated by the pen of a Jeſuit, the P. du Cereau, whoſe poſthumous work (Conjuration de Nicolas Gabrini, dit de Rienzi Tyran de Rome, en 1347) was published at Paris 1748, in 12mo. I am indebted to him for ſome facts and documents in John Hocſemius, canon of Liege, a contemporary hiſtorian (Fabricius, Bibliot. Latin. med. Ævi, tom. iii. p. 273. tom. iv. p. 85.).

[17] The abbé de Sade, who ſo freely expatiates on the hiſtory of the xivth century, might treat, as his proper ſubject, a revolution in which the heart of Petrarch was ſo deeply engaged (Mémoires, tom. ii. p. 50. 51. 320—417. notes, p. 70—76. tom. iii. p. 221—243. 366—375.). Not an idea or a fact in the writings of Petrarch has probably eſcaped him.

[18] Giovanni Villani, l. xii, c. 89. 104. in Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, tom. xiii. p. 969, 970. 981—983.

[19] In his iiid volume of Italian Antiquities (p. 249—548.), Muratori has inſerted the Fragmenta Hiſtoriæ Romanæ ab Anno 1327 uſque ad Annum 1354, in the original dialect of Rome or Naples in the xivth century, and a Latin verſion for the benefit of ſtrangers. It contains the moſt particular and authentic life of Cola (Nicholas) di Rienzi; which had been printed at Bracciano 1627, in 4to, under the name of Tomaſo Fortifiocca, who is only mentioned in this work as having been punished by the tribune for forgery. Human nature is ſcarcely capable of ſuch ſublime or ſtupid impartiality: but whoſoever is the author of theſe Fragments, he wrote on the ſpot and at the time, and paints, without deſign or art, the manners of Rome and the character of the tribune.

[20] The firſt and ſplendid period of Rienzi, his tribunitian government is contained in the xviiith chapter of the Fragments (p. 399—479.), which, in the new diviſion, forms the iid book of the hiſtory in xxxviii ſmaller chapters or ſections.

[21] The reader may be pleaſed with a ſpecimen of the original idiom: Fò da ſoa juventudine nutricato di latte de eloquentia, bono gramatico, meglìore rettuorico, autoriſta bravo. Deh como et quanto era veloce leitore! moito uſava Tito Livio, Seneca, et Tullio, et Balerio Maſſimo, moito li dilettava

le magnificentie di Julio Ceſare raccontare. Tutta la die ſe ſpeculava negli intagli di marmo le quali iaccio intorno Roma. Non era altri che eſſo, che ſapeſſe lejere li antichi pataffii. Tutte ſcritture antiche vulgarizzava; queſſe ſiure di marmo juſtamente interpretava. Oh come ſpeſſo diceva, "Dove "ſuono quelli buoni Romani? dove ene loro ſomma juſtitia? poleramme "trovare in tempo che queſſi ſiuriano!"

[22] Petrarch compares the jealouſy of the Romans, with the eaſy temper of the huſbands of Avignon (Mémoires, tom. i. p. 330.).

[23] The fragments of the *Lex Regia* may be found in the Inſcriptions of Gruter, tom. i. p. 242. and at the end of the Tacitus of Erneſti, with ſome learned notes of the editor, tom. ii.

[24] I cannot overlook a ſtupendous and laughable blunder of Rienzi. The Lex Regia empowers Veſpaſian to enlarge the Pomœrium, a word familiar to every antiquary. It was not ſo to the tribune; he confounds it with pomarium an orchard, translates lo Jardino de Roma cioene Italia and is copied by the leſs excuſable ignorance of the Latin translator (p. 406.) and the French hiſtorian (p. 33.). Even the learning of Muratori has ſlumbered over the paſſage.

[25] Priori (*Bruto*) tamen ſimilior, juvenis uterque, longe ingenio quam cujus ſimulationem induerat, ut ſub hoc obtentu liberator ille P. R. aperiretur tempore ſuo.... Ille regibus, hic tyrannis contemptus (Opp. p. 536.).

[26] In one MS. I read (l. ii. c 4. p. 409.) perfumante quatro *ſoldi*, in another quatro *fiorini*, an important variety, ſince the florin was worth ten Roman *ſolidi* (Muratori, diſſert. xxviii.). The former reading would give us a population of 25,000, the latter of 250,000 families; and I much fear, that the former is more conſiſtent with the decay of Rome and her territory.

[27] Hocſemius, p. 398. apud du Cerceau, Hiſt. de Rienzi, p. 194. The fifteen tribunitian laws may be found in the Roman hiſtorian (whom for brevity I ſhall name) Fortifiocca, l. ii. c. 4.

[28] Fortifiocca, l. ii. c. 11. From the account of this ſhipwreck, we learn ſome circumſtances of the trade and navigation of the age. 1. The ſhip was built and freighted at Naples for the ports of Marſeilles and Avignon. 2. The ſailors were of Naples and the iſle of Oenaria, leſs ſkilful than thoſe of Sicily and Genoa. 3. The navigation from Marſeilles was a coaſting voyage to the mouth of the Tyber, where they took ſhelter in a ſtorm, but, inſtead of finding the current, unfortunately ran on a ſhoal; the veſſel was ſtranded, the mariners eſcaped. 4. The cargo,

which was pillaged, conſiſted of the revenue of Provence for the royal treaſury, many bags of pepper and cinnamon, and bales of French cloth, to the value of 20,000 florins: a rich prize.

[29] It was thus that Oliver Cromwell's old acquaintance, who remembered his vulgar and ungracious entrance into the Houſe of Commons, were aſtoniſhed at the eaſe and majeſty of the protector on his throne (ſee Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 27—34. from Clarendon, Warwick, Whitelocke, Waller, etc.). The conſciouſneſs of merit and power, will ſometimes elevate the manners to the ſtation.

[30] See the cauſes, circumſtances, and effects of the death of Andrew, in Giannone (tom. iii. l. xxiii. p. 220—229.), and the Life of Petrarch (Mémoires, tom. ii. p. 143—148. 245—250. 375—379. notes, p. 21—37.). The Abbé de Sade *wiſhes* to extenuate her guilt.

[31] The advocate who pleaded againſt Jane, could add nothing to the logical force and brevity of his maſter's epiſtle. Johanna! inordinata vita præcedens, retentio poteſtatis in regno, neglecta vindicta, vir alter ſuſceptus, et excuſatio ſubſequens, necis viri tui te probant fuiſſe participem et conſortem. Jane of Naples, and Mary of Scotland, have a ſingular conformity.

[32] See the Epiſtola Hortatoria de Capeſſendâ Republicâ, from Petrarch to Nicholas Rienzi (Opp. p. 535—540.), and the viith eclogue or paſtoral, a perpetual and obſcure allegory.

[33] In his Roman Queſtions, Plutarch (Opuſcul. tom. i. p. 505, 506. edit. Græc. Hen. Steph.) ſtates, on the moſt conſtitutional principles, the ſimple greatneſs of the tribunes, who were not properly magiſtrates, but a check on magiſtracy. It was their duty and intereſt ὁμοιοῦσθαι ῥήμασι καὶ σολῇ καὶ διαίτῃ τοῖς ἐπιτυγχάνουσι τῶν πολιτῶν.... καταπατεῖσθαι δεῖ (a ſaying of C. Curio.) καὶ μὴ σεμνὸν εἶναι τῇ τοῦ δημάρχου ὄψει.... ὅσῳ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκταπεινοῦται τῷ σώματι, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον αὐξεται τῇ δυνάμει; etc. Rienzi, and Petrarch himſelf, were incapable perhaps of reading a Greek philoſopher; but they might have imbibed the ſame modeſt doctrines from their favourite Latins, Livy and Valerius Maximus.

[34] I could not expreſs in Engliſh the forcible, though barbarous title of *Zelator* Italiæ, which Rienzi aſſumed.

[35] Era bell' uomo (l. ii. c. 1. p. 399.). It is remarkable, that the riſo ſarcaſtico of the Bracciano edition is wanting in the Roman MS. from which Muratori has given the text. In his ſecond reign, when he is painted almoſt as a monſter, Rienzi travea una ventreſca tonna trionfale, a modo de uno Abbate Aſiano, or Aſinino (l. iii. c. 18. p. 523.).

[36] Strange as it may ſeem, this feſtival was not without a precedent. In the year 1327, two barons, a Colonna, and an Urſini, the uſual balance, were created knights by the Roman people: their bath was of roſe water, their beds were decked with royal magnificence, and they were ſerved at St. Maria of Araceli in the Capitol, by the twenty-eight *buoni uomini*. They afterwards received from Robert king of Naples the ſword of chivalry (Hiſt. Rom. l. i. c. 2. p. 259.).

[37] All parties believed in the leproſy and bath of Conſtantine (Petrarch, Epiſt. Famil. vi. 2.), and Rienzi juſtified his own conduct by obſerving to the court of Avignon, that a vaſe which had been uſed by a Pagan, could not be profaned by a pious Chriſtian. Yet this crime is ſpecified in the bill of excommunication (Hocſemius, apud du Cerceau, p. 189, 190.).

[38] This *verbal* ſummons of pope Clement VI. which reſts on the authority of the Roman hiſtorian and a Vatican MS. is diſputed by the biographer of Petrarch (tom. ii. not. p. 70—76.) with arguments rather of decency than of weight. The court of Avignon might not chuſe to agitate this delicate queſtion.

[39] The ſummons of the two rival emperors, a monument of freedom and folly, is extant in Hocſemius (Cerceau, p. 163—166.).

[40] It is ſingular, that the Roman hiſtorian ſhould have overlooked this ſevenfold coronation, which is ſufficiently proved by internal evidence, and the teſtimony of Hocſemius, and even of Rienzi (Cerceau, p. 167—170. 229.).

[41] Puoi ſe faceva ſtare denante a ſe, mentre ſedeva, li baroni tutti in piedi ritti co le vraccia piegate e co li capucci tratti. Deh como ſtavano paurofi! (Hiſt. Rom. l. ii. c. 20. p. 439.). He ſaw them, and we ſee them.

[42] The original letter, in which Rienzi juſtifies his treatment of the Colonna (Hocſemius, apud du Cerceau, p. 222—229.), diſplays, in genuine colours, the mixture of the knave and the madman.

[43] Rienzi, in the above mentioned letter, aſcribes to St. Martin the tribune, Boniface VIII. the enemy of Colonna, himſelf, and the Roman people, the glory of the day, which Villani likewiſe (l. xii. c. 104.) deſcribes as a regular battle. The diſorderly skirmish, the flight of the Romans, and the cowardice of Rienzi, are painted in the ſimple and minute narrative of Fortifiocca, or the anonymous Citizen (l. ii. c. 34—37.).

[44] In deſcribing the fall of the Colonna, I ſpeak only of the family of Stephen the elder, who is often confounded by the P. du Cerceau, with

his ſon. That family was extinguished, but the houſe has been perpetuated in the collateral branches, of which I have not a very accurate knowledge. Circumſpice (ſays Petrarch) familiæ tuæ ſtatum, Columnienſium *domos*: ſolito pauciores habeat columnas. Quid ad rem? modo fundamentum ſtabile, ſolidumque permaneat.

45 The convent of St. Silveſter was founded, endowed, and protected by the Colonna cardinals, for the daughters of the family who embraced a monaſtic life, and who, in the year 1318, were twelve in number. The others were allowed to marry with their kinſmen in the fourth degree, and the diſpenſation was juſtified by the ſmall number and cloſe alliances of the noble families of Rome (Mémoires ſur Petrarque, tom. i. p. 110. tom. ii. p. 401.).

46 Petrarch wrote a ſtiff and pedantic letter of conſolation (Fam. l. vii. epiſt. 13. p. 682, 683.). The friend was loſt in the patriot. Nulla toto orbe principum familia carior; carior tamen reſpublica, carior Roma, carior Italia.

Je rends grâces aux Dieux de n'être pas Romain.

47 This council and oppoſition is obſcurely mentioned by Polliſtore, a contemporary writer, who has preſerved ſome curious and original facts (Rer. Italicarum, tom. xxv. c. 31. p. 798—804.).

48 The briefs and bulls of Clement VI. againſt Rienzi, are tranſlated by the P. du Cerceau (p. 196. 232.) from the Eccleſiaſtical Annals of Odericus Raynaldus (A. D. 1347, N° 15. 17. 21, etc.) who found them in the archives of the Vatican.

49 Matteo Villani deſcribes the origin, character, and death of this count of Minorbino, a man da natura inconſtante e ſenza fede, whoſe grandfather, a crafty notary, was enriched and ennobled by the ſpoils of the Saracens of Nocera (l. vii. c. 102, 103.). See his impriſonment, and the efforts of Petrarch, tom. ii. p. 149—151.

50 The troubles of Rome, from the departure to the return of Rienzi, are related by Matteo Villani (l. ii. c. 47. l. iii. c. 33. 57. 78.) and Thomas Fortifiocca (l. iii. c. 1—4.). I have ſlightly paſſed over theſe ſecondary characters, who imitated the original tribune.

51 Theſe viſions, of which the friends and enemies of Rienzi ſeem alike ignorant, are ſurely magnified by the zeal of Polliſtore, a Dominican inquiſitor (Rer. Ital. tom. xxv. c. 36. p. 819.). Had the tribune taught, that Chriſt was ſucceeded by the Holy Ghoſt, that the tyranny of the pope would be abolished, he might have been convicted of hereſy and treaſon without offending the Roman people.

52 The aſtoniſhment, the envy almoſt, of Petrarch is a proof, if not of

the truth of this incredible fact, at leaſt of his own veracity. The abbé de Sade (Mémoires, tom. iii. p. 242.) quotes the vith epiſtle of the xiiith book of Petrarch, but it is of the royal MS. which he conſulted, and not of the ordinary Baſil edition (p. 920.).

53 Ægidius, or Giles Albornoz, a noble Spaniard, archbiſhop of Toledo, and cardinal legate in Italy (A. D. 1353—1367), reſtored, by his arms and counſels, the temporal dominion of the popes. His life has been ſeparately written by Sepulveda; but Dryden could not reaſonably ſuppoſe, that his name, or that of Wolſey, had reached the ears of the Mufti in Don Sebaſtian.

54 From Matteo Villani, and Fortifiocca, the P. du Cerceau (p. 344—394.) has extracted the life and death of the chevalier Montreal, the *life* of a robber and the death of an hero. At the head of a free company, the firſt that deſolated Italy, he became rich and formidable: he had money in all the banks, 60,000 ducats in Padua alone.

55 The exile, ſecond government, and death of Rienzi, are minutely related by the anonymous Roman, who appears neither his friend nor his enemy (l. iii. c. 12—25.): Petrarch, who loved the *tribune*, was indifferent to the fate of the *ſenator*.

56 The hopes and the diſappointment of Petrarch, are agreeably deſcribed in his own words by the French biographer (Mémoires, tom. iii. p. 375—413.); but the deep, though ſecret, wound, was the coronation of Zanubi the poet laureat by Charles IV.

57 See in his accurate and amuſing biographer, the application of Petrarch and Rome to Benedict XII. in the year 1334 (Mémoires, tom. i. p. 261—265.), to Clement VI. in 1342 (tom. ii. p. 45—47.), and to Urban V. in 1366 (tom. iii. p. 677—691.): his praiſe (p. 711—715.) and excuſe (p. 771.) of the laſt of theſe pontiffs. His angry controverſy on the reſpective merits of France and Italy may be found (Opp. p. 1068—1085.).

58
Squalida ſed quoniam facies, neglectaque cultû
Cæſaries; multiſque malis laſſata ſenectus
Eripuit ſolitam effigiem: vetus accipe nomen;
Roma vocor. (Carm. l. 2. p. 77.)

He ſpins this allegory beyond all meaſure or patience. The Epiſtles to Urban V. in proſe, are more ſimple and perſuaſive (Senilium, l. vii. p. 811—827. l. ix. epiſt. i. p. 844—854.).

59 I have not leiſure to expatiate on the legends of St. Bridget or St. Catherine, the laſt of which might furniſh ſome amuſing ſtories. Their effect on the mind of Gregory XI. is atteſted by the laſt ſolemn words of

the dying pope, who admonished the aſſiſtants, ut caverent ab hominibus, ſive viris, ſive mulieribus, ſub ſpecie religionis loquentibus viſiones ſui capitis, quia per tales ipſe ſeductus, etc. (Baluz. Not. ad Vit. Pap. Avenionenſium, tom. i. p. 1223.).

[60] This predatory expedition is related by Froiſſard (Chronique, tom. i. p. 230.), and in the life of du Gueſclin (Collection Générale des Mémoires hiſtoriques, tom. iv. c. 16. p. 107—113.). As early as the year 1361, the court of Avignon had been moleſted by ſimilar freebooters, who afterwards paſſed the Alps (Mémoires ſur Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 563—569.).

[61] Fleury alleges, from the Annals of Odericus Raynaldus, the original treaty which was ſigned the 21ſt of December 1376, between Gregory XI. and the Romans (Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xx. p. 275.).

[62] The firſt crown or regnum (Ducange, Gloſſ. Latin. tom. v. p. 702.) on the epiſcopal mitre of the popes, is aſcribed to the gift of Conſtantine, or Clovis. The ſecond was added by Boniface VIII. as the emblem not only of a ſpiritual, but of a temporal, kingdom. The three ſtates of the church are repreſented by the triple crown which was introduced by John XXII. or Benedict XII. (Mémoires ſur Petrarque, tom. i. p. 258, 259.).

[63] Baluze (Not. ad Pap. Avenion. tom. i. p. 1194, 1195.) produces the original evidence which atteſts the threats of the Roman ambaſſadors, and the reſignation of the abbot of mount Caſſin, qui, ultro ſe offerens, reſpondit ſe civem Romanum eſſe, et illud velle quod ipſi vellent.

[64] The return of the popes from Avignon to Rome, and their reception by the people, are related in the original Lives of Urban V. and Gregory XI. in Baluze (Vit. Paparum Avenionenſium, tom. i. p. 363—486.) and Muratori (Script. Rer. Italicarum, tom. iii. P. i. p. 610—712.). In the diſputes of the ſchiſm, every circumſtance was ſeverely, though partially, ſcrutinized; more eſpecially in the great inqueſt, which decided the obedience of Caſtile, and to which Baluze, in his notes, ſo often and ſo largely appeals, from a MS. volume in the Harley library (p. 1281, etc.).

[65] Can the death of a good man be eſteemed a punishment by thoſe who believe in the immortality of the ſoul? They betray the inſtability of their faith. Yet as a mere philoſopher, I cannot agree with the Greek, ὃν οἱ θεοὶ φίλουσιν ἀποθνήσκει νέος (Brunck, Poetæ Gnomici, p. 231.). See in Herodotus (l. i. c. 31.) the moral and pleaſing tale of the Argive youths.

[66] In the firſt book of the Hiſtoire du Concile de Piſe, M. Lenfant has abridged and compared the original narratives of the adherents of Urban

and Clement, of the Italians and Germans [illegible]. The latter appear to be the moſt act[illegible] and word in the original Lives of [illegible] ſupported in the notes of their editor Baluze.

[67] The ordinal numbers of the popes ſeem to decide the queſtion of Clement VII. and Benedict XIII. who are boldly ſtigmatized as anti-popes by the Italians, while the French are content with authorities and reaſons to plead the cauſe of doubt and toleration (Baluz. in Præfat.). It is ſtrange, or rather it is not ſingular, that ſaints, viſions, and miracles, ſhould be common to both parties.

[68] Baluze ſtrenuouſly labours (Not. p. 1271—1280.) to juſtify the pure and pious motives of Charles V. king of France; he refuſed to hear the arguments of Urban; but were not the Urbaniſts equally deaf to the reaſons of Clement, etc.?

[69] An epiſtle, or declamation, in the name of Edward III. (Baluz. Vit. Pap. Avenion. tom. i. p. 553.) diſplays the zeal of the Engliſh nation againſt the Clementines. Nor was their zeal confined to words: the biſhop of Norwich led a cruſade of 60,000 bigots beyond ſea (Hume's Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 57. 58.).

[70] Beſides the general hiſtorians, the Diaries of Delphinus Gentilis, Peter Antonius, and Stephen Infeſſura, in the great Collection of Muratori, repreſent the ſtate and misfortunes of Rome.

[71] It is ſuppoſed by Giannone (tom. iii. p. 292.) that he ſtyled himſelf Rex Romæ, a title unknown to the world ſince the expulſion of Tarquin. But a nearer inſpection has juſtified the reading of Rex Ramæ, of Rama, an obſcure kingdom annexed to the crown of Hungary.

[72] The leading and deciſive part which France aſſumed in the ſchiſm, is ſtated by Peter du Puis in a ſeparate hiſtory, extracted from authentic records, and inſerted in the vith volume of the laſt and beſt edition of his friend Thuanus (P. xi. p. 110—184.).

[73] Of this meaſure, John Gerſon, a ſtout doctor, was the author or the champion. The proceedings of the univerſity of Paris and the Gallican church were often prompted by his advice, and are copiously diſplayed in his theological writings, of which Le Clerc (Bibliothéque Choiſie, tom. x. p. 1—38.) has given a valuable extract. John Gerſon acted an important part in the councils of Piſa and Conſtance.

[74] Leonardus Brunus Aretinus, one of the revivers of claſſic learning in Italy, who, after ſerving many years as ſecretary in the Roman court, retired to the honourable office of chancellor of the republic of Florence

(Fabric. Bibliot. medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 290.). Lenfant has given the verſion of this curious epiſtle (Concile de Piſe, tom. i. p. 192—195.).

75 I cannot overlook this great national cauſe, which was vigorously maintained by the English ambaſſadors againſt thoſe of France. The latter contended, that Chriſtendom was eſſentially diſtributed into the four great nations and votes, of Italy, Germany, France, and Spain; and that the leſſer kingdoms (ſuch as England, Denmark, Portugal, etc.) were comprehended under one or other of theſe great diviſions. The English aſſerted, that the British islands, of which they were the head, ſhould be conſidered as a fifth and co-ordinate nation, with an equal vote; and every argument of truth or fable was introduced to exalt the dignity of their country. Including England, Scotland, Wales, the four kingdoms of Ireland, and the Orknies, the British islands are decorated with eight royal crowns, and diſcriminated by four or five languages, English, Welsh, Cornish, Scotch, Irish, etc. The greater island from north to ſouth meaſures 800 miles, or 40 days journey; and England alone contains, 32 counties, and 52,000 parish churches, (a bold account!) beſides cathedrals, colleges, priories, and hoſpitals. They celebrate the miſſion of St. Joſeph of Arimathea, the birth of Conſtantine, and the legantine powers of the two primates, without forgetting the teſtimony of Bartholemy de Glanville (A. D. 1360), who reckons only four Chriſtian kingdoms, 1. of Rome, 2. of Conſtantinople, 3. of Ireland, which had been transferred to the English monarchs, and, 4. of Spain. Our countrymen prevailed in the council, but the victories of Henry V. added much weight to their arguments. The adverſe pleadings were found at Conſtance by Sir Robert Wingfield, ambaſſador from Henry VIII. to the emperor Maximilian I. and by him printed in 1517 at Louvain. From a Leipſic MS. they are more correctly published in the Collection of Von der Hardt, tom. v.; but I have only ſeen Lenfant's abſtract of theſe acts (Concile de Conſtance, tom. ii. p. 447. 453, etc.).

76 The hiſtories of the three ſucceſſive councils, Piſa, Conſtance, and Baſil, have been written with a tolerable degree of candour, induſtry, and elegance, by a Proteſtant miniſter, M. Lenfant, who retired from France to Berlin. They form ſix volumes in quarto; and as Baſil is the worſt, ſo Conſtance is the beſt, part of the collection.

77 See the xxviiith Diſſertation of the Antiquities of Muratori, and the iſt Inſtruction of the Science des Médailles of the Pere Joubert and the Baron de la Baſtie. The Metallic Hiſtory of Martin. V. and his ſucceſſors, has been compoſed by two monks, Moulinet a Frenchman, and Bonanni

an Italian: but I underſtand, that the firſt part of the ſeries is reſtored from more recent coins.

[78] Beſides the Lives of Eugenius IV. (Rerum Italic. tom. iii. p. i. p. 869, and tom. xxv. p. 256.), the Diaries of Paul Petroni and Stephen Infeſſura are the beſt original evidence for the revolt of the Romans againſt Eugenius IV. The former, who lived at the time and on the ſpot, ſpeaks the language of a citizen, equally afraid of prieſtly and popular tyranny.

[79] The coronation of Frederic III. is deſcribed by Lenfant (Concile de Baſle, tom. ii. p. 276—288.) from Æneas Sylvius a ſpectator and actor in that ſplendid ſcene.

[80] The oath of fidelity impoſed on the emperor by the pope, is recorded and ſanctified in the Clementines (l. ii. tit. ix.); and Æneas Sylvius, who objects to this new demand, could not foreſee, that in a few years he ſhould aſcend the throne, and imbibe the maxims, of Boniface VIII.

[81] Lo ſenatore di Roma, veſtito di brocarto con quella beretta, e con quelle maniche, ed ornamenti di pelle, co' quali va alle feſte di Teſtaccio e Nagone, might eſcape the eye of Æneas Sylvius, but he is viewed with admiration and complacency by the Roman citizen (Diario di Stephano Infeſſura, p. 1133.)

[82] See in the ſtatutes of Rome, the *ſenator and three judges* (l. i. c. 3—14.), the *conſervators* (l. i. c. 15, 16, 17. l. iii. c. 4.), the *caporioni* (l. i. c. 18. l. iii. c. 8.), the *ſecret council* (l. iii. c. 2.), the *common council* (l. iii. c. 3.). The title of *feuds, defiances, acts of violence*, etc. is ſpread through many a chapter (c. 14—40.) of the ſecond book.

[83] *Statuta almæ Urbis Romæ Auctoritate S. D. N. Gregorii* XIII. *Pont. Max. a Senatu Populoque Rom. reformata et edita. Romæ*, 1580 *in folio.* The obſolete, repugnant ſtatutes of antiquity, were confounded in five books, and Lucas Pætus, a lawyer and antiquarian, was appointed to act as the modern Tribonian. Yet I regret the old code, with the rugged cruſt of freedom and barbariſm.

[84] In my time (1765), and in M. Grosley's (Obſervations ſur l'Italie, tom. ii. p. 361.) the ſenator of Rome was M. Bielke, a noble Swede, and a proſelyte to the Catholic faith. The pope's right to appoint the ſenator and the conſervator is implied, rather than affirmed, in the Statutes.

[85] Beſides the curious though conciſe narrative of Machiavel (Iſtoria Fiorentina, l. vi. Opere, tom. i. p. 210, 211. edit. Londra, 1747, in 4to), the Porcarian conſpiracy is related in the Diary of Stephen Infeſſura (Rer. Ital. tom. iii. p. ii. p. 1134, 1135.) and in a ſeparate tract by Leo Baptiſta Alberti (Rer. Ital. tom. xxv. p. 609—614.) It is

amuſing to compare the ſtyle and ſentiments of the courtier and citizen. Facinus profecto quo neque periculo horribilius, neque audaciâ deteſtabilius, neque crudelitate tetrius, a quoquam perditiſſimo uſpiam excogitatum ſit.... Perdette la vita quell' huomo da bene, ed amatore dello bene e libertà di Roma.

[85] The diſorders of Rome, which were much inflamed by the partiality of Sixtus IV. are expoſed in the Diaries of two ſpectators, Stephen Infeſſura, and an anonymous citizen. See the troubles of the year 1484, and the death of the protonotary Colonna, in tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1083. 1158.

[87] Eſt toute la terre de l'égliſe troublée pour cette partialité (des Colonnes et des Urſins) comme nous dirions Luce et Grammont, ou en Hollande Houc et Caballan; et quand ce ne ſeroit ce différend, la terre de l'égliſe ſeroit la plus heureuſe habitation pour les ſujets, qui ſoit dans tout le monde (car ils ne payent ni tailles ni gueres autres choſes), et ſeroient toujours bien conduits (car toujours les papes ſont ſages et bien conſeillés); mais très-ſouvent en advient de grands et cruels meurtres et pilleries.

[88] By the œconomy of Sixtus V. the revenue of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate was raiſed to two millions and a half of Roman crowns (Vita, tom. ii, p. 291—296.); and ſo regular was the military eſtabliſhment, that in one month Clement VIII. could invade the duchy of Ferrara with three thouſand horſe and twenty thouſand foot (tom. iii. p. 64.). Since that time (A. D. 1597.), the papal arms are happily ruſted; but the revenue muſt have gained ſome nominal increaſe.

[89] More eſpecially by Guicciardini and Machiavel; in the general hiſtory of the former, in the Florentine hiſtory, the prince, and the political diſcourſes of the latter. Theſe, with their worthy ſucceſſors, Fra-Paolo and Davila, were juſtly eſteemed the firſt hiſtorians of modern languages, till, in the preſent age, Scotland aroſe, to diſpute the prize with Italy herſelf.

[90] In the hiſtory of the Gothic ſiege, I have compared the Barbarians with the ſubjects of Charles V. (vol. v. p. 264—266.); an anticipation, which, like that of the Tartar conqueſts, I indulged with the leſs ſcruple, as I could ſcarcely hope to reach the concluſion of my work.

[91] The ambitious and feeble hoſtilities of the Caraffa pope, Paul IV. may be ſeen in Thuanus (l. xvi—xviii.) and Giannone (tom. iv. p. 149—163.) Thoſe Catholic bigots, Philip II. and the duke of Alva, preſumed to ſeparate the Roman prince from the vicar of Chriſt: yet the holy

character, which would have ſanctified his victory, was decently applied, to protect his defeat.

[92] This gradual change of manners and expence is admirably explained by Dr. Adam Smith (Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 495—504.), who proves, perhaps too ſeverely, that the moſt ſalutary effects have flowed from the meaneſt and moſt ſelfiſh cauſes.

[93] Mr. Hume (Hiſt. of England, vol. i. p. 389.) too haſtily concludes, that if the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers be united in the ſame perſon, it is of little moment whether he be ſtyled prince or prelate, ſince the temporal character will always predominate.

[94] A proteſtant may diſdain the unworthy preference of St. Francis or St. Dominic, but he will not raſhly condemn the zeal or judgment of Sixtus V. who placed the ſtatues of the apoſtles, St. Peter and St. Paul, on the vacant columns of Trajan and Antonine.

[95] A wandering Italian, Gregorio Leti, has given the Vita di Siſto-Quinto (Amſtel.) 1721, 3 vols. in 12mo), a copious and amuſing work, but which does not command our abſolute confidence. Yet the character of the man, and the principal facts, are ſupported by the Annals of Spondanus and Muratori (A. D. 1585—1590.) and the contemporary hiſtory of the great Thuanus (l. lxxxii. c. 1, 2. l. lxxxiv. c. 10. l. c. c. 8.).

[96] Theſe privileged places, the *quartieri* or *franchiſes*, were adopted from the Roman nobles by the foreign miniſters. Julius II. had once abolished the abominandum et deteſtandum franchitiarum hujuſmodi nomen; and after Sixtus V. they again revived. I cannot diſcern either the juſtice or magnanimity of Louis XIV. who in 1687 ſent his ambaſſador, the marquis de Lavardin, to Rome, with an armed force of a thouſand officers, guards, and domeſtics, to maintain this iniquitous claim, and inſult pope Innocent XI. in the heart of his capital (Vita di Siſto V. tom. iii. p. 260—278. Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xv. p. 494—496. and Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. ii. c. 14. p. 58, 59.).

[97] This outrage produced a decree, which was inſcribed on marble, and placed in the Capitol. It is expreſſed in a ſtyle of manly ſimplicity and freedom: Si quis, ſive privatus, ſive magiſtratum gerens de colloeandâ *vivo* pontifici ſtatuâ mentionem facere auſit, legitimo S. P. Q. R. decreto in perpetuum infamis et publicorum munerum expers eſto. MDXC. menſe Auguſto (Vita di Siſto V. tom. iii. p. 469.). I believe that this decree is ſtill obſerved, and I know that every monarch who deſerves a ſtatue, ſhould himſelf impoſe the prohibition.

[98] The hiſtories of the church, Italy, and Chriſtendom, have contri-

buted to the chapter which I now conclude. In the original Lives of the Popes, we often diſcover the city and republic of Rome; and the events of the xivth and xvth centuries are preſerved in the rude and domeſtic chronicles which I have carefully inſpected, and ſhall recapitulate in the order of time.

1. Monaldeſchi (Ludovici Boncomitis). Fragmenta Annalium Roman. A. D. 1328, in the Scriptores Rerum Italicarum of Muratori, tom. xii. p. 525. N. B. The credit of this fragment is ſomewhat hurt by a ſingular interpolation, in which the author relates *his own death* at the age of 115 years.
2. Fragmenta Hiſtoriæ Romanæ (vulgo Thomas Fortifioccæ), in Romana Dialecto vulgari (A. D. 1327—1354, in Muratori, Antiquitat. medii Ævi Italiæ, tom. iii. p. 247—548.): the authentic ground-work of the hiſtory of Rienzi.
3. Delphini (Gentilis) Diarium Romanum (A. D. 1370—1410.), in the Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. ii. p. 846.
4. Antonii (Petri) *Diarium* Rom. (A. D. 1404—1417.), tom. xxiv p. 969.
5. Petroni (Pauli) Miſcellanea Hiſtorica Romana (A. D. 1433—1446.) tom. xxiv. p. 1101.
6. Volaterrani (Jacob.) Diarium Rom. (A. D. 1472—1484.), tom. xxiii. p. 81.
7. Anonymi Diarium Urbis Romæ (A. D. 1481—1492.), tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1069.
8. Infeſſuræ (Stephani) Diarium Romanum (A. D. 1294, or 1378—1494.), tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1109.
9. Hiſtoria Arcana Alexandri VI. ſive Excerpta ex Diario Joh. Burcardi (A. D. 1492—1503.) edita a Godefr. Gulielm. Leibnizio, Hanover, 1697, in 4to. The large and valuable Journal of Burcard might be completed from the MSS in different libraries of Italy and France (M. de Foncemagne, in the Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inſcript. tom. xvii. p. 597—606.).

Except the laſt, all theſe fragments and diaries are inſerted in the Collections of Muratori, my guide and maſter in the hiſtory of Italy. His country, and the public, are indebted to him for the following works on that ſubject: 1. *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (A. D. 500—1500), *quorum potiſſima pars nunc primum in lucem prodit*, etc. xxviii vols. in folio, Milan; 1723—1738. 1751. A volume of chronological and alphabetical tables is ſtill wanting as a key to this great work, which is yet in a diſorderly and defective ſtate. 2. *Antiquitates Italiæ medii Ævi*, vi vols. in folio,

Milan, 1738—1743, in lxxv. curious diſſertations on the manners, government, religion, etc. of the Italians of the darker ages, with a large ſupplement of charters, chronicles, etc. 3. *Diſſertazioni ſopra le Antichità Italiane*, iii. vols. in 4to, Milano, 1751, a free verſion by the author, which may be quoted with the ſame confidence as the Latin text of the Antiquities. 4. *Annali d'Italia*, xviii. vols. in octavo, Milan, 1753—1756, a dry, though accurate and uſeful, abridgement of the hiſtory of Italy from the birth of Chriſt to the middle of the xviiith century. 5. *Dell' Antichità Eſtenſi ed Italiane*, ii. vols. in folio, Modena, 1717. 1740. In the hiſtory of this illuſtrious race, the parent of our Brunſwick kings, the critic is not ſeduced by the loyalty or gratitude of the ſubject. In all his works, Muratori approves himſelf a *diligent and laborious* writer, who aſpires above the prejudices of a Catholic prieſt. He was born in the year 1672, and died in the year 1750, after paſſing near ſixty years in the libraries of Milan and Modena (Vita del Propoſto Ludovico Antonio Muratori, by his nephew and ſucceſſor Gian. Franceſco Soli Muratori, Venezia, 1756. in 4to.)

CHAP. LXXI.

[1] I have already (note 50, 51. on chap. 65.) mentioned the age, character, and writings of Poggius; and particularly noticed the date of this elegant moral lecture on the varieties of fortune.

[2] Conſedimus in ipſis Tarpeiæ arcis ruinis, pone ingens portæ cujusdam, ut puto, templi, marmoreum limen, plurimaſque paſſim confractas columnas, unde magnâ ex parte proſpectus urbis patet (p. 5.)

[3] Æneid. viii. 97—369. This ancient picture, ſo artfully introduced, and ſo exquiſitely finiſhed, muſt have been highly intereſting to an inhabitant of Rome; and our early ſtudies allow us to ſympathize in the feelings of a Roman.

[4] Capitolium adeo immutatum ut vineæ in ſenatorum ſubſellia ſucceſſerint, ſtercorum ac purgamentorum receptaculum factum, Reſpice ad Palatinum montem vaſta rudera cæteros colles perluſtra omnia vacua ædificiis, ruinis vineiſque oppleta conſpicies (Poggius de Varietat. Fortunæ, p. 21.).

[5] See Poggius, p. 8—22.

[6] Liber de Mirabilibus Romæ, ex Regiſtro Nicolai Cardinalis de Arragoniâ, in Bibliothecâ St. Iſidori Armario IV. N° 69. This treatiſe, with ſome ſhort but pertinent notes, has been publiſhed by Montfaucon (Diarium Italicum, p. 283—301.), who thus delivers his own critical opinion: Scriptor xiiimi circiter ſæculi, ut ibidem notatur; antiquariæ rei imperitus, at, ut ab illo ævo, nugis et anilibus fabellis refertus: ſed, quia monumenta quæ iis temporibus Romæ ſupererant pro modulo recenſet, non

parum inde lucis mutuabitur qui Romanis antiquitatibus indagandis operam navabit (p. 283.).

[7] The Pere Mabillon (Analecta, tom. iv. p. 502.) has published an anonymous pilgrim of the ixth century, who, in his viſit round the churches and holy places of Rome, touches on ſeveral buildings, eſpecially porticoes, which had diſappeared before the xiiith century.

[8] On the Septizonium, ſee the Mémoires ſur Petrarque (tom. i. p. 325.), Donatus (p. 338.) and Nardini (p. 117. 414.).

[9] The age of the pyramids is remote and unknown, ſince Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. i. c. 44. p. 72.) is unable to decide whether they were conſtructed 1000, or 3400, years before the clxxxth Olympiad. Sir John Marſham's contracted ſcale of the Egyptian dynaſties would fix them about 2000 years before Chriſt (Canon. Chronicus, p. 47.).

[10] See the ſpeech of Glaucus in the Iliad (Z. 146.). This natural but melancholy image is familiar to Homer.

[11] The learning and criticiſm of M. des Vignoles (Hiſtoire critique de la Republique des Lettres, tom. viii. p. 74—118. ix. p. 172—187.) dates the fire of Rome from A. D. 64, July 19, and the ſubſequent perſecution of the Chriſtians from November 15, of the ſame year.

[12] Quippe in regiones quatuordecim Roma dividitur, quarum quatuor integræ manebant, tres ſolo tenus dejectæ: ſeptem reliquis pauca tectorum veſtigia ſupererant, lacera et ſemiuſta. Among the old relics that were irreparably loſt, Tacitus enumerates the temple of the moon of Servius Tullius; the fane and altar conſecrated by Evander præſenti Herculi; the temple of Jupiter Stator, a vow of Romulus; the palace of Numa; the temple of Veſta cum Penatibus populi Romani. He then deplores the opes tot victoriis quæſitæ et Græcarum artium decora.... multa quæ ſeniores meminerant, quæ reparari nequibant (Annal. xv. 41.).

[13] A. U. C. 507, repentina ſubverſio ipſius Romæ prævenit triumphum Romanorum....diverſæ ignium aquarumque clades pene abſumſere urbem. Nam Tiberis inſolitis auctus imbribus et ultra opinionem, vel diurnitate vel magnitudine redundans, *omnia* Romæ ædificia in plano poſita delevit. Diverſæ qualitates locorum ad unam convenere perniciem: quoniam et quæ ſegnior inundatio tenuit madefacta diſſolvit, et quæ curſus torrentis invenit impulſa dejecit (Oroſius, Hiſt. l. iv. c. 11. p. 244. edit. Havercamp). Yet we may obſerve, that it is the plan and ſtudy of the Chriſtian apologiſt, to magnify the calamities of the pagan world.

[14] Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
Littore Etruſco violenter undis,
Ire dejectum monumenta Regis
Templaque Veſtæ. (Horat. Carm. I. 2.)

If the palace of Numa, and temple of Veſta, were thrown down in Horace's time, what was conſumed of thoſe buildings by Nero's fire could hardly deſerve the epithets of vetuſtiſſima or incorrupta.

[15] Ad coercendas inundationes alveum Tiberis laxavit, ac repurgavit, completum olim ruderibus, et ædificiorum prolapſionibus coarctatum (Suetonius in Auguſto, c. 30.)

[16] Tacitus (Annal. i. 79.) reports the petitions of the different towns of Italy to the ſenate againſt the meaſure; and we may applaud the progreſs of reaſon. On a ſimilar occaſion, local intereſts would undoubtedly be conſulted: but an Engliſh houſe of commons would reject with contempt the arguments of ſuperſtition, "that nature had aſſigned to "the rivers their proper courſe, etc.".

[17] See the Epoques de la Nature of the eloquent and philoſophic Buffon. His picture of Guyana in South America, is that of a new and ſavage land, in which the waters are abandoned to themſelves, without being regulated by human induſtry (p. 212. 561. quarto edition.)

[18] In his Travels in Italy, Mr. Addiſon (his works, vol. ii. p. 98. Baskerville's edition) has obſerved this curious and unqueſtionable fact.

[19] Yet in modern times, the Tyber has ſometimes damaged the city; and in the years 1530, 1557, 1598, the Annals of Muratori record three miſchievous and memorable inundations (tom. xiv. p. 268. 429. tom. xv. p. 99, etc.)

[20] I take this opportunity of declaring, that in the courſe of twelve years I have forgotten, or renounced, the flight of Odin from Azoph to Sweden, which I never very ſeriously believed (vol. i. p. 294.) The Goths are apparently Germans: but all beyond Cæſar and Tacitus, is darkneſs or fable, in the antiquities of Germany.

[21] Hiſtory of the Decline, etc. vol. v. p. 266.

[22] ——— vol. vi. p. 124.

[23] ——— vol. vii. p. 25, 26.

[24] ——— vol. viii. p. 323.

[25] ——— vol. v. c. xxviii. p. 38—79.

[26] Eodem tempore petiit a Phocate principe templum, quod appellatur *Pantheon*, in quo fecit eccleſiam Sanctæ Mariæ ſemper Virginis, et omnium martyrum; in quâ eccleſiâ princeps multa bona obtulit (Anaſtaſius vel potius Liber Pontificalis in Bonifacio IV. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. i. p. 135.). According to the anonymous writer in Montfaucon, the Pantheon had been vowed by Agrippa to Cybele and Neptune,

Neptune, and was dedicated by Boniface IV. on the calends of November to the Virgin, quæ eſt mater omnium ſanctorum (p. 297, 298.).

[27] Flaminius Vacca (apud Montfaucon, p. 155, 156. His Memoir is likewiſe printed, pp. 21. at the end of the Roma Antica of Nardini), and ſeveral Romans, doctrinâ graves, were perſuaded that the Goths buried their treaſures at Rome, and bequeathed the ſecret marks filiis nepotibuſque. He relates ſome anecdotes to prove, that in his own time, theſe places were viſited and rifled by the Tranſalpine pilgrims, the heirs of the Gothic conquerors.

[28] Omnia quæ erant in ære ad ornatum civitatis depoſuit: ſed et eccleſiam B. Mariæ ad martyres quæ de tegulis æreis cooperta diſcooperuit (Anaſt. in Vitalian. p. 141.) The baſe and ſacrilegious Greek had not even the poor pretence of plundering an heathen temple; the Pantheon was already a Catholic church.

[29] For the ſpoils of Ravenna (muſiva atque marmora) ſee the original grant of pope Adrian I. to Charlemagne (Codex Carolin. epiſt. lxvii. in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 223.).

[30] I ſhall quote the authentic teſtimony of the Saxon poet (A. D. 887—899), de Rebus geſtis Caroli magni, l. v. 437—440. in the Hiſtorians of France (tom. v. p. 180.):

Ad quæ marmoreas præſtabat ROMA columnas,
Quaſdam præcipuas pulchra Ravenna dedit.
De tam longinquâ poterit regione vetuſtas
Illius ornatum Francia ferre tibi.

And I ſhall add, from the Chronicle of Sigebert (Hiſtorians of France, tom. v. p. 378.) extruxit etiam Aquiſgrani baſilicam plurimæ pulchritudinis, ad cujus ſtructuram a ROMA et Ravennâ columnas et marmora devehi fecit.

[31] I cannot refuſe to tranſcribe a long paſſage of Petrarch (Opp. p. 536, 537. in Epiſtolâ hortatoriâ ad Nicolaum Laurentium) it is ſo ſtrong and full to the point: Nec pudor aut pietas continuit quominus impii ſpoliata Dei templa, occupatas arces, opes publicas regiones urbis, atque honores magiſtratûum inter ſe diviſos; (*habeant*?) quam unâ in re, turbulenti ac ſeditioſi homines et totius reliquæ vitæ conſiliis et rationibus diſcordes, inhumani fœderis ſtupendâ ſocietate convenerant, in pontes et mœnia atque immeritos lapides deſævirent. Denique poſt vi vel ſenio collapſa palatia, quæ quondam ingentes tenuerunt viri, poſt diruptos arcus triumphales (unde majores horum forſitan corruerunt), de ipſius vetuſtatis ac propriæ impietatis fragminibus vilem queſtûm turpi mercimonio captare non puduit. Itaque nunc, heu dolor! heu ſcelus indignum! de veſtris marmoreis

columnis, de liminibus templorum (ad quæ nuper ex orbe toto concurſus devotiſſimus fiebat), de imaginibus ſepulchrorum ſub quibus patrum veſtrorum venerabilis civis (*cinis*?) erat, ut reliquas ſileam, deſidioſa Neapolis adornatur. Sic paullatim ruinæ ipſæ deficiunt. Yet king Robert was the friend of Petrarch.

[32] Yet Charlemagne waſhed and ſwam at Aix la Chapelle with an hundred of his courtiers (Eginhart, c. 22. p. 108, 109.) and Muratori deſcribes as late as the year 814, the public baths which were built at Spoleto in Italy (Annali, tom. vi. p. 416.)

[33] See the Annals of Italy, A. D. 988, For this and the preceding fact, Muratori himſelf is indebted to the Benedictine hiſtory of Père Mabillon.

[34] Vita di Sifto Quinto, da Gregorio Leti, tom. iii. p. 50.

[35] Porticus ædis Concordiæ, quam cum primum ad urbem acceſſi vidi fere integram opere marmoreo admodum ſpecioſo: Romani poſtmodum ad calcem eædem totam et porticûs partem disjectis columnis ſunt demoliti (p. 12.). The temple of Concord was therefore *not* deſtroyed by a ſedition in the xiiith century, as I have read in a MS. treatiſe del Governo civile di Rome, lent me formerly at Rome, and aſcribed (I believe falſely) to the celebrated Gravina. Poggius likewiſe affirms, that the ſepulchre of Cæcilia Metella was burnt for lime (p. 19, 20.)

[36] Compoſed by Æneas Sylvius, afterwards pope Pius II. and published by Mabillon from a MS. of the queen of Sweden (Muſæum Italicum, tom. i. p. 97.)

Oblectat me, Roma, tuas ſpectare ruinas;
Ex cujus lapſû gloria priſca patet.
Sed tuus hic populus muris defoſſa vetuſtis
Calcis in obſequium marmora dura coquit.
Impia tercentum ſi ſic gens egerit annos,
Nullum hinc indicium nobilitatis erit.

[37] Vagabamur patiter in illâ urbe tam magnâ; quæ, cum propter ſpatium vacua videretur, populum habet immenſum (Opp. p. 605. Epiſt. Familiares, ii. 14.)

[38] Theſe ſtates of the population of Rome at different periods, are derived from an ingenious treatiſe of the phyſician Lancifi, de Romani Cœli Qualitatibus (p. 122.).

[39] All the facts that relate to the towers at Rome, and in other free cities of Italy, may be found in the laborious and entertaining compilation of Muratori, Antiquitates Italiæ medii Ævi, diſſertat. xxvi. (tom. ii. p. 493—496. of the Latin, tom. i. p. 446. of the Italian work).

[40] As for inſtance, templum Jani nunc dicitur, turris Centii Frangapanis;

et ſane Jano impoſitæ turris lateritiæ conſpicua hodieque veſtigia ſuperſunt (Montfaucon Diarium Italicum, p. 186.) The anonymous writer (p. 285.) enumerates, arcus Titi, turris Cartularia; Arcus Julii Cæſaris et Senatorum, turres de Bratis; arcus Antonini, turris de Coſectis, etc.

[41] Hadriani molem..... magnâ ex parte Romanorum injuria.... diſturbavit: quod certe funditus evertiſſent, ſi eorum manibus pervia, abſumptis grandibus ſaxis, reliqua moles exſtitiſſet. (Poggius de Varietate Fortunæ, p. 12.)

[42] Againſt the emperor Henry IV. (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 147.).

[43] I muſt copy an important paſſage of Montfaucon: Turris ingens rotunda.... Cæciliæ Metellæ.... ſepulchrum erat, cujus muri tam ſolidi, ut ſpatium perquam minimum intus vacuum ſuperſit: et *Torre di Bove* dicitur, a boum capitibus muro inſcriptis. Huic ſequiori ævo, tempore inteſtinorum bellorum, ceu urbecula adjuncta fuit, cujus mœnia et turres etiamnum viſuntur; ita ut ſepulchrum Metellæ quaſi arx oppiduli fuerit. Ferventibus in urbe partibus, cum Urſini atque Columnenſes mutuis cladibus perniciem inferrent civitati, in utriuſve partis ditionem cederet magni momenti erat (p. 142.)

[44] See the teſtimonies of Donatus, Nardini, and Montfaucon. In the Savelli palace, the remains of the theatre of Marcellus are ſtill great and conſpicuous.

[45] James cardinal of St. George, ad velum aureum, in his metrical Life of Pope Celeſtin V. Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. i. P. iii. p. 621. l. i. c. 1. ver. 132, etc.)

Hoc dixiſſe ſat eſt, Romam caruiſſe Senatû
Menſibus exactis heu ſex; belloque vocatum (*vocatos.*)
In ſcelus, in ſocios fraternaque vulnera patres:
Tormentis jeciſſe viros immania ſaxa;
Perfodiſſe domus trabibus, feciſſe ruinas
Ignibus; incenſas turres, obſtructaque fumo
Lumina vicino, quo ſit ſpoliata ſupellex.

[46] Muratori (Diſſertazione ſopra le Antichità Italiane, tom. i. p. 427—431.) finds, that ſtone bullets of two or three hundred pounds weight were not uncommon; and they are ſometimes computed at xii or xviii *cantari* of Genoa, each *cantaro* weighing 150 pounds.

[47] The vith law of the Viſconti prohibits this common and miſchievous practice; and ſtrictly enjoins, that the houſes of banished citizens should be preſerved pro communi utilitate (Gulvaneus de la Flamma, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii. p. 1041.)

[48] Petrarch thus addreſſes his friend who, with ſhame and tears, had ſhewn him the mœnia, laceræ ſpecimen miſerabile Romæ, and declared his own intention of reſtoring them (Carmina Latina, l. ii. epiſt. Paulo Annibalenſi, xii. p. 97, 98.):

Nec te parva manet ſervatis fama ruinis,
Quanta quod integræ fuit olim gloria Romæ,
Reliquiæ teſtantur adhuc; quas longior ætas
Frangere non valuit; non vis aut ira cruenti
Hoſtis, ab egregiis franguntur civibus heu! heu!
——— ——— Quod *ille* nequivit (*Hannibal*)
Perficit hic aries. ——— ——— ———

[49] The fourth part of the Verona Illuſtrata of the Marquis *Maffei*, profeſſedly treats of amphitheatres, particularly thoſe of Rome and Verona, of their dimenſions, wooden galleries, etc. It is from magnitude that he derives the name of *Coloſſeum*, or *Coliſeum*: ſince the ſame appellation was applied to the amphitheatre of Capua, without the aid of a coloſſal ſtatue; ſince that of Nero was erected in the court (*in atrio*) of his palace, and not in the Coliſeum (P. iv. p. 15—19. l. i. c. 4.).

[50] Joſeph Maria Suarés, a learned biſhop, and the author of an hiſtory of Præneſte, has compoſed a ſeparate diſſertation on the ſeven or eight probable cauſes of theſe holes, which has been ſince reprinted in the Roman Theſaurus of Sallengre. Montfaucon (Diarium, p. 233.) pronounces the rapine of the Barbarians to be the unam germanamque cauſam foraminum.

[51] Donatus, Roma Vetus et Nova, p. 285.

[52] Quamdiu ſtabit Colyſeus, ſtabit et Roma; quando cadet Colyſeus, cadet Roma; quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus (Beda in Excerptis ſeu Collectaneis apud Ducange Gloſſar. med. et infimæ Latinitatis, tom. ii. p. 407. edit. Baſil. This ſaying muſt be aſcribed to the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims who viſited Rome before the year 735, the æra of Bede's death; for I do not believe that our venerable monk ever paſſed the ſea.

[53] I cannot recover in Muratori's original Lives of the Popes (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. i.) the paſſage that atteſts this hoſtile partition, which muſt be applied to the end of the xith or the beginning of the xiith century.

[54] Although the ſtructure of the Circus Agonalis be deſtroyed, it ſtill retains its form and name (Agona, Nagona, Navona): and the interior ſpace affords a ſufficient level for the purpoſe of racing. But the Monte Teſtaceo, that ſtrange pile of broken pottery, ſeems only adapted for the annual practice of hurling from top to bottom ſome waggon-loads of live

hogs for the diverſion of the populace (Statuta Urbis Romæ, p. 186.)

[55] See the Statuta Urbis Romæ, l. iii. c. 87, 88, 89. p. 185, 186. I have already given an idea of this municipal code. The races of Nagona and Monte Teſtaceo are likewiſe mentioned in the Diary of Peter Antonius from 1404 to 1417. (Muratori Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xxiv. p. 1124.)

[56] The *Pallium*, which Menage ſo foolishly derives from *Palmarium*, is an eaſy extenſion of the idea and the words, from the robe or cloak, to the materials, and from thence to their application as a prize (Muratori diſſert. xxxiii.)

[57] For theſe expences, the Jews of Rome paid each year 1130. florins, of which the odd thirty repreſented the pieces of ſilver for which Judas had betrayed his maſter to their anceſtors. There was a foot-race of Jewiſh, has well as of Chriſtian youths (Statuta Urbis, ibidem.).

[58] This extraordinary bull-feaſt in the Coliſeum, is deſcribed from tradition, rather than memory, by Ludovico Buonconte Monaldeſco, in the moſt ancient fragments of Roman annals (Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii. p. 535, 536.): and however fanciful they may ſeem, they are deeply marked with the colours of truth and nature.

[59] Muratori has given a ſeparate diſſertation (the xxixth) to the games of the Italians in the middle ages.

[60] In a conciſe but inſtructive mémoire, the abbé Barthelemy (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 585.) has mentioned this agreement of the factions of the xivth century, de Tiburtino faciendo in the Coliſeum, from an original act in the archives of Rome.

[61] Coliſeum,... ob ſtultitiam Romanorum *majori ex parte* ad calcem deletum, ſays the indignant Poggius (p. 17.): but his expreſſion, too ſtrong for the preſent age, muſt be very tenderly applied to the xvth century.

[62] Of the Olivetan monks, Montfaucon (p. 142.) affirms this fact from the memorials of Flaminus Vacca (N° 72.) They ſtill hoped, on ſome future occaſion, to revive and vindicate their grant.

[63] After meaſuring the priſcus amphitheatri gyrus, Montfaucon (p 142.) only adds, that it was entire under Paul III.; tacendo clamat. Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. xiv. p. 372.) more freely reports the guilt of the Farneſe pope, and the indignation of the Roman people. Againſt the nephews of Urban VIII. I have no other evidence than the vulgar ſaying, "Quod non fecerunt "Barbari, fecere Barbarini," which was perhaps ſuggeſted by the reſemblance of the words.

[64] As an antiquarian and a prieſt, Montfaucon thus deprecates the ruin of the Coliſeum: Quòd ſi non ſuopte merito atque pulchritudine dignum fuiſſet

quod improbas arceret manus, indigna res utique in locum tot martyrum cruore ſacrum tantopere ſævitum eſſe.

[65] Yet the Statutes of Rome (l. iii. c. 81. p. 182.) impoſe a fine of 500 *aurei* on whoſoever ſhall demolish any ancient edifice, ne ruinis civitas deformetur, et ut antiqua ædificia decorem urbis perpetuo repræſentent.

[66] In his firſt viſit to Rome (A. D. 1337. See Mémoires ſur Petrarque, tom. i. p. 322, etc.), Petrarch is ſtruck mute miraculo rerum tantarum, et ſtuporis mole obrutus.... Præſentia vero, mirum dictû, nihil imminuit: vere major fuit Roma majoreſque ſunt reliquiæ quam rebar. Jam non orbem ab hâc urbe domitum, ſed tam fero domitum, miror (Opp. p. 605. Familiares, ii. 14. Joanni Columnæ).

[67] He excepts and praiſes the *rare* knowledge of John Colonna. Qui enim hodie magis ignari rerum Romanarum, quam Romani cives? Invitus dico, nuſquam minus Roma cognoſcitur quam Romæ.

[68] After the deſcription of the Capitol, he adds, ſtatuæ erant quòt ſunt mundi provinciæ; et habebat quælibet tintinnabulum ad collum. Et erant ita per magicam artem diſpoſitæ, ut quando aliqua regio Romano Imperio rebellis erat, ſtatim imago illius provinciæ vertebat ſe contra illam; unde tintinnabulum reſonabat quod pendebat ad collum; tuncque vates Capitolii qui erant cuſtodes ſenatui, etc. He mentions an example of the Saxons and Suevi, who, after they had been ſubdued by Agrippa, again rebelled: tintinnabulum ſonuit; ſacerdos qui erat in ſpecula in hebdomadâ ſenatoribus nuntiavit: Agrippa marched back and reduced the————Perſians (Anonym. in Montfaucon, p. 297, 298.).

[69] The ſame writer affirms, that Virgil captus a Romanis inviſibiliter exiit, ivitque Neapolim. A Roman magician, in the xith century, is introduced by William of Malmsbury (de Geſtis Regum Anglorum, l. ii. p. 86.); and in the time of Flaminius Vacca (N° 81. 103.) it was the vulgar belief that the ſtrangers (the *Goths*) invoked the dæmons for the diſcovery of hidden treaſures.

[70] Anonym. p. 289. Montfaucon (p. 191.) juſtly obſerves, that if Alexander be repreſented, theſe ſtatues cannot be the work of Phidias (Olympiad lxxxiii.) or Praxiteles (Olympiad civ.), who lived before that conqueror (Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xxxiv. 19.).

[71] William of Malmsbury (l. ii. p. 86, 87.) relates a marvellous diſcovery (A. D. 1046) of Pallas, the ſon of Evander, who had been ſlain by Turnus; the perpetual light in his ſepulchre, a Latin epitaph, the corpſe, yet entire, of a young giant, the enormous wound in his breaſt (pectus perforat ingens), etc. If this fable reſts on the ſlighteſt foundation, we may pity the bodies as well as the ſtatues, that were expoſed to the air in a barbarous age.

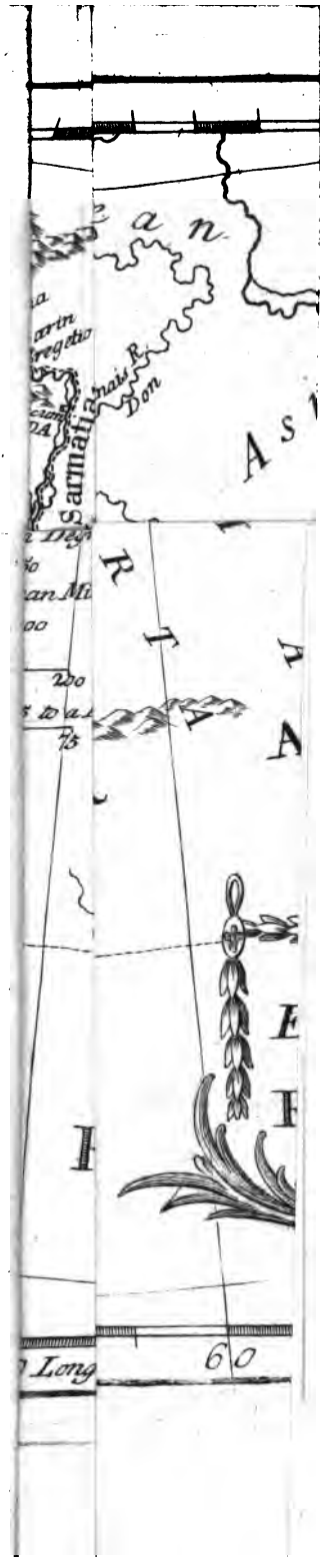
[72] Prope portiſcum Minervæ, ſtatua eſt recubantis, cujus caput integrâ effigie, tantæ Magnitudinis, ut ſigna omnia excedat. Quidam ad plantandas arbores ſcrobes faciens detexit. Ad hoc viſendum cum plures in dies magis concurrerent, ſtrepitum adeuntium faſtidiumque pertæſus, horti patronus congeſtâ humo texit (Poggius de Varietate Fortunæ, p. 12.).

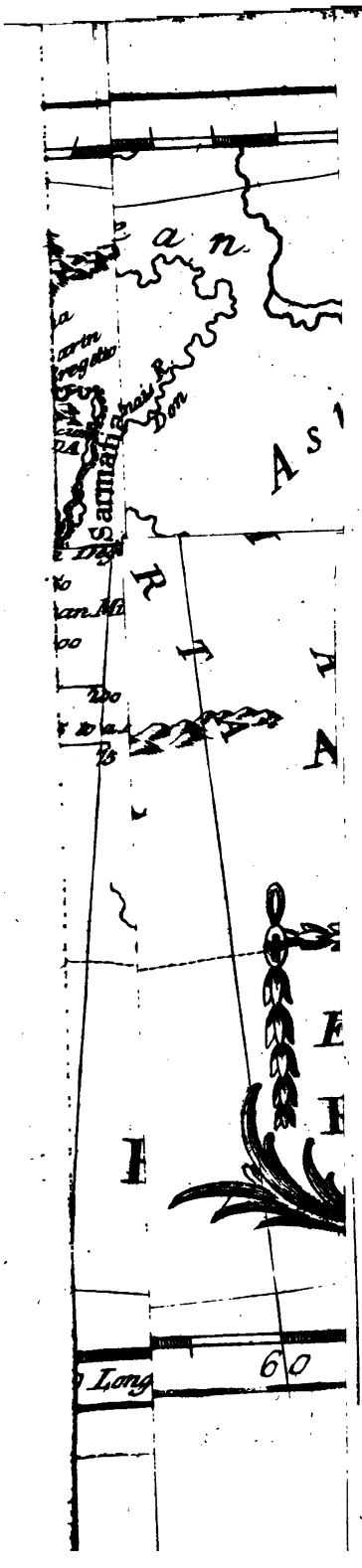
[73] See the Memorials of Flaminius Vacca. No 57. p. 11, 12. at the end of the Roma Antica of Nardini (1704, in 4to.).

[74] In the year 1709, the inhabitants of Rome (without including eight or ten thouſand Jews) amounted to 138, 568 ſouls (Labat, Voyages en Eſpagne et en Italie, tom. iii. p. 217, 218.). In 1740 they had increaſed to 146,080; and in 1765, I left them, without the Jews, 161, 899. I am ignorant whether they have ſince continued in a progreſſive ſtate.

[75] The Pere Montfaucon diſtributes his own obſervations into twenty days, he ſhould have ſtyled them weeks, or months, of his viſits to the different parts of the city (Diarium Italicum, c. 8—20. p. 104—301.). That learned Benedictine reviews the topographers of ancient Rome; the firſt efforts of Blondus, Fulvius, Martianus, and Faunus, the ſuperior labours of Pyrrhus Ligorius, had his learning been equal to his labours; the writings of Onuphrius Panvinius, qui omnes obſcuravit, and the recent but imperfect books of Donatus and Nardini. Yet Montfaucon ſtill ſighs for a more complete plan and deſcription of the old city, which muſt be attained by the three following methods: 1. The meaſurement of the ſpace and intervals of the ruins. 2. The ſtudy of inſcriptions, and the places where they were found. 3. The inveſtigation of all the acts, charters, diaries of the middle ages, which name any ſpot or building of Rome. The laborious work ſuch as Montfaucon deſired, muſt be promoted by princely or public munificence: but the great modern plan of Nolli (A. D. 1748) would furniſh a ſolid and accurate baſis for the ancient topography of Rome.

END OF THE NOTES.


Sarmatia
Asiatica
Tartaria
60


Long
60



